



# Fighting urban diabetes one nudge at a time

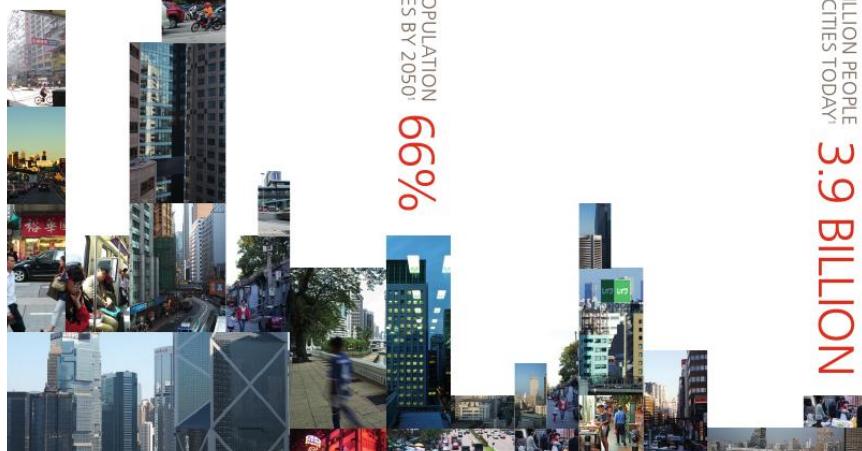
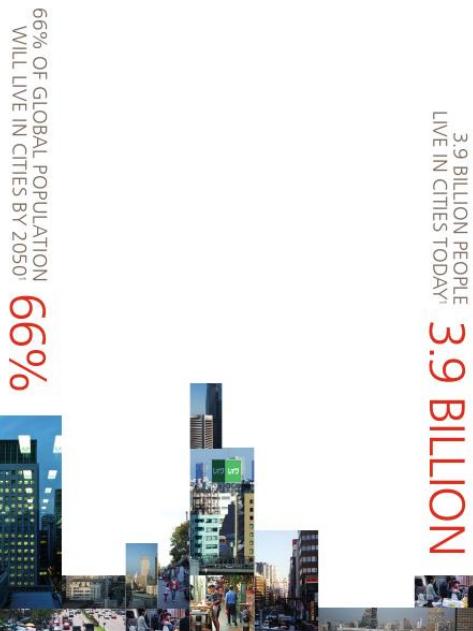
## Bekæmpelse af urban diabetes et nudge af gangen

Copenhagen Business School  
Cand.merc.(kom.) Kandidatafhandling  
17. maj 2016

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## 1 Resumé

**Formål:** Formålet med denne kandidatafhandling er at undersøge hvordan Cities Changing Diabetes projektet (CCD), hvilket er grundlagt af Novo Nordisk, kan anvende nudging til at ændre unge københavneres adfærd og mindske udviklingen af urban diabetes. For at kunne besvare dette, vil de kognitive systematiske fejl, der influerer unge københavneres beslutningsproces og endegyldigt deres adfærd, blive undersøgt. På baggrund deraf vil muligheden for at bevirk en adfærdsændring blandt unge københavnere vha. nudging blive afdækket.

**Metode:** Kandidatafhandlingen er et case studie og følger den abduktive forskningstilgang. Dermed har der gennem afhandlingen været en kontinuerlig afstemning mellem teori og empiri. Den teoretiske baggrund for kandidatafhandlingen er baseret på forskning inden for marketing, behavioural economics og adfærdspsykologi. Den empiriske data indsamlet til denne kandidatafhandling er baseret på den kvalitative forskningsmetode, semi-struktureret interviews. Endegyldigt er empirien analyseret ud fra meningskodning og vha. værktøjer fra grounded theory.

**Resultater:** Analysen af de semi-strukturerede interviews afslørede at unge københavneres beslutningsproces vedrørende en sund livsstil var påvirket af samtlige kognitive systematiske fejl, navnlig vaner, framing, social stimuli og tidsdiskontering. Dermed er det antaget at være muligt at anvende nudging til at formidle en adfærdsændring blandt unge københavnere. Til dette formål blev nudget: *Novo Nordisk Udfordringen* foreslået.

**Konklusion:** På baggrund af resultaterne fra denne kandidatafhandling er det forventet at være muligt for CCD at anvende nudging til at ændre unge københavneres adfærd og mindske udviklingen af urban diabetes. Endvidere argumenteres det, at resultaterne fra denne kandidatafhandling er relevant for Cities Changing Diabetes projektets globale kamp mod urban diabetes, da den repræsenterer en metodik, som kan applikeres på andre lande. Endelig bedømmes det forslået nudge at være etisk forsvarligt.

**Emneord:** Diabetes, nudging, adfærdspsykologi, behavioural economics, marketing.

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## 2 Introduction

On March 28 2014, Novo Nordisk launched the global programme *Cities Changing Diabetes* (CCD) in collaboration with University College London (UCL) and Steno Diabetes Center (Novo Nordisk A/S, 2014c). Today, two-thirds of all people with diabetes live in cities and the number is rapidly increasing. As a result, the CCD programme was created to fight the rise in diabetes caused by “city life”, which Novo Nordisk refer to as *urban diabetes*. (Novo Nordisk A/S, 2014b). Hence, due to urbanisation, more and more people move to the cities, which changes their eating habits, physical activities and work patterns. As a consequence, the amount of people developing type 2 diabetes, i.e. urban diabetes, is rising because of an increasingly unhealthy lifestyle. (Novo Nordisk A/S, 2015b). From this point forward, urban diabetes or type 2 diabetes will be referred to as diabetes or urban diabetes and the Cities Changing Diabetes programme will be referred to as CCD.

Since 2014, the programme has been researching the five study cities: Mexico City, Shanghai, Houston, Tianjin and Copenhagen in the attempt to (1) map the problem (what’s working today? Where are the challenges and the priorities for the future?) (2) share the information world wide and (3) find solutions to the problems and implement action plans (Novo Nordisk A/S, 2014a). In November 2015, a summit was arranged for the partners of the programme to meet and for the results of the year-long research about the five study cities to be presented (Novo Nordisk A/S, n.d., 2015a). With this, the mapping stage of the programme is completed and it is now time to share the information and identify and implement an action plan.

## 3 Problem statement

This thesis will focus on the last stage of the programme, the action plan. However, due to the time and space limitations of this thesis, it will identify and implement an action plan for one chosen target group in Copenhagen. Consequently, using the mapping by Novo Nordisk as a starting point, this thesis will examine how an increase in diabetes and a global crisis in slow motion can be avoided by understanding and subsequently changing the behaviour of young Copenhagen dwellers. To facilitate a behavioural change, this thesis will study what influences young Copenhagen dwellers’ decision making process and their behaviour. Furthermore, it will analyse what CCD could do to improve young Copenhagen dwellers’ healthy choices by applying the principle of nudging.

The core research fields of this thesis will be marketing, behavioural economics and psychology and the academic relevance of this thesis will be to expand the present research on nudging and the application of nudging. Furthermore, it will fill an empirical gap between nudging and the rise in diabetes by examining the case of CCD.

According to Novo Nordisk (Novo Nordisk A/S, 2015b), if no action is taken, the number of people with diabetes in Copenhagen will increase from about 27,000 people to 51,500 people by 2040 and the costs related to diabetes are expected to more than double within the following 25 years.

Therefore, this thesis is not only relevant for CCD, it is furthermore relevant for the Danish government and the health care system, as these pay for the treatments of diabetes patients (Region Sjælland, 2014). Furthermore, it is relevant for the population of Copenhagen, as it might help prevent the rise in diabetes and finally, it is relevant for other cities in Denmark and the rest of the world, as some of the findings from this thesis are expected to be applicable to other age groups, cities, countries and sub-cultures.

## 4 Research question and purpose

This thesis will seek to answer the following question:

*How can nudging be used by the Cities Changing Diabetes programme to change the behaviour of young Copenhagen dwellers in order to prevent the rise in urban diabetes?*

This question will be answered in two parts. The first part will answer the following sub question:

1. *What cognitive biases influence the individual and social decision making process and consequently the behaviour of young Copenhagen dwellers?*

Based on the first part of the analysis and the cognitive biases influencing the individual and social decision making process and consequently the behaviour of young Copenhagen dwellers, the second sub question will be answered:

2. *How can the application of nudging change the behaviour of young Copenhagen dwellers?*

## 5 Defining key concepts

The terms Humans and Econs will be used in this thesis in line with Thaler & Sunstein's (2009, p. 7) definition. Accordingly, contrary to Humans, Econs are defined as actors that are able to make unbiased decisions, hence they are not influenced by systematic deviation from normative reasoning caused by cognitive biases.

Furthermore, this thesis will refer to healthy living as an umbrella term for eating healthy and being physically active.

Finally, this thesis discusses the subject of urban diabetes, which is type 2 diabetes developed due to the unhealthy eating habits, lower level of physical activity and changing work patterns caused by "city life".

## 6 Delimitations

First of all, the scope of this thesis is limited to Copenhagen, which is one of the five study cities by CCD. Thereby, this thesis can use the research conducted by CCD as a point of departure. Furthermore, by researching Copenhagen, I will have access to first hand sources to whom I have already established trust, which will be relevant when collecting empirical data (see section XX).

Second of all, in order to conduct thorough research, the target group of a potential nudge by Novo Nordisk must be defined. Thus, the target group of this thesis will be young Copenhagen dwellers in the age of 20-30 years who are self-reliant, i.e. have moved out of their parents' house and are completing a high-level education.

The reason for choosing a target group within this particular age group is that actors in that age are still developing their own habits and life choices away from their parents. Therefore, this age group is assumed to be more receptive towards making behavioural changes, as their attitudes and habits are not yet fully developed. Moreover, by influencing young Copenhagen dwellers, it is presumed that the changes will have a long-term effect, because the target group for the nudge will be the parents of the next generation.

The reason for choosing a target group that is self-reliant is that they are not significantly influenced by their parents. Therefore, they can be presumed to make their own choices about healthy living. Finally, the reason for choosing a target group who is completing a high-level education is that studies have shown that they make healthier choices than those with a low-level or no education

(A. I. Christensen, Davidsen, Ekholm, Pedersen, & Juel, 2014, pp. 75–85). Consequently, it is presumed to require less effort of Novo Nordisk to change their behaviour. Furthermore, according to the *bandwagon effect* (Leibenstein, 1950), it will be easier to influence those with a low-level or no education after having created a demand for healthy living amongst those with a high-level education.

## 7 Theoretical Framework

The purpose of this thesis is to study how nudging can help Novo Nordisk change the behaviour of high-level educated and self-reliant Copenhagen dwellers in the age of 20-30 years to prevent the rise in urban diabetes. Thus, this thesis will analyse the gap between the descriptive and the normative behaviour and the ability to use nudging to close the gap. The gap between descriptive and normative behaviour is similar to the gap between the behaviour of what Thaler & Sunstein (2009) call Humans and Econ.

The focus of this thesis will be on systematic deviation from normative reasoning caused by cognitive biases (Evans, 1984; Stanovich & West, 2000). An actor often relies on these when making decisions involving uncertainties. Furthermore, they can represent shortcuts to help make quick decisions, e.g. a rule of thumb or stereotyping (Kahneman, 2003; Tversky & Kahneman, 1974).

However, sometimes cognitive biases result in systematic errors (Tversky & Kahneman, 1974), which is the subject of this thesis.

Cognitive biases can influence even the smartest people, which is why Sternberg (2002) distinguishes between intelligence and rationality. In his distinction of the two, intelligence relates only to the computational and cognitive capacities of an actor, whereas rationality relates to an actor's reasoning skills and thinking dispositions (Sternberg, 2002). Consequently, systematic errors are not the result of limitations in intelligence. This will be further discussed in section 7.3.1. about rationality.

In Conclusion, in order to answer the research question of this thesis, the young Copenhagen dweller's cognitive biases influencing their individual and social decision making process about healthy living will be examined. To be able to do so, a theoretical framework will be presented next. The theoretical framework of this thesis will study the theory of nudging, the dual-process theory and some of the main cognitive biases related to framing and discounting will be the studied.

## 7.1 Nudging

### 7.1.1 What is nudging

For years, campaigns have been implemented with the purpose of informing the public about healthy living (see appendix 15.1 and 15.2 for examples). However, the effect of educational campaigns has been proven to be low (Guthrie, Mancino, & Jordan Lin, 2015), especially in relation to behavioural change (Ölander & Thøgersen, 2014).

First of all, the low level of effect of educational campaigns regarding consumer health may be due to the fact consumers are more concerned about other preferences such as taste and price than by healthiness when making decision about food (International Food Information Council Foundation, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015).

Another possible explanation for the low level of behavioural change was presented by Andrews et al. (2009). According to them, the majority of consumers who were influenced by nutritional information already had a high level of knowledge and motivation prior to their decision. Furthermore, Guthrie et al. (2015) argued that it was too demanding for consumers to acquire, recall and apply nutrition information.

Finally, food guides and labelling rely on the rationality of the consumers and their ability to make deliberate and well-considered decisions, however, several studies have contradicted consumer's to do so at the point-of-purchase (Guthrie et al., 2015; R. H. Thaler & Sunstein, 2009; Ölander & Thøgersen, 2014).

Consequently, for the purpose of the health sector and changing young Copenhagen dweller's choices regarding healthy living, an alternative to the educational approach is presumed to be necessary. According to researchers within behavioural science, marketing and psychology, the context and the presentation of choices can influence the final decision when competing preferences, such as price and taste, exists. This is done through e.g. choice architecture, framing, social stimuli etc. (Guthrie et al., 2015; Kahneman, Knetsch, & Thaler, 1991; Kahneman & Tversky, 1979; R. H. Thaler & Sunstein, 2009; R. H. Thaler, 1980; Ölander & Thøgersen, 2014). Subsequently, an alternative to the educational approach is the behavioural approach, e.g. nudging. Nudging can be considered an umbrella term, which combines research from e.g. marketing, behavioural science, psychology and sociology (Pete, 2014; Ölander & Thøgersen, 2014) .

However, a clear definition of the term nudging has been missing in the literature until now, which will be discussed below.

According to Ölander & Thøgersen (2014), nudging is often mentioned as a combination of many different concepts and is not yet a concrete theory, but [...] *an empirical application of pioneering work in behavioural decision theory to public health or environmental problems* (p. 353). In 2014, I would have agreed upon this statement. At the time, the dominating research on nudging was Thaler & Sunstein's book *Nudge – Improving decisions about health, wealth and happiness* (2009), which argued that nudging was based on the concept of libertarian paternalism. Libertarian paternalism was described by Thaler & Sunstein (2003) as an approach that maintains actors' freedom of choice while trying to guide them towards the choice that will be most beneficial to their welfare. Furthermore, they defined nudging as [...] *any aspect of the choice architecture that alters people's behavior in a predictable way without forbidding any options or significantly changing their economic incentives* (R. H. Thaler & Sunstein, 2009, p. 6). However, their nudging definition is considered ambiguous. Accordingly, it doesn't define what (1) "in a predictable way" entail and (2) "slightly changing their economic incentives" means. Furthermore, as Hansen (2016) correctly argued, the definition by Thaler & Sunstein was also unclear about the addition and removal of choices and whether or not removing choices was equal to forbidding choices. They only stated that the costs of a nudge should be low, i.e. it should [...] *be easy and cheap to avoid* (R. H. Thaler & Sunstein, 2009, p. 6).

As a result of the ambiguous definition, there has been great confusion as to what is a nudge and what is not. In the case of the Big Gulp Ban in New York, i.e. banning the sale of sugary drinks in containers larger than 16 ounces (Grynbaum, 2012), Thaler briefly after tweeted "To state the obvious: a BAN is not a NUDGE. The opposite in fact. So don't blame Bloomberg's ban on large cups on us" (Hansen, 2016, p. 3). However, the ban on selling sugary drinks in containers larger than 16 ounces does not forbid people from buying two containers and thereby getting the same amount of sugary drinks as before the ban. Therefore, I do not recognise a difference between changing the size of containers for sugary drinks and changing the default option for organ donation, which according to Thaler & Sunstein(2009) was considered a nudge.

Later in their book, Thaler & Sunstein (2009) specified their previous definition as *A nudge is any factor that significantly alters the behaviour of Humans, even though it would be ignored by Econ* (p. 8). This specification subsequently circumvented the above mentioned uncertainties about the meaning of “slightly changing economic incentives”. Consequently, nudging is presumed to make use of the cognitive biases of an actor’s individual decision making to benefit the actor (Hansen, 2016; Hausman & Welch, 2010). Nevertheless, the specification still didn’t clarify the adding and removing of choices.

As a result of the shortcomings and ambiguity to Thaler & Sunstein’s (2009) definition, Hansen (2016) improved it as follows:

*A nudge is a function of (I) any attempt at influencing people’s judgment, choice or behaviour in a predictable way, that is (1) made possible because of cognitive boundaries, biases, routines, and habits in individual and social decision-making posing barriers for people to perform rationally in their own self-declared interests, and which (2) works by making use of those boundaries, biases, routines, and habits as integral parts of such attempts.*

*Thus a nudge amongst other things works independently of: (i) forbidding or adding any rationally relevant choice options, (ii) changing incentives, whether regarded in terms of time, trouble, social sanctions, economic and so forth, or (iii) the provision of factual information and rational argumentation.* (p. 20)

This is the definition that will be referred to in the analysis of this thesis.

### 7.1.2 Should information be abandoned?

Introducing nudging and the behavioural approach as an alternative to the educational approach does not mean that providing consumers with information about healthy living should be abandoned. Firstly, information is usually, to some extend, included in nudging and choice architecture (Ölander & Thøgersen, 2014). Secondly, the effectiveness of both the educational approach and the behavioural approach has been proven to be heightened when the two are combined (Dolan & Metcalfe, 2011; Guthrie et al., 2015; List & Savikhin, 2012; Ölander & Thøgersen, 2014).

In conclusion, the behavioural approach and nudging should not necessarily substitute the educational approach, but can complement it. According to the nudging literature, a decision making process is significantly influenced by the context and choice architecture (Göckeritz et al.,

2010; Kahneman & Tversky, 1979; Kahneman, 2003; R. H. Thaler & Sunstein, 2009; Tversky & Kahneman, 1974; Ölander & Thøgersen, 2014) and in line with the above, the context will occasionally be supported by information.

Consequently, the notion that an actor can be influenced by both the educational and the behavioural approach points towards the dual-process theory, which will be discussed next.

## 7.2 The dual-process theory

In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Freud introduced the dual-theory of information processing, which made it possible to understand the irrationality of an actor even when he or she was known to possess the brain capacity to act rationally. He suggested that an actor's ability to think rationally was influenced by the unconsciousness. He called the unconscious level of reasoning the primary process and the conscious, logical and realistic level of reasoning the secondary process and he believed the primary process could account for all sorts of deviant behaviour (Epstein, 1994; Freud, 2005).

### 7.2.1 The effectiveness of the two systems

The two processes were later examined by other researchers and will be referred to as the automatic and the rational system for the remaining part of this thesis.

The two systems have been proven to process information differently. The automatic system processes information fast and effortless and is often influenced by habits. Contrary, the rational is slow, deliberate and often influenced by rules (Kahneman, 2003). As the automatic system is fast and influenced by habits it, frequently operates outside of awareness of the rational system, which makes it difficult to control, since the rational system may be unaware that there is anything that needs controlling (Epstein, 1994).

Aside from a difference in information processing between the two systems, there is also a difference in the effectiveness of information obtained through the two. Hence, information obtained through personal experience, i.e. the automatic system, is assumed to be more effective in changing feelings and behaviour than information obtained impersonally through e.g. textbooks, i.e. by the rational system (Epstein, 1994). This will be further discussed in the following section.

### 7.2.2 Automatic decisions are not Inferior

It is frequently assumed that rapid and intuitive decisions made by the automatic system are inferior, however, this is not always the case (Kahneman, 2003). Expertise, such as driving a car, is achieved through continuous practice and experience and is thereafter used fast and effortless

(hence by the automatic system). Thus, Kahneman (2003) argued that [...] *skilled decision makers often do better when they trust their intuitions than when they engage in detailed analysis* (p. 699), as is the case with master chess players (Evans, 1984; Kahneman, 2003; H. A. Simon & Chase, 1973). At the beginning of learning how to play chess a player will make conscious and slow moves. However, with time and practice the moves are acknowledged unconsciously, patterns are recognised and a move is made almost automatically (H. A. Simon & Chase, 1973).

Accordingly, decisions made by the automatic system are not always inferior to decisions made by the rational system, however, the automatic system still has its limits. The rational system is [...] *capable of very high levels of abstraction and long-term delay of gratification* (Epstein, 1994, p. 715). Accordingly, the rational system is able to understand the concept of temporal and probabilistic discounting, which the automatic system is not. Consequently, the automatic system is not able to comprehend gratification that happens transposed of the act causing the gratification. Thus, it is only the rational system that is able to understand why an actor should not eat unhealthy and be inactive everyday and live of immediate rewards, but should sometimes pursue the future reward of being healthy and not developing diabetes.

Another limitation for the automatic system is the ability to ignore social stimuli and social norms, which was confirmed in a study by Göckeritz et al. (2010). The study showed that when people are less involved in a decision and primarily make a decision with the automatic system, they are more influenced by social stimuli and descriptive normative beliefs, i.e. other's behaviour and what is done by others. The principle of social stimuli will be further elaborated in section 7.4.4.

### 7.2.3 Interrelated systems

In the section above, the two systems have been discussed as separate systems that process information in different ways and are beneficial in different situations. However, according to Evans (1984) the two systems are interrelated. He refers to the two systems as the heuristic and the analytic system. The perception of the two systems being interrelated is supported by Damasio's (1994) research about Phineas Gage. Gage was an ordinary man, who got an injury to his brain. The injury did not damage his cognitive functions, i.e. his intelligence, however, the connection between his "rational" part of his brain and the "emotional" part of his brain was injured. As a result, he was unable to make rational decisions, which indicates that the decision making process is highly influenced by both the rational and the automatic system.

Accordingly, Evans (1984) argued that a heuristic process is a process of selection, which selects the information that will be relevant for the current decision ready to be made. Thus, the heuristic process decides what the analytic processes should reason about, therefore, both systems are necessary in order to make rational decisions (Evans, 1984). Consequently, [...] *priming the automatic level of information processing influences people's conscious thinking without their awareness* (Epstein, 1994, p. 716).

In conclusion, the two systems cannot be separated, however, the rational system can be more or less involved in the decision making process. Next, the principles of rationality and systematic errors will be discussed, which is the result of the dual-process theory.

### 7.3 Rationality

#### 7.3.1 Limited rationality

The question of rationality has been the subject of discussion for many years and several researchers have agreed that a rational decision requires consistency in preferences regardless of time and context. Furthermore, they have also agreed upon the fact that Humans are not always able to make rational decisions. (Elster, 1983, 1984; Tversky & Kahneman, 1981). This was first questioned in 1955 by Simon, who started doubting the principle of the “economic man”. Simon (1955) rejected the assumption that Humans were able to make fully rational decisions due to their limited computational and predictive abilities and their knowledge limitations. Instead he proposed a simplification of the global models of rationality in which an actor wouldn’t choose the best option, but a *feasible* option satisfying a limited number of requirements. He called this models of limited rationality (H. Simon, 1955).

Even though the focus of this thesis is not on deviations from normative reasoning caused by computational limitations, i.e. none systematic errors, Simon’s (1955) early work is considered important for the further development of rationality and systematic errors. Also, his questioning of the “economic man” relates to the distinction between Econs and Humans by Thaler & Sunstein (2009).

### 7.3.2 Imperfect rationality

To remedy the shortcomings of Humans' rationality and accommodate changes in an actor's time preference or uncertainties in the future, Elster (1984) proposed the possibility of achieving imperfect rationality, i.e. the same result as a fully rational actor, through indirect methods and strategies. Achieving imperfect rationality involves the ability to reject a good option in the present in order to accept an even better option later (Ainslie, 1975; Elster, 1984). In a study with preschool children, the ability to delay a reward was confirmed. The children were told to wait for 15 minutes to get food they liked instead of getting food now they didn't like and most of the children did so. (Walter Mischel & Ebbesen, 1970). The ability to delay rewards will be further discussed in the section on discounting.

According to Strotz (1955) and later Elster (1984) there are two indirect strategies to achieve imperfect rationality, precommitment and consistent planning. Both strategies require an actor to ask what he or she would feel in the future instead of asking what he or she wants now (Tversky & Kahneman, 1981). This is what Ulysses did, when he decided to bind himself to the mast. Instead of simply asking what he wanted now, which was to hear the sirens sing, he considered what he would feel then, which was to sail the ship into the cliffs. (Elster, 1984)

A third strategy, similar to the strategy of consistent planning will also be considered, the act of self-rewarding (Ainslie, 1975). Below, all three strategies will be discussed.

#### 7.3.2.1 Precommitment

Firstly, an actor can bind oneself and precommit with the strategy of precommitment (Strotz, 1955; R. H. Thaler, 1981a; Tversky & Kahneman, 1981), such as Ulysses did it when he wanted to hear the Sirens sing (Elster, 1984; Tversky & Kahneman, 1981). This strategy has been implemented by e.g. cantinas, who asked their employees to make their lunch orders right after they had eaten breakfast and where not hungry (Schelling, 1978). According to Thaler (1980), precommitment is done to solve the inconsistency between what a *planner* wishes for the future and what a *doer* wishes in the present, and to prevent the doer from acting on its myopic view of the situation. Precommitment does not necessarily involve physically binding oneself. An actor can also tell a friend about his or her ambition, so the friend can comment on it if the actor backslides (Elster, 1984).

According to Elster (1984, pp. 39–46), the following requirements for precommitment were apply:

1. To bind oneself is to carry out a certain decision at time  $t_1$  in order to increase the probability that one will carry out another decision at time  $t_2$ .
2. If the act at the earlier time has the effect of inducing a change in the set of options that will be available at the later time, then this does not count as binding oneself if the new feasible set includes the old one.
3. The effect of carrying out the decision at  $t_1$  must be to set up some causal process in the external world.
4. The resistance against carrying out the decision at  $t_1$  must be smaller than the resistance that would have opposed the carrying out of the decision at  $t_2$  had the decision at  $t_1$  not intervened.
5. The act of binding oneself must be an act of commission, not of omission.

It is assumed that the requirements by Elster (1984) were inspired by the earlier considerations by Ainslie (1975) of how to control impulses of an actor. According to Ainslie, the solution to changing such behaviour would be to ensure commitment to future behaviour early in the process, thus [...] *one can set up the future situations so that (1) he will not change his choice (2) he will not be able to act on his new choice, or (3) he will not receive or will not integrate the cues needed to change his choice* (Ainslie, 1975, p. 474). This thesis will use the conditions set up by Elster (1984), as they are more specific.

### 7.3.2.2 *Consistent planning*

Secondly, an actor can plan ahead considering the possibility of irrational behaviour with the strategy of consistent planning. This involves finding the best choice amongst the available alternatives that the actor will realistically follow (Elster, 1984; Strotz, 1955). According to Elster (1984), the second strategy can be preferred when it is not possible to bind oneself, or can be preferred to preserve the freedom of choice towards the future decision maker. He furthermore argued that precommitting can be difficult in social planning as oppose to individual planning (Elster, 1984), in which case consistent planning can also be preferred.

### 7.3.2.3 Self-rewarding

Thirdly, an actor can impose rules or engage in self-rewarding to systematically control his or her behaviour when external constraints are not present, e.g. laws or social norms, or in correlation with other external constraints (Ainslie, 1975). To implement self-control through the employment of rules and self-rewarding, an individual must formulate (1) expected behaviour, (2) goals or specific standards an actor expects to achieve and (3) consequences for following or breaking the rules and achieving or not achieving the goals. (Ainslie, 1975; W Mischel, 1973). Such rules could be to finish a certain task before one is allowed to smoke a cigarette or eat something sweet and it relates to the concept of mental accounting, which will be examined in section 7.4.2.

Above, the principles of full and limited rationality have been studied as well as how to engage in imperfect rationality to bypass Humans' inability to make fully rational decisions.

Next, some of the cognitive biases causing systematic errors will be discussed. These include the effect of framing and the temporal and probabilistic discounting.

## 7.4 The effects of framing

Generally, framing involves highlighting, understating or omitting features of or information about an outcome or a choice. Doing so has proven to influence the perception and the assessment of an outcome or a choice, which consequently influences the decision making process (Huang & Hsu, 2008; Johnson & Goldstein, 2003; Kahneman & Tversky, 1979; McNeil, Pauker, Sox, & Tversky, 1982; R. H. Thaler, 1980; Tversky & Kahneman, 1981). The effect of framing was confirmed in the experiment by Tversky & Kahneman (1981) about the Asian Disease and in a study by McNeil et al. (1982) about choosing alternative therapies for lung cancer.

The fact that an actor's decision is influenced by framing implies that such a decision is not rational, as a rational choice requires the preference between two different choices to remain constant when the framing shifts, i.e. rational choices require consistency (Elster, 1984; Tversky & Kahneman, 1981). Nevertheless, choices are often influenced by framing (Heinze & Wüstenhagen, 2012; McNeil et al., 1982; Tversky & Kahneman, 1981). In the subsequent sections, several cognitive biases relevant for the research of this thesis, which are associated with the effect of framing will be briefly introduced.

#### 7.4.1 Sunk cost effect

A cognitive bias associated with framing is the effect of sunk costs. According to Thaler (1980), having to pay to use a good or a service increases the use of that particular good or service. This is referred to as the sunk cost effect and it has been supported by studies performed by Aronson & Mills (1959) on college students and later replicated by Gerard and Mathewson (1966) on undergraduate students. The studies confirmed that people find something more attractive when it is made difficult for them to acquire.

#### 7.4.2 Mental accounting

Another bias related to framing is the theory of mental accounting. According to Thaler (1985) and Thaler & Sunstein (2009), the theory of mental accounting is considered a way for people to resolve their self-control issues regarding eating, drinking, smoking and consumption in general. With mental accounting an actor does not engage in global optimization, but is instead budgeting in different accounts and categories.

Usually, money is said to be fungible, i.e. it is substitutable and does not have a label. However, this is violated in many households where “different money” is used to pay certain things, e.g. money from the “food” account cannot be used to pay for something in the “fun” account (R. H. Thaler & Sunstein, 2009; R. Thaler, 1985), just as getting an item as a present or as compensation is different than buying the same item oneself (R. Thaler, 1985). Following this principle, people are framing money as if it belongs to different accounts, even though it is all the same money.

#### 7.4.3 Adjustment and anchoring

A third bias connected to framing is the adjustment and anchoring bias. According to this bias, an actor is influenced by the values or choices initially given. Such initial values or choices anchor the decision maker; this is commonly used in negotiations (Malhotra & Bazerman, 2008). Subsequently, an actor is presumed to adjust in accordance to the initial anchoring. As a result of this bias, the answer to a question will vary depending on the initial values given every time (Malhotra & Bazerman, 2008; R. H. Thaler & Sunstein, 2009; Tversky & Kahneman, 1974).

This was the case when the rating categories of an energy labelling scheme was changed from a ‘A-G’ scale to a ‘A-plus’ scale. By doing so, the effectiveness of the labelling was decreased, because the adjustment between the rating A<sup>+++</sup> and A was perceived smaller than the adjustment between A and D, which is why people were less willing to pay more for white goods with the energy labelling

A<sup>+++</sup> than when the same energy category was called A (Heinzle & Wüstenhagen, 2012) (see the rating categories in appendix 15.3).

#### 7.4.4 Social stimuli

A final cognitive bias that influences the individual and social decision making process and is related to the effect of framing, is the effect of social stimuli. It is in line with theories about choice architecture and nudging and the impact of an actor's surroundings and the context of a decision on an actor's behaviour.

In fact, studies for the past 100 years have shown that the presence of others can invoke social stimuli, which can change the behaviour of an actor (Aiello & Douthitt, 2001; Allport, 1920; Triplett, 1898). Triplett (1898) made some experiments with racers that showed the importance of social stimuli. Through his experiments it was demonstrated that the presence of a friend helped encourage a racer, it showed that winners [...] *can because they think they can* (Triplett, 1898, p. 514). Furthermore, the presence, i.e. the sight or merely the sound, of a competitor also stimulated a racer to do better.

The influence of social stimuli was also highlighted in a study about littering (Cialdini, Reno, & Kallgren, 1990). The study showed that people were more inclined to litter when they were in an environment where others had already littered, rather than when in an environment that was clean. The influence of social stimuli was also confirmed in a study by Cialdini et al. (2006) concerned with identifying the most effective method of preventing theft of petrified wood by visitors of the Arizona's Petrified Forest National Park. The study showed that visitors were influenced to alter their behaviour by using norm-based persuasion (Cialdini et al., 2006). Norm-based persuasion includes either descriptive norms<sup>1</sup>, i.e. other's behaviour and what is done by others (Cialdini et al., 1990) or injunctive norms<sup>2</sup>, i.e. what is generally disapproval or approved upon and what is expected (Cialdini et al., 1990).

Finally, the bandwagon effect supports the influence of social stimuli. According to the bandwagon effect an actor's decision making process is influenced by the choices of others. Thus, one actor's demand for a product or service will increase, if the demand for the same product or service by others increases (Leibenstein, 1950).

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<sup>1</sup> Previously referred to as *informational social influence* (Deutsch & Gerard, 1955).

<sup>2</sup> Previously referred to as *normative social influence* (Deutsch & Gerard, 1955).

Above, several cognitive bias associated with the effect of framing have been examined. Next, the principles of temporal and probabilistic discounting will be discussed. These are considered relevant to systematic deviation from normative reasoning, since *A rational actor on the standard definition is simply one who has consistent and complete preferences at any given point of time* (Elster, 1984, p. 65). Consequently, if an actor displays inconsistency in preferences due to time or uncertainty, this is presumed to relate to systematic errors.

## 7.5 Discounting

The principle of discounting has been the subject of research for many years. It is a broad definition which includes what Frederick et al. (2002) identify as *time discounting* and *time preference*. According to them, time discounting referred to [...] *any reasons for caring less about future consequences [...] such as uncertainty or changing tastes* (p. 352), which is what Green & Myerson (2004) later defined as probabilistic discounting.

Furthermore, as said by Frederik et al. (2002) time preference referred [...] *more specifically, to preferences for the immediate utility over delayed utility* (p. 352), which is also called temporal discounting (Green, Myerson, & Ostaszewski, 1999; Green & Myerson, 2004) or short term - long term asymmetry (Huang & Hsu, 2008).

Even though the two principles are different, they follow the same mathematical discounting function, i.e. the hyperbolic discount function rather than the exponential discount function (Ainslie, 1975; Green et al., 1999; Green & Myerson, 2004; Huang & Hsu, 2008). Consequently, it is sometimes referred to as hyperbolic discounting.

This thesis will refer to Green & Myerson's (2004) terminology, i.e. temporal and probabilistic discounting to avoid any confusions, as hyperbolic discounting does not distinguish between the two and the terminology by Frederick et al. (2002) can be difficult to distinguish.

### 7.5.1 Temporal discounting

#### 7.5.1.1 *Promoting and limiting saving*

The brief characterisation of temporal discounting is when an actor prefers a smaller-earlier rewards to a larger-later alternative reward as a function of time (Ainslie, 1975; Frederick et al., 2002; Kahneman & Tversky, 1979; R. H. Thaler, 1981b).

According to Frederick et al. (2002), the study of temporal discounting began with Rae's publication of *The Sociological Theory of Capital* in 1834 which disputed that Adam Smith's discussion of national wealth was missing the perspective of a society's level of saving and investment. He argued for the existence of factors that promoted and limited the appeal of saving and investing, which resulted in temporal discounting. This was supported by Fischer (1930), who argued that an actor's rate of temporal discounting depended on two opposites, hence, an actor's preference for immediate utility as well as diminishing marginal utility. The former was anticipated to limit saving and investing. On contrary, the latter was expected to prevent an actor from consuming everything all at once (Fisher, 1930) and promotes saving and investing.

#### 7.5.1.2 *The abstinence and the anticipatory-utility perspective*

The existence of factors that promote and limit investing was further developed in the anticipatory-utility and the abstinence perspective. These perspectives are two contrasts that both, however, believe that the degree of temporal discounting depends on the immediate feelings of an actor (Frederick et al., 2002).

N. W. Senior (1836) believed that the existence of temporal discounting could be explained by the fact that denying oneself the pleasure of present utility was the most painful and difficult thing to do. Thus, according to the abstinence perspective, the degree of temporal discounting depends on the discomfort of an actor caused by self-denial in the present moment of time. From this perspective, the temporal discounting of an actor will be influenced by individual and situational differences that increase or decrease the discomfort of self-denial (Frederick et al., 2002), e.g. when an actor is physically around unhealthy food at the supermarket (situational difference) or when an actor goes grocery shopping hungry (individual difference). In both instances the discomfort of self-denial is assumed to be high and therefore the temporal discounting will be high too, according to the abstinence perspective.

On the contrary, the anticipatory-utility perspective claims that the degree of temporal discounting depends on the immediate pleasure of an actor caused by the anticipation of something in the future. From this perspective, the temporal discounting of an actor will be influenced by the actor's ability to imagine the future and on situational differences that promote or limit such imagination. (Frederick et al., 2002).

In accordance to the anticipatory-utility perspective, W. Jevons (1888) and H. Jevons (1905) argued that an actor's primary concern is about present utility. Consequently, an actor would only delay the satisfaction of present utility, if there existed a prospect of anticipated utility that would exceed the satisfaction of the present utility and thereby increase the immediate please of an actor caused by an anticipatory utility and a high ability to imagine the future.

#### *7.5.1.3 An actor's inability to envision the future*

Similar to the anticipatory-utility perspective, Böhm-Bawerk (1889) believed that the occurrence of temporal discounting was a result of an actor's inability to envision his or her future wants and needs or an actor's are unwillingness to go through the trouble of doing so, particularly the wants and needs that are part of the distant future (see also (Parfit, 1971)).

Additionally, Ainslie (1975) argued that many years of studies had shown that there were three reasons why Humans were unwilling or unable to envision their future wants and needs and as a result, chose the inferior alternative even when they were aware of the other alternatives. It was an act he called impulsiveness, which was later referred to as loss of self-control by Frederick et al. (2002). Besides advocating the three reasons, Ainslie also gave suggestions for how to change the behaviour of impulsiveness in all three situations. His recommended solutions were later agreed upon by Frederick et al. (2002).

The first reason for impulsiveness was that actors were uninformed about the consequences of their choices, which relates to Simon's (1955) argument for limited rationality caused by limited knowledge. In this situation it was suggested to engage in educating actors about their impulsiveness.

The second reason for impulsiveness was that actors were aware of the consequences of their choices, however, they were driven by some lower principles (the devil, the urge for repetition etc.) which made them disregard a difference in reward. The drive by lower principles is presumed to be

similar to the influence of cognitive biases. To avoid such behaviour, the emotional responsiveness to the lower principles should be diminished.

The third reason for impulsiveness was that actors were aware of the consequences of their choices, but their evaluation of the consequences was misleading. This made them weight current consequences higher than future consequences, similar to the short term-long term asymmetry, in which case immediate gains were weighted higher than future gains (Huang & Hsu, 2008). The solution to changing such behaviour was presumed to be to ensure commitment to future behaviour early in the process, which relates to the previously discussed strategy of precommitment.

All three reasons for impulsiveness and temporal discounting as well as the notion of factors promoting and limiting saving and investing will be considered when analysing the empirical data of this thesis. Furthermore, the principle of dynamic utility maximisation will be considered, which will be reviewed below.

#### *7.5.1.4 Dynamic utility maximisation*

In section 7.5.1.1. temporal discounting was said to result in an actor preferring a smaller-earlier rewards to a larger-later alternative reward as a function of time (Ainslie, 1975; Frederick et al., 2002; Kahneman & Tversky, 1979; R. H. Thaler, 1981b). However, when the delay for both rewards increases, it has been discovered that Humans demonstrate a declining rate of temporal discounting. Consequently, when the delay for both rewards increases, an actor will be inclined to prefer the later-larger reward instead of the earlier-smaller reward (Frederick et al., 2002; Green, Fisher, Perlow, & Sherman, 1981; R. H. Thaler & Sunstein, 2009; R. H. Thaler, 1981b). This relates to Strotz' (1955) dynamic utility maximization and his assumption that an actor's discounting of a future satisfaction depends on (1) the time distance between the present and the date of the future satisfaction and (2) the calendar date of the future satisfaction.

Accordingly, since discount rates are not constant but dynamic, when given the choice today between (B.1) \$100 now or (B.2) \$110 tomorrow, most actors would choose B.1. However, when given the exact same choice only shifted in time, (A.1) \$100 in 30 days or (A.2) \$110 in 31 days, A.2. would be preferred by most actors (Frederick et al., 2002, p. 361). This indicates a *preference*

*reversal* due to a change in time (Frederick et al., 2002; Green et al., 1981; R. H. Thaler & Sunstein, 2009; R. H. Thaler, 1981b) also called a present-biased preference (O'Donoghue & Rabin, 1999)(for similar studies with Humans and animals (Green et al., 1981; Green & Myerson, 2004, pp. 770–771; R. H. Thaler, 1981b)).

After discussing the concept of temporal discounting and related principles, the concept of probabilistic discounting will be examined next.

### 7.5.2 Probabilistic discounting

Probabilistic discounting involves the choice between a smaller-less risky, i.e. more certain reward and a larger-riskier, i.e. less certain reward. Similar to the principle of temporal discounting, when both rewards are delayed, most actors will choose the larger-riskier reward when the probability of getting either reward is low. (Green & Myerson, 2004). An example thereof is when an actor is asked in advance to choose between eating healthy and living a long life (larger-more uncertain reward) or eating unhealthy which will lead to an immediate pleasure (smaller-less uncertain reward). However, equal to the reversals of preferences related to temporal discounting, an actor's preferences have been proven to reverse to prefer the smaller-certain reward, when the probability of getting either of the rewards is increased consistently (Green & Myerson, 2004). Thus, if an actor is asked to choose between the healthy and the unhealthy choice whilst holding a chocolate bar and an apple in his or her hand, which increases the probability of both rewards, the actor is more likely to choose the smaller- certain reward of the chocolate bar. This is similar to the certainty effect discussed by Kahneman & Tversky (1979), which includes an overweighting of outcomes that are considered certain and less risky, to outcomes that are simply considered probable and more risky. It also relates to what Thaler (1980) calls the endowment effect. According to the endowment effect, actors value what they have higher than what they do no have. Thus, they are less willing to loose something; and the loss of a certain amount of assets (X) is considered greater then the gain of the same amount of assets (X) (Kahneman & Tversky, 1979; R. H. Thaler, 1980, 1981b). This was illustrated in an experiment undertaken with students at Cornell University. Half of the students were given coffee mugs and asked to consider whether or not they would buy or sell the mugs from or to each other and at what price they would do so. The experiment uncovered that the median selling prices for the mugs were more than twice as high as the median buying prices (Kahneman,

Daniel; L.Knetsch, Jack; H.Thaler, 1990). Consequently, Humans have been proven to be risk loving in relation to losses and risk avert in relation to gains.

#### *7.5.2.1 Availability and retrievability*

Finally, the principle of probabilistic discounting is presumed to relate to the availability bias (R. H. Thaler & Sunstein, 2009; Tversky & Kahneman, 1974). Availability refers to the assessment of probability and frequency, which is consequently influenced by how easily something is remembered or how easily something comes to mind. Hence, it is influenced by the retrievability of an event or a fact. The retrievability of something can be due to familiarity, salience or recent occurrence. (Tversky & Kahneman, 1974). As a result, if the frequency of an event is high, if an actor has personally experienced something recently, or if a person in the actor's network has experienced something recently, an actor is more likely to consider the risks of the event (R. H. Thaler & Sunstein, 2009; Tversky & Kahneman, 1974).

This was supported by Huang & Hsu (2008), who argued that the conceivability (ability to imagine the occurrence) of a future outcome increases, if an actor has experienced a similar situation before. Thus, an increase in conceivability subsequently decreases the uncertainty of a future outcome, which essentially decreased the discounting of a future outcome making it more attractive despite the time delay (Huang & Hsu, 2008).

Above the principles of temporal and probabilistic discounting have been discussed. Next, as the rounding off point of the theoretical framework, a communication tool, the AIDA model, which will be used in the second part of this thesis, will be presented.

## *7.6 Communication tool: the AIDA model*

The AIDA model is presumed to be in line with the focus of this thesis on systematic errors, as it is assessed to influence the attention of an actor, i.e. the automatic system.

According to Strong (1925), the first version of the AIDA model, the AID model was developed by E. ST. Elmo Lewis in 1898. Later, in 1990, Strong added the last A, and created the AIDA as it is known today.

The four letters of the model represent Strong's slogan: Attract attention, maintain interest, create desire and get action. The model was intended to help plan an advertisement or a sales talk in which each stage should be aroused. (Strong Jr., 1925). The model will be used in this thesis to plan the communication around the nudge.

After examining the theoretical framework, which will be used to support the analysis of this thesis, the methodology of the thesis will be discussed. Hence, it will be reviewed how this thesis was created and structured as well as how the empirical data was collected and analysed.

## 8 Methodology

### 8.1 Research philosophy

A research philosophy influences the way an actor considers a research field, i.e. through what "glasses" he or she sees it and how true knowledge is developed and identified (Nygaard, 2012). Consequently, the research philosophy influences the methods, the sources and the results of a research.

The research philosophy of this thesis was phenomenology. It is a philosophy which has been continuously developed by several researchers since the 17<sup>th</sup> century, e.g. Kant, Hegel, Husserl, Heidegger, Merleau-Ponty, and it later became an essential part of Gadamer's development of the Hermeneutic (Brier, 2006; Zahavi, 2010).

Phenomenology is the study of phenomena, which means understanding how the world appears in the consciousness of an actor. It was developed as a reaction to positivism, which believed in objectivism and the ability to study the outside world. Consequently, within the phenomenology it is considered impossible to study an object as it is; instead it can be studied how the object appears to actors as a phenomenon and as part of an actor's normal day consciousness. Thereby, research within this philosophy attempts to understand the lifeworld of actors and to understand phenomena such as healthy living from their perspective. It does so by using actors' everyday experiences as a point of departure and studying how actors perceive and reflect upon the phenomena. (Brier, 2006; Kirkeby, 1994; Kvæle & Brinkmann, 2009; Zahavi, 2010).

Phenomenology was relevant for this thesis, as it attempted to understand young Copenhagen dwellers' reflections upon the phenomenon *healthy living* and what influences their (un)healthy choices. Only by getting a deeper understanding of the phenomenon, how it affects young Copenhagen dwellers' lives and how their decisions about healthy living are influenced, would it be possible to know if nudging could be used by CCD to prevent the rise in global urban diabetes.

## 8.2 Research design

The research design of this thesis was a case study. Accordingly, the purpose of the thesis satisfied the three conditions set up by Yin (2014, pp. 9–14): *The form of research question, the extend of control over behavioural events and the focus on contemporary events*.

Firstly, the *form of research question* for this thesis was explanatory, thus it asked "how" and "why" nudging could be used by CCD. To answer such a research question, a case study can be beneficial because it allows the researcher to explain some present circumstances and to have a real-world and holistic perspective when seeking to understand a social phenomenon.

Secondly, there was no *control of behavioural events* in this thesis, i.e. it did not manipulate the behaviour through e.g. testing, as is done in an experimental research design.

Finally, the thesis studied *contemporary events*, and how people make decisions about healthy living today. Next, the research approach will be examined.

## 8.3 Research approach

This thesis followed the abductive research approach, which is an approach often used when working with case studies (Dubois & Gadde, 2002). It is an alternative to the inductive and deductive research approach and is also referred to as *systematic combining* (Dubois & Gadde, 2002; Kovács & Spens, 2005).

The process of the abductive approach involves a simultaneous process of data collection and theory development, i.e. a matching of theory and reality, from which the researcher obtains an in-depth understanding of both (Dubois & Gadde, 2002; Kovács & Spens, 2005). Consequently, during the iterative strategy (Bryman, 2016, p. 23) of going back and forth, which is similar to the method of grounded theory, the data collection as well as the theory development was modified (Dubois & Gadde, 2002).

The purpose of the abductive approach is not to test exiting theory or discover new theory, it is to gain an understanding of an existing phenomenon from a new perspective (Kovács & Spens, 2005)

and understanding the underlying reasons for the phenomenon by combining different theories with empirical data. Following the abductive approach, the first step of this thesis was to read about diabetes and some of the obstacles associated with healthy living for Copenhagen dweller. These obstacles were discovered by Novo Nordisk and Copenhagen University in the interviews conducted for their vulnerability assessment (U. Christensen, Kristensen, & Malling, 2015). Even though the target group for the vulnerability assessment was not the same as for this thesis, the discoveries from the interviews suggested (1) theoretical implications, e.g. limited rationality and framing and (2) some issues that could be relevant for the target group of this thesis. Thus, prior empirical discoveries and subsequent studying of relevant theories was the basis for the interview guide (see appendix 15.4).

In line with the abductive approach, the interview guide, the theoretical framework and the analysis of the empirical data was subject to ongoing changes, as I got a deeper understanding of the empirical data, the theoretical framework, the interplay between the theories and the connection between empirical data and theories.

#### 8.4 Sampling

In order to ensure that those sampled were relevant for the research question of this thesis and within the target group, purposive sampling was used (Bryman, 2016). Consequently, interviewees were chosen based on their age (20-30), living situation (by themselves) and their educational background (high-level education). Also, the convenience sampling was used (Bryman, 2016), as all interviewees were within my network. This was considered necessary, because it was recognised that the topic of the interview could be sensitive and embarrassing to talk about. Therefore, it was considered important that the interviewees felt comfortable and were in a presumably safe environment where they would not be judged. Subsequently, prior acquaintance to and trust in the interviewer (me) was assumed to be crucial for the trustworthiness of the interviewee's answers. Accordingly, the interviews were arranged to simulate a regular conversation with a friend as much as possible, rather than an interview for an academic study to allow non-violent communication (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009).

After using both purposive and convenience sampling, the results of this thesis cannot be generalised (Bryman, 2016), however, in line with the research philosophy, the research design and the research approach, this was not never the intention.

As mentioned above, those sampled were chosen based on their age, living situation, educational background and relationship to me. However, during the sampling the risk of a distorted choice of sources resulting in a biased study (Ankersborg, 2007) due to the use of purposive and convenience sampling was recognised. Therefore, within the limits of the target group and the convenience sampling, it was considered important to gather information from many different perspectives. Consequently, despite the same level of education, the actual educational background of the interviewees was different. One interviewee studied law, one studied sports marketing, one studied innovation and entrepreneurship, one studied marketing and communication and one studied business administration, but had previously studied nutrition and health.

The dispersion of educational backgrounds was an important consideration, because an education can influence the perspective from which an actor perceives the world. Thus, it can be considered a sub-culture (Pogner et al., 2005).

#### 8.4.1 Sample size

The appropriate number of interviewees necessary for the research of this thesis was impossible to determine prior to the data collection. Instead, it was determined on an ongoing basis by considering the answers of the interviewees. As soon as the interviewees' answers no longer uncovered new perspectives of the field of research, the sample size was assumed complete.

### 8.5 Data collection

#### 8.5.1 Sources

When selecting sources for this thesis the concepts of first hand and second hand source as well as primary and secondary source were considered to ensure a high level of trustworthiness of the sources and consequently of the thesis.

##### 8.5.1.1 *First hand and second hand sources*

A first hand source is when someone tells about something they have experienced themselves (Ankersborg, 2007). A second hand source is a source that retells someone else's experience or repeats what someone else has said. Such a source can be full of misunderstandings,

misinterpretations, leaky memory etc. and it is therefore not as trustworthy as a first hand source. (Ankersborg, 2007)

This thesis was primarily based on first hand sources to ensure a high level of trustworthiness. First of all, the Novo Nordisk website, particularly [www.citieschangingdiabetes.com](http://www.citieschangingdiabetes.com) was considered a first hand source to the CCD programme, as all the information found on the website referred to knowledge they have collected or experienced themselves.

Second of all, the academic articles and studies used to support the theoretical framework of this thesis were first hand sources. Thus, a trail through time and articles was followed for the purpose of finding the original source of a given study or statement. One exception may include the book by Thaler & Sunstein (2009), which discusses many different observations and statements that appear to be based on previous knowledge from other research (their own or the research of others), however, it has not specifically been noted. Thus, it can be debated whether this source exemplifies a first hand or a second hand source, which is why it was primarily used as a supportive source.

Finally, the empirical data from the interviews represented both first hand and second hand sources. It represented first hand sources when the interviewees told about their own opinions about healthy living, about being physically active, about their buying and consumption behaviours and about diabetes. However, when the interviewees answered indirect questions about the typical reasons for not making healthy choices, they represented second hand sources. Due to the lower trustworthiness of second hand sources, this knowledge from the interviews was mainly used to support the analysis of the first hand sources.

As mentioned above, first hand sources were used to ensure the trustworthiness of the sources. However, it is imperative to recognise that all sources have been created with a purpose, which may distort the trustworthiness of the source, even though it is a first hand source.

Accordingly, it is anticipated that most authors of academic research have the secondary purpose of being published. This may influence the selection and rejection process during the research and subsequently the findings. Therefore, the theoretical framework of this thesis was based on several different studies and research results. Of course, quantity does not ensure quality, but it has been assumed that if several studies conducted independently of each other by different researchers uncovede the same results or tendencies that these can be considered trustworthy.

#### 8.5.1.2 Primary and secondary source

There are two different definitions of primary and secondary sources. (1) A primary source is the source closest to the subject that is available to the researcher and a secondary source is a source that is relevant to the research question, but is not as close to the subject of the research question as the primary source (Ankersborg, 2007). (2) A primary source is a source that has been created by the researcher himself or herself, e.g. a survey or an interview and a secondary source consists of data that has not been produced by the researcher, e.g. data from archives (Andersen, 1997). This thesis used the first definition of primary and secondary sources, as the relevance of a source and the proximity of a source to the subject of the research question was considered a better indicator of trustworthiness than the original the creator of a source.

Nevertheless, this thesis mainly used primary sources, which will be reviewed below. However, since the distinction between primary and secondary sources depends on the research question, the defining of primary and secondary sources will be made for both sub questions of this thesis (Ankersborg, 2007).

In relation to the first sub question of this thesis *What cognitive biases influence the individual and social decision making process and consequently the behaviour of young Copenhagen dwellers?* the interviews conducted and the academic articles used are categorised as primary sources, since the data from the interviews and from the academic articles were considered the closest sources to the research question that were available. Hence, if I had been able to imitate the research of the academic articles on young Copenhagen dwellers, this would have been considered a primary source and the current academic articles would have been categorised secondary sources. However, this was not possible, which is why the current academic articles were categorised as primary sources.

Additionally, the previously mentioned vulnerability assessment of Copenhagen dwellers made by Novo Nordisk and Copenhagen University was considered a secondary source to the first sub question, as it studied a different target group's relationship to healthy living and diabetes. Consequently, it was used as a point of departure for the research of this thesis.

In relation to the second sub question *How can the application of nudging change the behaviour of young Copenhagen dwellers?* the primary sources used were the academic articles on the subject.

Furthermore, some of the answers from the interviews also related to the question of how nudging may work on different people and they were categorised as primary sources for the second sub question.

### 8.5.2 Interviews

In line with the research philosophy of this thesis, the interviews conducted were semi-structured conceptual interviews (Kvale, 2007). The purpose of such an interview is to gain an understanding of the interviewee's lifeworld and his or her interpretation of certain phenomena and for this thesis, the purpose was to understand the young Copenhagen dwellers' reflections upon the phenomenon *healthy living* and what influenced their (un)healthy choices. By using semi structured interviews, the order and formulation of the questions was not strictly set up. This allowed me to follow the interviewees' string of thoughts to discover what they associate with healthy living. (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009; Kvale, 2007).

#### 8.5.2.1 *The interview guide*

Before the interviews, an interview guide was made which focused on particular subjects or themes I wanted to cover during the interviews and suggestions for questions (see appendix XX). The suggested questions contributed thematically to knowledge production by using the theoretical framework as a point of departure. Furthermore, the interview guide contributed dynamically by considering how the questions should be asked. Thus, it was recommended to (1) start out with a broad initiating question, allowing the interviewees to decide what they associated with healthy living, (2) include silence to compel the interviewees to reflect upon the questions (Pfeffer, 1993), (3) pick up on the string of thoughts by the interviewee to make the interview simulate a regular conversation, which could be done by using follow-up questions, explanatory questions, distinguishing questions and specifying questions, and (4) to ask direct as well as indirect questions due to the previously discussed sensitivity of the subject. (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009; Kvale, 2007)

During the interviews I asked the interviewees to clarify their interpretations of healthy living and what influenced them to make different choices. I did so in line with the principle of pushing forward, according to which, a researcher should keep the interview analysis in mind during the preparation stage of the interview, as this will facilitate the analysis at a later stage. Thus, making the interviewees clarify their interpretations facilitated the later meaning coding of the interviews (Kvale, 2007) (see section 8.6. for the data analysis).

Finally, to avoid influencing the interviewees before the interview, funnel-shaped interviews were conducted. Hence, the interviewees only received a very short briefing prior to the interviews. It was not until the end, the debriefing, that the purpose of the interview and this thesis was explained. For informant 3 this lead to new thoughts. (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009; Kvale, 2007)

After reviewing the purpose of the semi-structured interviews as well as the underlying considerations prior to the interviews, considerations about the interview situation will be discussed next.

#### *8.5.2.2 The interview situation*

As argued previously in the section 8.4., those sampled where chosen because they fit the target group and were already acquainted with the interviewer (me). To further ensure that the interviewees could speak freely and honestly, the interviews were conducted in settings familiar to the informants, i.e. at home, school or place of work.

In line with Ankersborg's (2007) reflections about the situation of origin (ophavssituation), all interviews were conducted in quiet settings where we were the only people in the room to decrease potential explicit or implicit pressure from the surroundings to act, speak or answer in a particular way (Ankersborg, 2007). To further limit the pressure from the surroundings, I did not tell the interviewees about the purpose of the interview prior to the interview, which made it difficult for the interviewees to adjust their answers consciously or unconsciously.

Finally, I tried to avoid as much as possible to influence the interviewee's answers by letting the interview situation be as free as possible from theoretical considerations and my own perspectives. I tried to get the interviewees to lead the conversation so they would not sense when something was of more importance, this was initiated by making the first question very open, which allowed them to lead the conversation in several different directions.

#### *8.5.2.3 Transcription and summaries*

Since the purpose of the semi-structured interviews for this thesis was to understand the interviewee's reflections upon the phenomenon *healthy living* and what influenced their (un)healthy choices, the transcription of some of the interviews were made as summaries. This was possible, because of the phenomenological perspective of this thesis. As a consequence, the exact wording of the interviews was not important, it was the underlying opinions and attitudes that were of interest for this thesis. Unfortunately, this was not recognised until half-way through the

transcriptions. That is why the transcription of the interviews with informant 1 and 2 and half-way through 3 are word-by-word transcriptions and the transcription of the other half of the interview with informant 3 as well as the interview with informant 4 and 5 are summaries.

When writing the summaries only very few things were omitted, because I did not want to influence the interviews. Thus mainly empty words such as øhm, altså etc. were left out. Additionally, some of the examples or elaborations of statements were omitted, when these did not add anything new to the statements. Finally, when the interviewees used a lot of words to say one thing, their flow of talk was shortened. Finally, it was omitted when I commented on what they said, e.g. agreed with them. (see appendix 15.5.1, 15.6.1, 15.7.1, 15.8.1 and 15.9.1 for transcriptions and summaries)

## 8.6 Data analysis

The analysis of the empirical data collected was analysed by using Kvale's (2007) meaning coding. However, since his data analysis was not very elaborate, this thesis used coding tools from Corbin & Strauss' (2008) grounded theory.

Due to limitations in space, the analysis of the empirical data in the analysis part I will display a reduced version of the analysis. For a deeper understanding of the analysis of the empirical data, see appendix 15.5.2-4, 15.6.2-4, 15.7.2-4, 15.8.2-4 and 15.9.2-4 for the open and axial coding categories and the memos.

### 8.6.1 Open coding

The first step of the analysis was open coding, which is a brainstorm approach where all possible concepts are recognised in the data. At this point, the interviews were thoroughly read through, taken apart and broken into smaller parts and concepts. During this process, I wrote memos to help me collect my thoughts, interpret and analyse the data.

In the first steps of the coding, I used in-vivo code as much as possible, which means the wording used by the interviewees throughout the interviews was referred to as codes. I did so to avoid influencing the analysis early in the process.

In line with grounded theory, concepts were coded into higher-level concepts and lower-level concepts. The higher-level concepts referred to *categories* that could crosscut interviews and the lower-level concepts referred to the properties and dimensions of such categories.

### 8.6.2 Axial coding

Following the first stage of the analysis and the uncovering of in-vivo codes, I engaged in axial coding. Yet, it is should be noted that in practice, the two stages are difficult to separate and they will to some extend be carried out at the same time.

During the axial coding, I reflected upon the uncovered higher-level and lower-level concepts and their relationships to each other. Consequently, I conceptualised, interpreted, and reduced the initial coding and applied the theoretical framework of this thesis to the coding.

### 8.6.3 Theoretical sampling

The third step of the coding process was theoretical sampling, which involved examining the final concepts of the data, how they related to each other, and formulating potential questions for further research to help the development of a storyline at the end. Accordingly, the analysis of the first interview steered the analysis of the second interview etc.

As touched upon in section 8.3 and in line with Corbin & Strauss's (2008) principle of conceptual saturation, the process of data collection and data analysis continued until there were no more unanswered questions.

### 8.6.4 The process of crosscutting

During the axial coding of some of the interviews, depending on the questions posed for further research, categories crosscut the interviews and a comparative analysis was performed. This allowed me to compare the conceptualisations and interpretations across interviews to get a deeper understanding of young Copenhagen dwellers' perception of healthy living and their subsequent behaviour.

## 8.7 Research quality

The final part of the methodical considerations for this thesis was the quality of the research. To examine this, the trustworthiness will be discussed from the perspective of Guba & Lincoln's (1985, 1994) three of four criterions: Credibility, dependability and conformability. The fourth criterion transferability and the preparing of a thick description was considered irrelevant for this thesis, as it did not follow the hermeneutic research philosophy and did not opinion interpret the empirical data. Instead, it focused on what the informants actually said and doesn't read too much into the underlying interpretation etc.

Firstly, the credibility of the research was ensured by engaging in triangulation. According to Denzin (1970), triangulation involves [...] *multiple observers, theoretical perspectives, sources of data, and methodologies* (p. 310). Thus, by interviewing five different informants about the same subject, this thesis was anticipated to engage in source of data triangulation. Furthermore, this thesis engaged in theoretical triangulation by discussing the theoretical framework from several researcher's point of view as well as bringing in several studies to support the same arguments.

Secondly, the dependability of the research was ensured by keeping an audit trail of the research. This was done by (1) reflecting upon the methodology, (2) making interview transcripts and summaries and (3) writing up memos during the process of the open and axial coding.

Finally, the conformability of the research was ensured by being aware of my own subjectivity. Thus, being aware of my own subjectivity prevented me from drawing conclusions based on my own understanding of the phenomenon.

Following the discussion of the methodical considerations for this thesis, the analysis of this thesis will be presented next.

## 9 Analysis part I

The first part of the analysis will answer the first sub question of this thesis: *What cognitive biases influence the individual and social decision making process and consequently the behaviour of young Copenhagen dwellers?* Additionally, factors influencing the decision making process which are unrelated to the theoretical framework of this thesis will be discussed.

As mentioned above, tools from grounded theory were used to analyse the empirical data conducted for this thesis. Consequently, in line with the principle of theoretical sampling, the analysis of informant 2, 3, 4 and 5 was based on the analysis of the previous interview(s). Due to limitations in space, a reduced version of the analysis will be presented below, for a deeper understanding of the analysis, see appendix 15.5.2-4, 15.6.2-4, 15.7.2-4, 15.8.2-4 and 15.9.2-4 for the open and axial coding as well as the memos.

To increase the coherence between the theoretical framework and the analysis' of empirical data, the structure of the analysis' will resemble the structure of the theoretical framework.

## 9.1 Informant 1

Following the conceptualising, interpreting and reducing of categories, properties and dimensions, I reviewed the theoretical framework of this thesis and matched the theories with the concepts discovered in the empirical data. Subsequently, the above mentioned first sub question was used as a point of departure for the analysis of informant 1's interview, which will be discussed next.

### 9.1.1 Influence by context and a request for nudging and freedom of choice

To begin with it was evaluated that informant 1's decisions about healthy living was influenced by the behavioural approach, i.e. choice architecture and the context of his decisions. This is based on his expressed tendency to be tempted at the point-of-purchase by offers and unhealthy food within his reach.

Additionally, informant 1 is presumed to be an advocate of the implementation of the behavioural approach and nudging, as he expressed a request for less information about what is and what is not healthy, i.e. less traditional campaigns. Instead, he wanted more information about the ingredients of the food allowing consumers to make independent and well-informed decisions about what they considered healthy. Preserving the consumer's freedom of choice whilst guiding them towards the choices that will benefit them the most, e.g. in regards to their health, is the purpose of nudging, choice architecture and libertarian paternalism, which is why informant 1 is considered an advocate of this perspective.

### 9.1.2 Using the automatic and the rational system when making decisions

In the theoretical framework the rational system was identified to make deliberate decisions based on rules. Furthermore, rational decisions were argued to require consistency. On the contrary, the automatic system was acknowledged to be influenced by feelings, intuition and habits. Accordingly, being influenced by context as mentioned above is considered similar to being influenced by feelings and intuition. Consequently, it is argued that some of informant 1's decisions about healthy living were made by his automatic system. This will be further elaborated on below.

First of all, according to informant 1 his decision to eat unhealthy was influenced by whether or not he wanted something unhealthy in that moment. This supports the assumption that his decisions about healthy living were governed by intuition and feelings, i.e. the automatic system.

Second of all, at times, informant 1 perceived working out as an irksome duty, which was difficult to find time for. However, when he was in the habit of working out on a regular basis, he found it

easier to find the time. Instead of being an irksome duty, it was just a duty he had to get done, like brushing his teeth. Being influenced by habits is furthermore an indication of the automatic system. Finally, informant 1's present-day eating habits were influenced by his prior eating habits and by the number of days he had previously eaten (un)healthy. However, the number of days of unhealthy eating necessary to influence his present-day eating habits was unspecified. This inaccuracy and potential inconsistency indicates non rational behaviour and thereby a decision made by the automatic system.

In conclusion, informant 1's decisions about healthy living were assessed to be highly influenced by the automatic system of information processing. However, he also mentioned that one could not live a healthy life without wanting to do so and that he was very conscious about eating healthy, leading a healthy life and keeping a balance to avoid getting fat. Thus, making deliberate and analytically based decisions implies a use of the rational system. Consequently, informant 1 is assumed to make decision about healthy living with both the automatic and the rational system.

Accordingly, his decisions are presumed to be influenced by logic and reasoning, i.e. the educational approach, but also by cognitive biases and the behavioural approach.

#### 9.1.3 Consistent planning, i.e. preserving future freedom and unsuccessful self-rewarding

In relation to informant 1's discussed influence by the automatic system, he was recognised to engage in the indirect strategy of consistent planning to archive imperfect rationality. He did so by structuring his day so that there was time set aside for working out, or by not buying unhealthy food or buying snacks that fill up, e.g. almonds and bananas. Engaging in consistent planning rather than precommitment is in line with his expressed high value of freedom and the flexibility to change his decision later.

Besides engaging in consistent planning to achieve imperfect rationality, attempts to engage in self-rewarding were also recognised. Accordingly, he used unhealthy eating as a treat for hard work. However, his acts did not live up to the requirements of self-rewarding, since he was not consistent with his consequences. Thus, he would sometimes allow himself unhealthy food, even though he

had not fulfilled the expected behaviour and goals. Consequently, it is identified as unsuccessful self-rewarding.

Above, a gap between informant 1's descriptive and normative behaviour has been identified, caused by a use of the automatic system. Furthermore, his attempts to reduce the gap were recognised. Next, some of the specific cognitive biases governing informant 1's automatic system will be examined.

#### 9.1.4 The effect of framing through adjustment, sunk costs, mental accounting and social norms

One of the cognitive biases that was discovered to influence informant 1 was the effect of framing and several of the biases associated with it.

First of all, he is assumed to be influenced by the adjustment and anchoring bias. Consequently, his decision to stop or continue eating, e.g. almonds, was influenced by the amount he had already consumed. Thus, after eating 170 out of 180 grams of almonds, he was likely to consider it trivial to keep the remaining 10 grams when having eaten so many already.

Second of all, informant 1's previously discussed attempt to engage in self-rewarding implies an application of mental accounting. Hence, when unhealthy food was framed as a treat, it belonged to a different account, which was considered acceptable and less "harmful".

Third of all, the distinction made by informant 1 between the small everyday things, such as biking, and working out, implies that he may be influenced by the sunk costs involved with the effort of living a healthy life. Consequently, he does not recognise that everyday things such as taking the stairs also burns calories. He also does not recognise that taking the stairs could potentially burn as many calories as working out, depending on how many stairs he takes. Thus, it appears that he differentiates between calories, which could be explained by applying the sunk costs effect. It is likely to presume that informant 1 does not experience as much sunk costs involved with taking the stairs as when he goes to the gym and works out, probably because it is not as physically challenging. Accordingly, in relation to healthy living, the perceived lower sunk costs involved with taking the stairs, is the reason why he does not consider doing it as often as he considers going to the gym to work out.

Finally, sometimes informant 1 ate unhealthy because he wanted to “hygge”, i.e. have a good time. This insinuates an association of unhealthy food with having a good time, which implies the effect of framing possibly influenced by social norms and social stimuli. The impact of social stimuli is supported by informant 1’s alleged increase in attendance at the gym, if he were to go with a friend.

#### 9.1.5 Preference for immediate and certain reward

Aside from being influenced by the cognitive biases related to framing, informant 1 was discovered to also be influenced by temporal and probabilistic discounting.

The impact of temporal discounting on his decision making process is supported by his previously mentioned tendency to be tempted by unhealthy food at the point-of-purchase. Giving in to such temptation is the result of a preference for immediate reward, as oppose to the future reward of having a healthy body or not being fat, which is also of concern by informant 1. However, because of the situational difference of being physically around unhealthy food at the supermarket, the discomfort of his self-denial is increased, which according to the abstinence perspective increases his temporal discounting. In relation to the anticipatory-utility perspective it is argued that his ability to imagine the future and obtain immediate pleasure from the anticipation of his future healthy and non-obese life, is limited by the situational differences of being at the supermarket surrounded by immediate rewards, i.e. unhealthy food.

The above mentioned lack of self-control at the point-of-purchase furthermore indicates an impact of probabilistic discounting. Consequently, when he is surrounded by unhealthy food, i.e. *certain* immediate reward, and healthy food, i.e. *a less certain* future reward, he is often tempted to choose the certain immediate reward, which uncovers an influence by the certainty effect. Additionally, his previously discussed inability to leave 10 grams of almonds indicates an influence by the availability bias. Furthermore, it indicates a lack of diminishing marginal utility, i.e. the antipole of temporal discounting according to Fisher (1930). A lack of such, is presumed to further increase informant 1’s temporal discounting, since the antipole is not limiting his preference for immediate reward. As a result of his lack of diminishing marginal utility, his increased discomfort of self-denial and his inability to imagine his future, informant 1’s temporal discounting and his preference for immediate reward is presumed to be high.

#### 9.1.6 Non theoretical factors: Competition, body, time, money and lack of knowledge

Lastly, factors influencing the decision making process which are unrelated to the theoretical framework of this thesis will be discussed. These include competition, bodily appearances, time, money and a lack of knowledge.

Firstly, informant 1 was influenced by competition and he was convinced that going to the gym with a friend would motivate him to do more. Secondly, he was affected by his bodily appearance. Thus, his desire to prevent getting fat motivated him to eat healthy and work out.

Finally, informant 1 often ate unhealthy, e.g. take out, when he was busy with other commitments such as his studies. In such situations he needed the preparation of food to be fast and easy. Also, being a student, the cheaper choice was often prioritised over the healthier choice.

Even though both time and money is relevant for an actor's eating habits, it does not exclude healthy choices. Accordingly, the idea of healthy choices being expensive and time consuming is presumed to be the result of a lack of information. Consequently, it is assumed that informant 1 has used limited rationality to help him make the right decision. One criteria for limited rationality is that Humans are unable to collect all knowledge, which is why they base their decisions on a limited amount of knowledge. In this situation it seems that informant 1's eating habits are based on incorrect knowledge about the time and monetary expenses of healthy choices. Consequently, he makes unhealthy choices for the wrong reasons.

In conclusion, in the analysis of the interview with informant 1 many of the theories from the theoretical framework could be matched with the empirical data. Thus, a gap between his descriptive and his normative behaviour has been identified and it was recognised that informant 1 made decisions about healthy living primarily with his automatic system. Accordingly, he engaged in systematic deviation from normative reasoning by being influenced by the effect of framing and temporal and probabilistic discounting. Consequently, for further research on the subject of how young Copenhagen dwellers' decisions about healthy living are influenced, I would like to uncover if the systematic errors influencing informant 1 are relevant for other young Copenhagen dwellers with different educational backgrounds.

## 9.2 Informant 2

### 9.2.1 Influenced by choice architecture

Equal to informant 1, informant 2 was influenced at the point-of-purchase by special product offerings and the organisation of a supermarket, i.e. choice architecture and context. Accordingly, she is assumed to be influenced by the behavioural approach and nudging.

### 9.2.2 Using the automatic as well as the rational system

The above mentioned impact of choice architecture and context insinuates that her decisions about healthy living is occasionally, similar to informant 1, made by her automatic system. Accordingly, her unhealthy eating is presumed to be the result of a fast and spontaneous decision. Furthermore, it was often a decision influenced by feelings and intuition. Consequently, equal to informant 1, informant 2 found it harder to make healthy choices when it was not related to a force of habit.

Even though informant 2 was occasionally influenced by her automatic system, contrary to informant 1, her decisions about healthy living is presumed primarily to be made by her rational system. According to herself, she was lazy and she would do the easy thing, i.e. the unhealthy thing and lie on the couch all day, if she could. However, instead she tried to break her unhealthy habits by considering how she wanted to be, i.e. healthy, rather than how she was in the present. The ability to engage in such a high level of abstraction and agree to long-term delay of rewards indicates that her decisions about healthy living are primarily made by her rational system.

### 9.2.3 Consistent planning, precommitting and successful self-rewarding

Of course, informant 2 is not an Econ but a Human and as a result, her decisions are not always made by her rational system. However, similar to informant 1, informant 2 was recognised to engage in trying to rectify her non rational behaviour by engaging in consistent planning. She did so by booking classes at the gym in advance and putting them in her calendar. Furthermore, equal to informant 1, informant 2 made sure to buy food that filled her up to decrease her intake of food.

However, contrary to informant 1, informant 2 also engaged in precommitting. Thus, instead of bringing a bag of sweets from the kitchen and merely planning not to eat the entire bag, she bound herself by only bringing a few pieces of sweets from the kitchen. This made it impossible for her to eat the entire bag, unless she returned to the kitchen. Consequently, this act is in line with all five conditions set up by Elster (1984) for precommitting as (1) it increased the probability of her not eating all of the sweets later, (2) it changed the set of options available to her in the future so that

she was unable to eat all of the sweets (unless she went to get more in the kitchen), (3) it sets up a causal process in the external world, (4) the resistance to decreasing the amount of sweets brought to the living room is assumed smaller than the resistance to not eating all the sweets, had she brought all of them from the kitchen and (5) her act of precommitting was an act of commission and not omission, since she did not simply choose not to have sweets at all.

Finally, like informant 1, informant 2 engaged in self-rewarding and was less healthy when she felt bad. However, contrary to informant 1, her self-rewarding is considered successful, i.e. she satisfied the expected behaviour and goals set, when she received her reward of unhealthy food.

#### 9.2.4 The effect of framing, mental accounting, social stimuli and no sunk cost effect

Equal to informant 1, informant 2 is influenced by the effect of framing. Below it will be examined how. First of all, according to informant 2, she assigned feelings to food and unhealthy food was framed as a comfort food. Second of all, contrary to informant 1, informant 2 got a guilty conscious when she ate unhealthy and got the need to run and exercise to balance it out. This implies an application of mental accounting and thereby a framing of two accounts, a good and a bad account. Accordingly, a surplus in one account can be settled by adding to the other account.

Third of all, in the interview with informant 1, the concept of having a good time was briefly mentioned as a factor that influenced his unhealthy eating habits, however, by informant 2, this concept was further elaborated on. According to informant 2, the concept of having a good time was a culture in which eating and drinking unhealthy was symbols for having a good time. Consequently, an actor could not eat cucumber sticks whilst having a good time. Accordingly, when Informant 2 was having a good time or when she was in a social setting, she expressed less concern about healthy living. Similar to informant 1, this implies the influence of social stimuli and social norm. This inability to ignore social norms is in line with her above argued occasional use of the automatic system.

Her influence by social stimuli was furthermore supported by the fact that she, similar to informant 1, presumed working out with a friend would increase the likelihood of her doing it. However, similar to informant 1, she rarely did so, because she too preferred her freedom and flexibility.

Finally, in contrary to informant 1, informant 2 perceived physical activity to include going to the gym as well as doing small everyday things such as biking and going for walks. In fact, she

deliberately implemented biking and going for walks to fit some physical activity into her otherwise busy life. Thus, she was not influenced by the sunk cost effect as informant 1.

#### 9.2.5 A well-balanced level of temporal discounting

According to informant 2, she was less healthy when she was stressed or emotionally unstable, which indicates temporal discounting according to the abstinence perspective. Thus, like informant 1, situational or individual differences, e.g. outside pressure or internal instability, increased informant 2's discomfort of self-denial, which increased her temporal discounting and her preference for immediate reward.

On the contrary, she also mentioned that her present behaviour was influenced by the idea of her future self, which according to the anticipatory-utility perspective results in less temporal discounting. Thus, the immediate pleasure she gained from the anticipation of being healthy in the future, decreased her temporal discounting and her preference for immediate reward. As a result, she put off the present reward of lying on the couch for the future reward of leading a healthy life. Being influenced by factors both increasing and decreasing temporal discounting is presumed to result in a well-balanced temporal discounting and alternating preferences for immediate and future rewards.

#### 9.2.6 Non theoretical factors: Health, time, money, body and lack of knowledge

Finally, factors influencing the decision making process which are unrelated to the theoretical framework of this thesis will be discussed. These include health, time, money, bodily appearances and a lack of knowledge. Firstly, identical to informant 1, informant 2 had wrongfully concluded that eating unhealthy was cheaper, i.e. her limited rationality was based on a lack of knowledge of the costs of healthy living. Secondly, similar to informant 1, she was motivated by her bodily appearances and her wish to loose weight. However, she also wanted to live a long life and have a healthy temple. This implies that, contrary to informant 1, informant 2 also considered her health a reason for living a healthy life.

In conclusion, the interview with informant 2 uncovered that many of the cognitive biases that influenced informant 1 also influenced informant 2. However, only informant 2 considered her health a factor of motivation. This discovery lead to a question for further research. Thus, the interview with informant 3 will study if making healthy choices is motivated by health for other

young Copenhagen dwellers. Furthermore, the cognitive biases influencing informant 1 and 2 will be compared with those of informant 3.

### 9.3 Informant 3

#### 9.3.1 Influenced by context and choice architecture

Like informant 1 and 2, informant 3 was influenced by the organisation of supermarkets, the context of his decision and by choice architecture. Accordingly, he was inspired to eat healthier when supermarkets put some thought and energy into the fruits and vegetable department. Thereby, similar to informant 1 and 2 he is presumed to be influenced by the behavioural approach and nudging.

#### 9.3.2 Making healthy decisions with the automatic system

The above mentioned impact by context and choice architecture on informant 3's decision making process indicates an influence by the automatic system. Furthermore, presumably because of his expertise through his educational background in nutrition and health, informant 3 often made healthy choices with his automatic system, which is opposite of informant 1 and 2. Their healthy choices were usually made by their rational systems, whereas their unhealthy choices were mostly made by their automatic system. Since the automatic system makes fast and effortless decisions, making healthy choices was not considered a stress factor or an irksome duty for informant 3, as it was for informant 1 and 2. Instead he was merely influenced by his healthy habits. Nevertheless, he agreed with informant 1 and 2 that if he got out of his healthy habits, it was difficult to get back into them.

Even though informant 3's decisions about healthy living seemed to be completed primarily by his automatic system, his rational system also interfered sometimes. Accordingly, if he got out of his healthy habits and he started gaining weight, his rational system made him go to the gym again.

#### 9.3.3 Precommitment and successful self-rewarding

Similar to informant 1 and 2, informant 3 also tried to rectify his non rational behaviour. He did so by engaging in precommitment, equal to informant 2. Thus, if he had chocolate bars in his kitchen, he made sure they stayed in one piece and he would only break off one few piece at a time. This is similar to what informant 2 did when she brought only a few pieces of sweets from the kitchen. Equal to informant 2's precommitment, informant 3's precommitment lives up to Elster's (1984) five conditions.

Furthermore, like informant 1 and 2, informant 3 also engaged in self-rewarding and used eating unhealthy as a treat. Contrary to informant 1, he was fairly strict with the consequences of his self-imposed rules. Thus, if he had not fulfilled the expected behaviour and goals, he would not be rewarded. Consequently, it is considered successful self-rewarding.

#### 9.3.4 The effect of framing, mental accounting, adjustment, social stimuli and sunk costs

Like informant 1 and 2, informant 3 was also recognised to be influenced by the effect of framing. First of all, unlike informant 1 and 2, informant 3 mentioned to be influenced by the day of the week, e.g. weekend. This indicates an application of mental accounting. Accordingly, he assigned more significance to some days, even though days, similar to money, should be fungible.

Second of all, informant 3 would only consider delaying a reward for 30 min, if the future reward was the double amount, which implies an affect of the adjustment and anchoring bias.

Third of all, informant 3 was arguably influenced by social stimuli and social norms. For one, he was influenced by his girlfriend and her habits. Furthermore, even though he stated that sweets were not important to him and he preferred healthy snacks, this was not the case when he was at family gatherings having a good time. In such a social setting eating unhealthy did not seem to matter.

Additionally, informant 3 seemed to be influenced by the social norms associated with having a good time similar to informant 1 and 2. Consequently, when he was having a good time, he usually wanted something extraordinary and even though this did not necessarily entail unhealthy food, many of the “extraordinary” things he mentioned were to some extend unhealthy. This suggests a framing of unhealthy food as something extraordinary.

Finally, similar to informant 1, informant 3 seemed to be influenced by the effect of sunk cost. Thus, he weighted playing football with his friends lower than working out at the gym.

#### 9.3.5 A preference for immediate reward and diminishing marginal utility – well-balanced decisions

Equal to informant 1 and 2, informant 3 was presumed to be influenced by temporal discounting. As a result of his preference for immediate reward he would not, as previously mentioned, wait for a future reward, unless the future reward was the double amount. However, contrary to informant 1, he had a clear diminishing marginal utility. Therefore, even though he would wait 30 min to get the double amount of chocolate marshmallows, but he would not eat them both immediately, because he did not get as much joy from the second as the first.

Possessing both antipoles mentioned by Fisher (1930) is presumed to result in a well-balanced temporal discounting and intake of unhealthy food depending on the situation.

Aside from being influenced by temporal discounting, informant 3 was also presumed to be influenced by probabilistic discounting and the availability bias. Accordingly, when at family gatherings, he would eat whatever was put out. Furthermore, he expressed an increased want for chocolate, if he did not keep it in a cupboard.

### 9.3.6 Non theoretical factors: Time, body and fun

Next, factors influencing the decision making process which are unrelated to the theoretical framework of this thesis will be discussed. These include time, bodily appearances and fun.

Similar to informant 1 and 2, even though informant 3 believed healthy living to be important, he recognised a limit in time and prioritised other commitments such as work, studies and his girlfriend higher. Furthermore, he was motivated by healthy living being fun. As a consequence, he was more committed to playing football with his friends than going to the gym.

Finally, in accordance to the question posed at the end of the analysis of informant 2's interview, informant 3's healthy choices were not influenced by the knowledge of diabetes. Similar to informant 1 and 2, he was motivated by his bodily appearance.

In conclusion, from the analysis of informant 3's interview, it is clear that he is also, as informant 1 and 2, influenced by several cognitive biases. However, in regard to the question posed after the analysis of informant 2's interview *if making healthy choices is motivated by health for other young dwellers of Copenhagen*, it is presumed that informant 3, similar to informant 1, does not consider his health and diabetes when making decisions about his lifestyle.

Next, some of the non theoretical factors influencing the decision making process about healthy living will be studied, after the discoveries from the analysis of the interview with informant 4 have been reviewed.

### 9.4 Informant 4: Competition, time and fun

Similar to informant 1 and 3, informant 4's unhealthy decisions were predominantly made by his automatic system. Consequently, he was influenced by several cognitive biases, primarily by high temporal discounting and a preference for immediate reward. Moreover, he was influenced by choice architecture, probabilistic discounting, i.e. the availability bias and by framing, e.g. social

stimuli, mental accounting, the adjustment bias and the lower sunk costs of the small things such as taking the stairs, which is why he always took the elevator. Furthermore, he engaged in consistent planning to try to avoid his non rational behaviour.

In relation to the question posed for further research about the non theoretical factors influencing his decision making process, informant 4 was firstly influenced by competition, similar to informant 1. Secondly, similar to informant 1, 2 and 3, time had a great impact on informant 4's decisions regarding healthy living. Thirdly, like informant 1 and 3, informant 4's decisions were also not influenced by diabetes or health. Finally, equal to informant 3, he was affected by fun.

From the analysis of the previous four interviews, all uncertainties related to the first sub question are considered covered except for one, which will be the question posed for further research: *Why do young Copenhagen dwellers not consider diabetes and their health when making decisions about healthy living?*

## 9.5 Informant 5: A lack of knowledge about diabetes and consequences

Before answering the question posed above for further research, the similarities and differences between informant 5 and informant 1, 2, 3 and 4 will be briefly discussed.

First of all, similar to the other informants, she was also influenced by the choice architecture of supermarkets. Consequently, she is assumed to be affected by the behavioural approach and nudging.

Second of all, similar to previous discoveries, informant 5's decisions about healthy living were influenced by both her automatic and her rational system. Thus, her unhealthy behaviour was often motivated by habits, intuition in relation to the culture around her and feelings, e.g. treating herself when she felt bad.

Third of all, to rectify her non rational behaviour, she was recognised to engage in imperfect rationality. Accordingly, similar to informant 1 and 2, she is presumed to prefer to engage in consistent planning rather than precommitment, as freedom was very important to her too. Additionally, as touched upon above, she also engaged in successful self-rewarding.

Fourth of all, equal to informant 1, 2, 3 and 4 she was influenced by framing, i.e. social stimuli, social norms associated with having a good time and mental accounting. In relation to the small things,

she used them to balance her mental accounting unlike informant 1 and 4. Thus, she went on walks to make up for her not going to the gym.

Fifth of all, like the other informants, informant 5 was influenced by a high level of temporal discounting and a preference for immediate rewards. However, unlike informant 1, and similar to informant 3, she had a clear diminishing marginal utility, which is presumed to result in a well-balanced amount of (un)healthy choices.

Finally, equal to informant 1 and 4, informant 5's (un)healthy choices were affected by money, time and competition against others, hence she was motivated by goals and the ability to track changes.

In relation to diabetes, informant 5 had recently engaged in a project about Novo Nordisk and diabetes, which had enlightened her about the disease and the consequences involved. Prior to the project, she had thought diabetes was an old man's disease or something one could only get from a close relative. Subsequently, she did not worry about it. This answers the question posed for further research about young Copenhagen dwellers' reasons for not being affected by diabetes when making (un)healthy choices.

However, knowing more about diabetes and the consequences, she realised that she should worry about it and she had started making healthier choices. Thus, even though she is presumed to be highly receptive towards the behavioural approach because of her influence by systematic errors, the educational approach had a great effect on informant 5, which will be considered in the second part of the analysis. In the following paragraph young Copenhagen dwellers' perspective on diabetes will be discussed.

## 9.6 Diabetes and young Copenhagen dwellers

After the analysis of all five interviews, it has been recognised that most young Copenhagen dwellers do not consider their health or diabetes when making decision about healthy living, except to some extend informant 2, who wanted to live a long life. Taking informant 5's perspective into considerations, as well as all informant's tendencies to make decisions about healthy living with their automatic system, their lack of focus on health and diabetes is presumed to be a consequence of probabilistic discounting caused by the two biases: The availability and retrievability bias and the certainty effect.

#### 9.6.1 Availability and retrievability

From the analysis of the empirical data, I presume that young Copenhagen dwellers do not consider diabetes when making decisions about healthy living, because their familiarity with the disease is low. This is supported by a study by Lichtenstein et al. (1978). The study showed that young students underestimated the probability of death caused by diabetes, which they believed was caused by the students' underexposure to the occurrences of death caused by diabetes by the media.

As a result of the low familiarity with diabetes, young Copenhagen dwellers do not know about the consequences, which was touched upon by informant 5. This decreases the salience of the disease. Also, the low familiarity could be because they do not know anyone in their network that has diabetes, thus, the frequency of the disease is presumed low too. Therefore, young Copenhagen dwellers have a hard time imagining the occurrence of diabetes, which subsequently increases the uncertainty of getting diabetes. Consequently, they are less likely to consider the risks of getting diabetes when making decisions about healthy living.

#### 9.6.2 Certainty effect

The above is related to the certainty effect. When making a decision about healthy living, there seems to be an overweighting of outcomes that are considered certain to outcomes that are simply considered probable. Hence, the uncertain probability of getting diabetes when eating unhealthy is underweighted to the certainty of getting an immediate reward of pleasure when eating unhealthy.

### 9.7 Storyline

From the analysis of all five interviews, it was assessed that young Copenhagen dwellers were influenced by systematic errors, i.e. cognitive biases. Furthermore, it was evaluated that the most prominent cognitive biases influencing the decision making process about healthy living were (1) habits, (2) the framing of unhealthy living and of social norms, i.e. having a good time, (3) social stimuli and (4) temporal discounting, which results in a preference for immediate reward. Additionally, young Copenhagen dwellers were discovered to be motivated by the non theoretical factors: Competition, having fun and freedom of choice. Consequently, the next part of the analysis will be based on these biases and non theoretical factors, however, other cognitive biases from the theoretical framework will be used to support the nudge and the use of the nudge.

## 10 Analysis part II

The second part of the analysis will consider the second question of this thesis: *How can the application of nudging change the behaviour of young Copenhagen dwellers?* This will be done based on the findings from the analysis of the first part.

After analysing all the empirical data collected for this thesis and evaluating the most significant cognitive biases and non theoretical factors influencing young Copenhagen dwellers' individual and social decision making process regarding healthy living, it should also be considered what would be realistic for CCD to implement as a nudge.

### 10.1 The concept

Following the above mentioned storyline, *The Novo Nordisk Challenge* nudge was created.

The Novo Nordisk Challenge is a competition created by CCD, which encourages its participants to challenge their friends, family, co-workers and fellow students to "who can lead the healthiest life within the timeframe of one month".

During the defined period of time, all participants will be able to collect "health points" by sharing their activities and healthy choices, i.e. healthy eating or physical activity, with the other participants, i.e. their rivals. Thus, every time a participant makes a healthy choice regardless of how big or small it is, he or she will collect one health point. Examples of healthy choices could include eating whole wheat pasta instead of regular pasta, going to the gym or simply going for an evening walk.

The Novo Nordisk Challenge is a nudge made possible by the young Copenhagen dwellers' impact by cognitive biases such as habits, framing of healthy living and social norms and their temporal discounting. Furthermore, the nudge works by making use of cognitive biases, i.e. social stimuli and the competitive framing of a challenge. Both cognitive biases are equally important for the success of the nudge. Consequently, without the competitive framing of a challenge, the nudge would be no different from current social media platforms allowing actors to share their lives with others. Additionally, without social stimuli the challenge would be as effective as a New Year resolution or any other self-declared pact to make behavioural changes.

Besides making use of cognitive biases affecting young Copenhagen dwellers' decision making process, the Novo Nordisk Challenge also uses the non theoretical factors recognised to impact the

decision making process. Accordingly, by transforming the irksome duty of healthy living into a challenge against participants' friends, families, co-workers and fellow students by implementing gamification, the nudge makes use of informant 1, 4 and 5's motivation by competition and informant 3 and 4's motivation by fun. Furthermore, the challenge does not specify when and how to collect health points, which allows the participants the freedom that was sought-after by informant 1, 2 and 5.

How the nudge makes use of social stimuli and the purpose of the nudge will be discussed after the realisation of the nudge has been reviewed.

## 10.2 Facilitated by a social media app

To facilitate the utilisation of the nudge and the collection of health points, an app should be developed by CCD. The app will be a social platform where the health points during the challenge are automatically collected, added up and shared with the other participants or rivals.

Thus, when participants download the app and enter the challenge, they create a profile similar to other social media platforms, i.e. username, password and possibly a picture. During the challenge all activities they engage in will be shared on their profile along with a brief summary of all their activities through a poll. Subsequently, the polls of each participant, i.e. their progress, will be compared with the progress of the other participants. Aside from having a profile, each participant will have a "timeline", similar to Facebook, where updates about other participants or rivals will be shared. To increase the social stimuli of the challenge, the app will be integrated with existing social media platforms such as Facebook and Instagram, allowing a participant to share a post created on the Novo Nordisk Challenge app on other platforms too.

### 10.2.1 How to collect health points

The health points are collected through the sharing of posts on a participant's profile about the activities he or she has engaged in. A post can be either a simple update about the activity with or without personalised comments, or a picture of the activity. Making such posts should not be unfamiliar to the target group of young Copenhagen dweller in the age of 20-30, as it is similar to how other social media platforms work and according to statistics from Danmarks Statistik (Wijas-Jensen, 2014, p. 19), 94% of people in the age 16-24 and 89% of the people in the age 25-34 are using social media platforms in Denmark.

When making a post on the app, it automatically collects and adds up the health points into pre-set categories, e.g. small food changes, healthy snacks, active life, healthy eating. Technically this is done by asking the participants to select a category before they post their updates or pictures.

#### 10.2.2 Advantages associated with an app

There are several advantages to using an app as facilitator of the challenge.

First of all, an app will make it easy to participate in the challenge and track an actor's own as well as his or her opponent's activities. According to informant 5, the tracking of an actor's activity influences the actor's behaviour.

Second of all, as touched upon above, by using an app to track the activities of a participant, it will be possible automatically to create a summary of the categories of activities in a poll, visualising the participant's progress or lack of same. It will also allow a quick overview of how participants are doing in comparison to their rivals. To prevent participants from being discouraged by a slow start, polls will be made on a weekly and on a monthly basis.

The development of polls will make it easier for the participants to engage in mental accounting, which all informants in the empirical data did. Furthermore, in line with theories about anchoring and adjustment and informant 3 and 5's motivation by competition, as well as theories about social stimuli and the presence of competitors, the visualisation of the activities is presumed to encourage participants to engage in the challenge and consequently make healthier choices, i.e. increase their physical activity or healthy eating.

Third of all, using an app to facilitate the nudge, will also allow CCD to push notifications to the participants about their commitment to the challenge, e.g. notifications about their rival's activities, which is presumed to increase the retrievability of the challenge.

Finally, using an app to facilitate the nudge will allow CCD to collect data about the participant's use of the app and their behaviour related to healthy living. Thus, after the challenge CCD will be able to assess what categories and activities the participants primarily engage in. The data from the app will allow CCD to further understand the decisions made by the participants, which can be used to develop other initiatives later.

After reviewing the execution of the nudge through the development of an app, the underlying mechanisms of the nudge will be examined next.

## 10.3 Social stimuli on many levels

As previously mentioned, the nudge works by making use of social stimuli and the framing of a competition. The following section will study the use of what is referred to as individual and collective social stimuli.

### 10.3.1 Individual level of social stimuli

The principle of the individual level of social stimuli relates to what Cialdini (1990) referred to as the *descriptive norms*, i.e. what is done by others. Accordingly, on the individual level, a participant of the challenge is first of all presumed to be stimulated by his or her competitors in the challenge, as it was recognised by Triplett's (1898) experiment with racers. Thus, a participant will be encouraged by the sight or the sound of competitors i.e. by the pictures and updates posted by competitors. Second of all, based on the discoveries from the study about littering by Cialdini (1990) and from the empirical data about informant 3 and 4, who had both conformed with the behaviour of their girlfriends, the participants of the challenge are anticipated to mirror the behaviour of their competitors.

### 10.3.2 Collective level of social stimuli

The collective level of the social stimuli used by the Novo Nordisk Challenge relates to what Cialdini (1990) calls *injunctive norms*, i.e. what is generally approved or disapproved upon. In relation to healthy living, it was evaluated from the empirical data that all five informants were influenced by the social norms associated with having a good time, which according to informant 2 was considered a culture. Thus, it is assumed that their decisions were influenced by their wish to conform to the social norms of having a good time. Unfortunately, according to all informants, the social norms associated with having a good time involved making unhealthy choices, e.g. watching movies and eating sweets. Furthermore, it was implied by informant 2 and 4 that it could not be imagined to go against the social norms by suggesting to eat carrot or cucumber sticks instead.

Based on the above, it is evaluated that a behavioural change towards making healthier choices would require a change of the social norms associated with having a good time. How this is achieved will be elaborated on below, when the purpose of the nudge is examined.

## 10.4 The purpose

After discussing what the challenge is and how it would be carried out, the purpose of the challenge and how this could be accomplished will be reviewed. The challenge is anticipated to have both short-term and long-term purposes. However, first the overall purpose of the challenge will be examined.

The purpose of the challenge is to change the preference for immediate reward demonstrated by all the informants. In relation to the abstinence and anticipatory-utility perspective, the challenge will do so by being a situational difference that (1) decreases the discomfort of self-denial by allowing a participant to win a competition if he or she engages in self-denial and (2) increases the participant's immediate pleasure of unhealthy choices caused by the anticipation of a healthier life and by increasing the imagining of the future utility of a healthier life.

Furthermore, to change the temporal discounting of the participants, Ainslie's three reasons for impulsiveness, i.e. temporal discounting, were considered when developing the challenge. His first reason, being *uninformed about the consequences of a choice*, will be discussed later in section 10.7.1, as this was solved outside the nudge. His second reason, being *driven by lower principles*, was changed by reframing healthy living and changing the social norms associated with having a good. Thereby, the emotional responsiveness to the lower principles was expected to be diminished. This relates to the second long-term purpose of the challenge and will be elaborated on in section 10.4.3. Finally, his third reason, that *the evaluation of the consequences of a choice is misleading*, was changed by ensuring commitment to healthy living early in the process. This was resolved by the short-term purpose, which will be studied next.

### 10.4.1 The short term purpose: Decrease temporal discounting and encourage healthier choices

The short term purpose of the challenge is to encourage young Copenhagen dwellers to make healthier choices, i.e. being more physically active and eating healthier, by implementing social stimuli, using gamification and relating to the competitive side of the young Copenhagen dwellers. Thus, by binding the participants to the competition early in the process, i.e. prior to the challenge and a month into the future through the app, the nudge was an act of precommitment in accordance to Elster's (1984) five conditions. Consequently, because of the implementation of social stimuli, competition, fun and freedom of choice, entering the challenge (1) increases the probability that an actor will make healthier choices in the future, (2) alters the new feasible set of options available to

an actor in the future due to the social shame associated with little or no progress, (3) sets up the causal process of behavioural changes in the external world, (4) involves less resistance than changing an actor's behaviour would have, had he or she not entered the challenge, and (5) displays an act of commission towards healthy living and not omission.

In conclusion, the Novo Nordisk Challenge encourages young dwellers of Copenhagen to make healthier choices in the timeframe of the challenge by altering the temporal discounting. This is accomplished by diminishing the emotional responsiveness to the lower principles by ensuring precommitment to healthy living early in the process.

#### 10.4.2 First long-term purpose: New habit formation

The first long-term purpose of the challenge is to change the habits of the young Copenhagen dwellers. According to the empirical data of this thesis, young Copenhagen dwellers decisions about healthy living was influenced by their automatic system and habits. Therefore, the Novo Nordisk Challenge will attempt to facilitate the formation of new habits for the automatic system to pick up on. Accordingly, if the participants want to win the challenge, they will have to make some deliberate choices about healthy living, e.g. swap watching a movie for going for a walk, or eating whole wheat pasta instead of regular pasta etc.

Based on the dual-process theory it is presumed that after a month of deliberately making healthier choices, the existing habits of the young Copenhagen dwellers will be influenced. Thus, it is argued that some of the decisions made by the rational system during the challenge will be overtaken by the automatic system. Consequently, during the challenge, the rational system will make behavioural changes as a result of the priming of the automatic system through competitive framing and the social stimuli. Hence, the rational system will deal with the high levels of abstraction required to decrease the temporal discounting, which is an act the automatic system is unable to engage in. Nevertheless, after the challenge, it is expected that some of the behavioural changes will turn into new behavioural patterns and habits "controlled" by the automatic system.

In conclusion, even though the automatic system is not able to deal with the high levels of abstraction required to change temporal discounting, decisions made by the automatic system are not always inferior, as was discussed in section 7.2.2. The automatic system is fast and effortless and according to informant 1,2 and 4 decisions caused by habits decrease the need for planning. Therefore, it would be very advantages if some decision about healthy living were made by the automatic system, e.g. taking the stairs. If this was achieved, the effect of the Novo Nordisk Challenge nudge is expected to last beyond the duration of the challenge and result in a long-term behavioural change.

#### 10.4.3 Second long-term purpose: Reframing of healthy living and social norms

From the empirical data of this thesis, it was discovered that having a good time was by all five informants related to unhealthy choices, e.g. watching movies, eating unhealthy food etc. Furthermore, they all perceived unhealthy food as a treat and used it when engaging in self-rewarding. Finally, informant 1, 2 and 3 associated working out as an irksome duty. From this, it was assessed that young Copenhagen dwellers had framed unhealthy living as the “happy life” and healthy living as the “correct life”. Consequently, the second long-term purpose of the Novo Nordisk Challenge is to reframe healthy living, the perception of the small everyday things and the social norms associated with having a good time.

The reframing will be completed by introducing the participants to new behavioural patterns and habits, since according to Epstein (1994), information obtained through the automatic system, e.g. through personal experience, is more effective in changing an actor’s behaviour.

In theory, the introduction to new habits will be achieved by letting the participants of the challenge witness and experience for themselves that living a healthier life is not equivalent to a boring life in which one can only eat salad and must work out every day. Healthy living can be just as fun and delicious and can just. Furthermore, healthy living can just as well be part of the social norms associated with having a good time, it merely requires a new mindset, e.g. being open to eating strawberries instead of sweets at family gathering etc.

In practice, the introduction to new habits will be achieved by nudging the participants to change their mindsets and think outside of their unhealthy box. Consequently, if they want to win the challenge as well as have a good time, they are “forced” to consider new alternatives to substitute

their prior unhealthy choices. Hence, they may replace watching a movie with taking a walk, or substitute eating sweets as a treat, with a handful of cashew nuts or dates.

Besides discovering that a healthy life is not equivalent to a boring life, the participants are furthermore anticipated to learn that being healthy does not require a complete change in lifestyle. Accordingly, the purpose of the challenge is also to illustrate that the small everyday things, which informant 1 and 4 did not consider to be important, can also make a change. Hence, the sunk costs involved with physical activity are not necessarily an indication of the salience of the activity. Hence, instead of going to the gym twice a week a participant could bike to school or take the stairs *every day*. An advantage of considering the small everyday things is that when young Copenhagen dwellers are busy and prioritise studies, work and social relations higher than their physical activity, as was mentioned by all five informants, implementing the small everyday things ensures at least some physical activity. Thus, doing a little every day is better than doing nothing and it should still count in the mental accounting that most of the informants engaged in when making (un)healthy choices.

In conclusion, the Novo Nordisk Challenge will reframe healthy living and the social norms associated with having a good time. This is done by allowing the participants to discover alternatives to healthy living that can be reconciled with having a good time and can go beyond living of salad and spending hours at the gym. They will discover such alternatives by being “forced” to think outside of their unhealthy box, if they want to win the challenge whilst still enjoying life.

After discussing the concept of the nudge, how it would be facilitated by an app and the purpose of the nudge, it will be argued why the Novo Nordisk Challenge qualifies as a nudge.

## 10.5 Is it a nudge?

Prior to discussing how the Novo Nordisk Challenge qualifies as a nudge, it is important to highlight that the app is only the platform and the facilitator of the nudge. Consequently, the actual nudge is the challenge which influences the participants to make healthier choices regarding their physical activity and eating habits through social stimuli and gamification by framing the nudge as a competition.

To confirm that the Novo Nordisk Challenge can be considered a nudge, the definition by Hansen (2016) mentioned in the theoretical framework will be studied. However, before looking into the detailed definition by Hansen (2016), the nudge will be considered in relation to Thaler & Sunstein's (2009) essence of the concept of nudging: *A nudge is any factor that significantly alters the behaviour of Humans, even though it would be ignored by Econ* (p. 8). From this perspective, the Novo Nordisk Challenge would be considered a nudge, since an Econ would not be influenced by the social stimuli involved with the challenge, or by the application of gamification and the framing as a competition. An Econ would also not be inclined to continue the healthy living after the challenge because of new habits or because of a reframing of healthy living. Finally, related to the previous reason, an Econ's perception of having a good time would not be changed because of a reframing of the social norms caused by new personal experiences.

Consequently, from the brief description of a nudge, the Novo Nordisk Challenge would be considered a nudge. Subsequently, the nudge will be discussed on the basis of Hansen's (2016) detailed definition.

First of all, in the first part of the analysis in this thesis, it was proven that when making decisions about healthy living, young Copenhagen dwellers *are influenced by several cognitive boundaries, biases, routines and habits*. It was furthermore discovered that these *create barriers for the young dwellers to perform rationally in their own self-declared interests*, i.e. to live a healthy life and maintain their bodily appearances. Thereby, the nudge lives up to the first part of the definition.

Second of all, not only is the nudge based on the uncovered impact of cognitive biases, it also *makes use of these boundaries, biases, routines and habits and they are an integrated part of the nudge*. Since the nudge works by making use of social stimuli and the competitive framing of a challenge, it is also in line with the second part of the definition.

Additionally, for the challenge to be considered a nudge by Hansen's (2016) definition, the nudge must also work independently of three conditions discussed below.

Firstly, *forbidding or adding rationally relevant choice options*. This is presumed to be the case for the Novo Nordisk Challenge, since it does not forbid anything. A participant of the challenge can partake in the challenge as much or as little as her or she wants to. Furthermore, a participant in the challenge is also not forbidden from eating unhealthy or being inactive. Finally, the challenge does not add any relevant choice options, it simply allows the participants to be part of a

competition about “who can live the healthiest life within the timeframe of one month”. As a result, the nudge works independently of the first condition.

Secondly, the nudge does not change any incentives that would affect a rational utility function. The nudge only allows participants to partake in a competition. As a consequence, the nudge works independently of the second condition of *changing incentives, whether regarded in terms of time, trouble, social sanctions, economic and so forth.*

Thirdly, the nudge works independently of *the provision of factual information and rational argumentation*, since the focus of the nudge will be on the entering into a competition with or against friends, family, co-workers or fellow students and not on the fact that the participants should live healthier lives to avoid diabetes.

In conclusion, the Novo Nordisk Challenge is considered a nudge both in relation to the brief description of a nudge by Thaler & Sunstein (2009) and the detailed definition of a nudge by Hansen (2016).

Following the discussion of the concept, the execution, the social stimuli and the purpose of the nudge and how the challenge qualifies as a nudge, the structure of the nudge as well as some initiatives supporting the purpose of the nudge will be examined next.

## 10.6 The nudge in details

### 10.6.1 Private and public groups

As touched upon earlier, the purpose of the Novo Nordisk Challenge is to influence young Copenhagen dwellers to make healthier choices by altering their temporal discounting, introducing them to new habits and reframing healthy living and the social norms associated with having a good time. This is achieved through the application of social stimuli and the framing of a competition. Consequently, by entering the challenge and creating a profile on the app facilitating the nudge, participants can compete with or against their friends, family, co-workers or fellow students about “who can live the healthiest life in the timeframe of a month”. Each participant’s progress in healthy living is tracked through the facilitating app as a result of the uploading of activities and healthy choices on a participant’s profile which is subsequently shared with his or her competitors. In this

set-up it has been recognised that some participants may be reluctant to share their activities with everyone who has joined the Novo Nordisk Challenge, which may eventually limit their level of participation. To accommodate this potential negative influence of social stimuli, participants are divided into groups.

Thus, when entering the challenge and creating a profile, a participant will create or join one or several group(s) they want to compete against in the challenge. Groups can be both private and public and the difference between the two is who will have access to a participant's profile and activity updates.

A private group is a challenge set up between friends, family etc. and can be as small as two participants. In a private group, the progress of all participants will be compared to each other and visualised through polling to encourage further commitment to the challenge. Furthermore, the progress of each participant will be posted on the timelines of the other participants in the group. To join a private group, a participant must enter a password generated by the creator of the group. This is to guarantee privacy for the participants in a private group and to ensure that they will not be discouraged from posting pictures and updates because they do not want everyone to be able to see it.

On contrary, a public group is created by an organisation such as a company or a university. Since the target group for this thesis and the primary receivers of the nudge is young Copenhagen dwellers in the age of 20-30 years with a high-level education, the nudge will mainly be promoted at universities. However, companies with employees outside of the target group will of course also be able to participate. In a public group, the activities of each participant will become part of the overall activity of the organisation. Consequently, instead of a poll comparing the progress of the individuals in a group, the poll will compare the collective progress of an organisation with the progress of other similar organisations. Nevertheless, the activities of each participant will still be tracked on their personal profiles and posed on the timelines of all the participants in the group as it is done in a private group. The ability to create public groups sets the stage for competition between e.g. rival universities.

One participant can be part of more than one group, e.g. a private group against his or her best friend and a public group against the rival university. Thus, a participant can compete with and against his or her friends, family co-workers and fellow students at one and the same time. If a

participant is part of more groups he or she will be required to confirm which group to share a picture or an update with, before the activity is added as a health point in the challenge.

#### 10.6.2 Choosing the right level

Aside from creating or joining private or public groups when entering the challenge, a participant must also decide what level he or she wants to participate on. There are three levels of the challenge:

1. The easy level (make no changes)
2. The medium level (make small changes)
3. The advanced level (make a change of lifestyle)

In line with the criteria for a nudge, there is of course no rational difference between the three levels, a participant will be able to post pictures and updates in the same way. There will only be the small technical difference of more detailed categories available when posting, i.e. in the advanced level a participant will be able to post the distance of a run or the main ingredients of a healthy meal or snack. In practice, a participant of the easy level could do the same by posting it as a comment to a picture or an update. However, the three levels have merely been created to influence the participant's automatic system and make them engage in what Ainslie (1975) calls early commitment by using Strotz (1955) and Elster's (1984) strategy of consistent planning. Consequently, a participant is compelled to reflect upon the changes he or she wants to make during the timeframe of the challenge in advance. According to Strotz' (1955) dynamic utility maximising and the reversal of preferences, doing so is anticipated to decrease the temporal and the probabilistic discounting of the participants. Accordingly, when both rewards are delayed and the probability of both is low, i.e. the short-term reward of unhealthy living and the long-term reward of winning the challenge, an actor will be inclined to prefer the later-larger and more uncertain reward instead of the earlier-smaller and certain reward. Next it will be examined how the different levels will nudge a participant to a higher level of commitment.

##### 10.6.2.1 A preference for the medium level

From the analysis of the empirical data of this thesis, it was discovered that young Copenhagen dwellers were influenced by framing and the choice architecture in supermarkets. Furthermore, the empirical data showed that the informants were also influenced by the adjustment and anchoring bias when making decision about healthy living. Therefore, the three levels have been created based

on the principle of choice architecture by using effect of framing and the adjustment and anchoring bias to encourage participants to choose the medium level by making the easy and the advanced level seem unattractive.

The easy level is anticipated to be unattractive because of the previously mentioned dynamic utility maximisation and reversal of preferences. Accordingly, when asked in advance to engage in consistent planning about healthy living and about their involvement with the challenge while both rewards are delayed and the probability of both is low, most participants are expected to want to make at least some changes to their lives and thereby receive the later-larger and more uncertain reward of winning the challenge.

Furthermore, the advanced level is also assumed to be unattractive because of its framing. Hence, when presenting the advanced level, the feature of an expected “change in lifestyle” is highlighted. Due to all the informant’s influenced of time when making (un)healthy choice, this is presumed to scare off the participants, because it seems too demanding. This leaves the medium level.

The reason for nudging towards the medium level, is because it is assumed that several small chances are more likely to become part of a participant’s new habits than big changes such as running 8 km every other day. This relates to what informant 3 mentioned about doing something that is fun. He mentioned that if an activity was fun, he was more likely to engage in it and even though such an activity would not burn as many calories as other alternatives, he believed it would be more beneficial for him in the long run, because he was more likely to stick with the fun activity. This is assumed to be the case with simple activities as well. If the activities are easy to implement in a participant’s everyday life after the challenge, it is presumed to be more likely that the participants will do so, rather than sticking with running 8 km every other day. In conclusion, by choosing the medium level, participants will engage in consistent planning about making small changes to their current lifestyle.

When creating the three levels, I also considered theory about the adjustment bias. By making the advanced level an option, the medium level is presumed to seem more attractive, because the participants will adjust from the other possibilities. Had the advanced level not been created, a participant may have considered the medium level too demanding. However, by adding the advanced level as an option, the participants will presumably adjust their perception of the medium level as the easier option compared to the advanced level.

Following the study of some of the details that will increase the utility of the nudge, i.e. by safeguarding privacy for participants and enhancing their level of involvement, the issue of cheating will be examined next.

#### 10.6.3 Why cheating does not diminish the effectiveness of the nudge

In order to make young Copenhagen dwellers engage in the challenge and collect health points with the app, it is imperative that doing so is easy, fast and maintains their freedom of choice by allowing the participants to engage however they wish, e.g. by posting generic updates, personalised updates or pictures. Accordingly, it is not required of the participants that they provide proof for their alleged activities. This makes it very easy for participants to cheat and pretend they have engaged in all sorts of activities related to healthy living in order to collect health points. The possibility of cheating is of course upsetting for the other participants and it can be prevented if participants of a private group set up their own rules for the challenge, i.e. engage in self-rewarding. However, it is not something the app will be able to prevent, because it would compromise the above mentioned easy and fast use of the app as well as the freedom of choice.

However, since the challenge is based on social stimuli, from CCD's point of view, it is not considered a big issue if participants were to engage in cheating, since it is anticipated that it would only hurt the participants cheating. First of all, the fact that other participants are cheating would not decrease the progress of the participants who are not cheating. Accordingly, their temporal discounting, their habits and their perception of healthy living and having a good time would arguably still be influenced by the challenge. Second of all, if the other participants are unaware of the fact that their competitors are cheating, the cheating of their competitors is instead presumed to motivate the other participants. Hence, according to the theory of social stimuli, the progress of the competitors, even though it is achieved through cheating, is expected to encourage the other participants to engage even more in healthy activates in order to win the challenge. Therefore, even though it is regrettable that some participants may choose to cheat, such behaviour does not reduce the impact of the challenge on the participants that are not cheating and hence the effectiveness of the nudge.

## 10.7 Initiatives supporting the nudge

### 10.7.1 The educational approach

As previously discussed, two out of Ainslie's (1975) three reasons for impulsiveness, i.e. temporal discounting, were covered by the nudge. However, his first reason for impulsiveness should instead be solved outside the nudge, as the solution to being *uninformed about the consequences of a choice*, requires education, which is not part of the concept of nudging.

From the empirical data it was discovered that informant 3 and 4 did not consider diabetes when making (un)healthy decisions. Furthermore, informant 5 was unaware of the consequences of diabetes before she engaged in a project about Novo Nordisk and diabetes. Therefore, the temporal discounting assessed by young Copenhagen dwellers is anticipated be a result of lack of knowledge about diabetes and the consequences of the disease. However, as touched upon above, the nudge cannot change the fact that people are uninformed about the consequences of their choices, i.e. unaware of the consequences of getting diabetes, since a nudge is supposed to work independently of factual and rational information. Therefore, it is considered necessary that the nudge and the behavioural approach is accompanied by the educational approach. As an additional advantage, combining the approaches has been proven to heighten the effectiveness of both (Dolan & Metcalfe, 2011; Guthrie et al., 2015; List & Savikhin, 2012; Ölander & Thøgersen, 2014) (see also (Stern, 1999)).

Consequently, during the challenge, CCD should also make regular adds informing the public about the consequences of living a life with diabetes. When doing so, the messages of the adds should consider the principle of probabilistic discounting, i.e. the certainty effect, the endowment effect and the risk loving in relation to losses and risk aversion in relation to gains. As a result, the messages should focus on the things an actor will loose, if he or she gets diabetes rather than on the things he or she will gain by not getting diabetes. Such losses could include the ability to walk because of lower limb amputations (Novo Nordisk A/S, 2015b, p. 17)), the ability to see because of blindness (Novo Nordisk A/S, 2015b, p. 17), the ability to live a normal life because of the need for dialysis as a result of total kidney failure (Novo Nordisk A/S, 2015b, p. 17) or the ability to experience one's children and grandchildren grow up, because of a stroke or a heart attack (Novo Nordisk A/S, 2015b, p. 17).

The educational approach should also provide information that can rectify the incorrect limited rational decisions made by informants 1 and 2 due to a lack of knowledge. According to the empirical data of this thesis, informant 1 and 2 considered being healthy more expensive and more time consuming. This incorrect knowledge should be amended by giving the participants of the challenge alternatives to healthy eating habits that are inexpensive and fast to make. This should be included as a feature on the app as the “tip of the day”.

Since it is a feature on the app, which as has been pointed out, is merely the facilitator of the nudge, such factual and rational information will not clash with the nudge, as it is given outside of the nudge, as a service. To encourage the participants to look at and use these inexpensive and fast alternatives, the “tip of the day” should be pushed as notifications similar to the push notifications about other participants’ progress.

#### 10.7.2 Nudging to enhance the effectiveness of the nudge

##### 10.7.2.1 *On stairs and elevators in public spaces*

Besides the educational approach, the Novo Nordisk Challenge should be supported by a series of other nudges in the surroundings of young Copenhagen dwellers.

Firstly, to influence the young Copenhagen dwellers’ behaviour when they are in a public place and faced with the choice of taking the stairs or the elevator, nudging could be used to push them towards making the healthy choice. A nudge could include placing stickers on the stairs at train and metro stations or on the elevator buttons. Such stickers should refer to the name of the challenge, *Novo Nordisk Challenge*, the logo of the challenge or the slogan of the challenge, *fighting urban diabetes*. According to the availability and retrievability bias, this is presumed to influence the behaviour of the participants by reminding them of the challenge and thereby their commitment to the challenge.

Adding such stickers to the context of the decision is considered a nudge because it lives up to the brief definition of a nudge by significantly altering the behaviour of Humans even though it would be ignored by Econ. In terms of Hansen’s (2016) definition it is also considered a nudge, since it is made possible because of cognitive boundaries, biases, routines and habits. Furthermore, it works by using those boundaries, biases, routines and habits, more specifically the availability and retrievability bias. Finally, it works independently of forbidding or adding any rational relevant

choice options, of changing incentives and of the provision of factual information and rational argumentation.

#### *10.7.2.2 On shopping carts and baskets*

In addition to increasing young Copenhagen dwellers' level of physical activity when they are in public places, e.g. public transportation, nudging can also influence young Copenhagen dwellers at their point-of-purchase. This has been proven both theoretically and empirically throughout this thesis. Hence, CCD could implement nudging in supermarkets to push the participants towards making healthier choices when they are grocery shopping.

Influencing the participants' decisions when grocery shopping is anticipated to affect their overall healthy living. Hence, in line with the availability bias, if the participants can be prevented from buying unhealthy food, they are more likely to eat healthy, because they will not have access to unhealthy food. This kind of consistent planning is what informant 1 and 2 mentioned to engage in in order to improve their healthy living.

Equal to the above mentioned nudge on train and metro stations, nudging within supermarkets could include putting stickers on shopping carts and baskets inside the supermarket with the name, the logo or the slogan of the challenge. Hence, every time a participant puts something in the shopping cart or the basket, he or she will be reminded of the challenge and the commitment to it. Similar to the above mentioned nudge, this would make use of the availability and retrievability bias and would be considered a nudge for the same reasons as the nudge above.

#### *10.7.2.3 On the shelves and in cantinas*

Another way to get into supermarkets and affect the participants at the point-of-purchase, is to form partnerships with other companies. Thus, CCD should engage in partnership with e.g. Kildevæld, Rawbites, rye bread or whole wheat pasta manufacturers. A partnership with such product manufacturers would be mutually beneficial, since it would also help promote the products to potential buyers. A similar partnership could also be formed with the cantinas at the universities in Copenhagen and their healthy choices such as juices, carrots, rye bread, etc.

Through partnerships with companies manufacturing healthy food and cantinas, CCD could put stickers on the healthy products to help guide the participants of the challenge. This nudge is based on the same principle as the two prior nudges discussed, the availability and retrievability bias. However, the partnership nudge would also help the participants of the challenge compensate for

a lack of knowledge about what is considered a healthy choice and what is not. It would make the healthy choices visible and make it easier for the participants to navigate in a field of so many options.

Additionally, if the stickers were further advanced and accompanied by a QR code that the Novo Nordisk Challenge app could scan directly, it could be an easy way for the participants to collect and add health points to their profiles in the challenge. Based on the QR code, the app should automatically be able to generate an update on the participant's profile and categorise it in the correct category. Implementing such a QR code would not be considered a nudge; it would merely be an additional service for the participants.

The three nudges mentioned above should be set up during the challenge. However, they should not be removed immediately after, since it is expected that the presence of the other nudges, after the challenge has ended, will remind the participants of their new habits that have been formed during the challenge. As a consequence, the long-term advantages of the challenge are assumed to be enhanced by the nudges created to support the challenge.

Next, the final part of this thesis will examine how to make young Copenhagen dwellers engage in the challenge and how to promote the nudge.

## 10.8 How to promote the nudge

### 10.8.1 A kick-off event

Based on the empirical data of this thesis as well as the theoretical framework, there is no doubt that once young Copenhagen dwellers enter the challenge, it will create a behavioural change of some sort. Thus, after creating the nudge and the app to facilitate it, the main concern for CCD is to get the young Copenhagen dwellers interested in the app and the challenge in the first place. This will be done by hosting a kick-off event.

As was previously mentioned, the nudge will primarily be promoted at universities to reach the target group of this thesis. Therefore, a kick-off event should take place at universities in Copenhagen. The the kick-off event and its structure is based on the AIDA model.

First of all, the *attention* of the young Copenhagen dwellers will be captured by setting up a booth at all universities in Copenhagen, with employees from Novo Nordisk. Subsequently, they will hand

out coffee, merchandise from the Cities Changing Diabetes project etc. Furthermore, the employees should try to get into conversations with passing students. It is anticipated that the strong brand of Novo Nordisk will attract attention to the event, but the employees must of course be proactive to capture the attention of the students too.

Second of all, to capture the *interest* of the students, some exercise bikes should be set up. This should encourage the students' attention and interest in the event, because they will be able to engage in a short and fun competition against their fellow students. Even if the students do not want to compete right then and there, e.g. because they do not want to get sweaty, the bikes are assumed to draw attention and lead to the question of why they were brought, which will further lead to interest. Their interest could finally lead to a conversation about urban diabetes.

Third of all, after letting the students compete on the exercise bikes or engaging in a conversation about urban diabetes, the Novo Nordisk Challenge should be introduced to the students. The ability to engage in competition against their friends and family or against the rival university should be highlighted, which is presumed to encourage their *desire* to participate in the challenge, because of their motivation by competition.

Finally, by getting the students to download the app, *action* is encouraged, after which it is assumed that the cognitive biases of the students will influence them to participate in the challenge.

#### 10.8.2 Collaborating with bloggers and instagrammers

In addition to the kick-off event, CCD could spread the word about the challenge through social media by asking bloggers and instagrammers with many followers to engage in the challenge and promote it. Thereby, CCD would use the ethos of the bloggers and instagrammers to promote the challenge.

The company Sponsta has made a business out of connecting brands with relevant instagrammers. Thus, CCD could use Sponsta's platform to get in touch with instagrammers that communicate to the target group of the challenge. Through influencer marketing, social stimuli, bandwagon effect and the above mentioned ethos established by such instagrammers in the eyes of their followers, young Copenhagen dwellers are thereby assumed to be influenced to participate in the challenge.

## 11 Reflections

### 11.1 Fighting urban diabetes – a global crisis in slow motion

Throughout the analysis of this thesis, I have argued how CCD can use nudging to change the behaviour of young Copenhagen dwellers in order to prevent the rise in urban diabetes. However, merely changing the behaviour of young dwellers in Copenhagen does not prevent the *global crisis* caused by urban diabetes. In order to do so, the behaviour of citizens in all larger cities in the world must be changed.

To satisfy the international perspective of the fight against urban diabetes, this thesis should be considered a methodical demonstration. Accordingly, the methodology of this thesis should be applied to studies about dwellers in other cities. Some of the findings of this thesis are anticipated to crosscut age groups, sub-cultures and countries. Hence, the influence of the automatic system on the decision making process about healthy living is presumed to apply to all Humans, however, the extend of the involvement by the ration system can vary. Consequently, nudging is expected to be relevant for CCD regardless of geography or culture. Nevertheless, the details of the nudge may need some altering.

### 11.2 Moral and ethical implications when nudging

#### 11.2.1 Critique of the moral and ethical perspective of nudging

In this thesis it has been theoretically and empirically proven that young Copenhagen dwellers are influenced by choice architecture and nudging. Thus, CCD *could* implement nudging to prevent the global crisis of urban diabetes. Next, the question of whether or not CCD *should* do so will be discussed by considering the ethical implications of nudging.

According to Thaler & Sunstein (2003) the criticism against nudging and libertarian paternalism is first of all based on a false assumption that Humans are always able to make decisions that are in their own best interest. It is considered false, due to the lack of rationality and the many cognitive biases influencing Humans' decision making process, which was supported by the findings of this thesis. However, the question of what makes policy-makers or organisations qualified to decide what is "in an actor's own best interest" and "what will be most beneficial to their welfare" has been posed by several researchers (Farrell & Shalizi, 2011; Hansen & Jespersen, 2013; Vallgårda, 2012).

Furthermore, Thaler & Sunstein (2003) have argued that avoiding the influence of choice architecture is impossible. Occasionally an organisation will have to choose a default option, as with organ donation, and regardless of the intentions of the organisation, it will influence the decision making process (see study by Johnson & Goldstein (2003) about the impact of the default option for organ donation). This argument has been countered by Hausman & Welch (2010) and later by Hansen & Jespersen (2013). Both claim there is an important difference between deliberately designing a choice to impose one actor's intentions on another and unintentionally influencing an actor.

Finally, Thaler & Sunstein (2009) stated that the criticism of nudging was the result of a misconception that nudging and libertarian paternalism involves coercion. On contrary, according to Thaler & Sunstein (2003, 2009), nudging and libertarian paternalism preserves an actor's freedom of choice. Consequently, it does not involve bans, as it was pointed out by Thaler during the Big Gulp ban in New York.

The presumption that nudging and libertarian paternalism does not involve coercion was disagreed with by Hausman & Welch (2010) and Vallgårda (2012), who considered Thaler & Sunstein's principle of libertarian paternalism an oxymoron. Accordingly, by taking advantage of the systematic errors influencing Humans' decision making process, they argued that the paternalistic aspects of the concept limited the libertarian aspects. As a result, Hausman & Welch (2010) believed that [...] *only rational persuasion fully respects the sovereignty of the individual over his or her own choices* (p. 135).

Besides limiting Humans' liberty and sovereignty, nudging has been claimed to encourage "morally lazy" people not to take responsibility (Selinger & Whyte, 2011). Thus, by not challenging actors to learn to make good choices, e.g. live healthy, by presenting them with rational persuasion, actors may expect others such as CCD to take responsibility for nudging them to make healthy choices (Selinger & Whyte, 2011) or they may completely loose the ability to make moral choices for themselves (Hansen & Jespersen, 2013).

### 11.2.2 Four types of nudging

As a consequence of the ambiguities related to the moral and ethical perspectives of nudging and whether or not it involves coercion, Hansen & Jespersen (2013) developed a conceptual framework distinguishing between four difference types of nudging: Transparent type 1, non-transparent type 1, transparent type 2 and non-transparent type 1. The framework is based on the dual-process theory and according to Hansen & Jespersen, nudging always influences the automatic system, but only sometimes influences the rational system. Below, the four types of nudges will be discussed.

Type 1 nudges involve only the automatic system, whereas type 2 nudges also involve the rational system. Furthermore, transparent nudges allow actors to recognise the intensions of a nudge as well as the ways in which the nudge attempts to change an actor's behaviour. Contrary, the intensions and/or the ways in which the nudge attempts to change an actor's behaviour are more or less hidden in a non-transparent nudge.

**Transparent type 1 nudge:** Due to the engagement of the automatic system this type of nudging is usually difficult for an actor to avoid at the beginning, however, as a result of the transparency, the intensions of the nudge are easily recognised. This type is characterised as not truly libertarian by Hansen & Jespersen (2013, p. 24). An examples of a transparent type 1 nudge is changing the printer default options to two-sided printing (Hansen & Jespersen, 2013, p. 21).

**Transparent type 2 nudge:** This type of nudging engages the rational system and makes it easy for an actor to recognise the nudge. Hence, it is merely promoting the decision making of an actor and according to Hansen & Jespersen (2013, p. 24) it facilitates the freedom of choice. An example of a transparent type 2 nudge is the fly-in-the-urinal in the Amsterdam airport (R. H. Thaler & Sunstein, 2009).

**Non-transparent type 1 nudge:** This type of nudging is characterised as [...] *operating under the radar of citizens* (Hansen & Jespersen, 2013, p. 26). Hence, it manipulates the automatic behaviour of an actor and is considered truly paternalistic. Consequently, it assigns responsibility to the "nudgers" for the effects and side effects of the nudge as well as for ensuring that the nudge is based on democratic principles. Examples of non-transparent type 1 nudges are changing the size of a plate (Wansink, 2004) or the default option from opt-in to opt-out, e.g. in relation to organ donation (Johnson & Goldstein, 2003).

**Non-transparent type 2 nudge:** This type of nudging engages the rational system, but the lack of transparency prevents an actor from recognising the intervention. This nudge is considered straightforward paternalistic and manipulation of choice (Hansen & Jespersen, 2013, p. 26) and Hansen & Jespersen find it difficult to reconcile this type of nudging with a democratic society. An example of a non-transparent type 2 nudge is the [...] *clever framing of risks* (Hansen & Jespersen, 2013, p. 26).

Based on the four types of nudges, the interventions supporting the short term purpose of the Novo Nordisk Challenge to encourage young Copenhagen dwellers to make healthier choices is considered in line with a transparent type 1 nudge. Thus, the use of social stimuli and framing as a competition engages the automatic system. However, the intentions of the challenge are expected to be transparent for all participants, firstly because the challenge is created by Novo Nordisk, a well-known pharmaceutical company and secondly, because the challenge is about “who can live the healthiest life”. Consequently, the nudge still, to some extend, preserves the participant’s freedom of choice and it can therefore be considered an ethically responsible nudge. Nevertheless, it should be pointed out that this type of nudging is not truly libertarian and the social stimuli, which is intended to motivate people to join the challenge, carries the risk of creating peer pressure for people who do not wish to enter the challenge. Thus, even though participants are free to decline participation, they may feel a pressure from their surroundings to participate and to change their behaviour accordingly.

Furthermore, the interventions supporting the long-term purposes of the Novo Nordisk Challenge are considered to be in line with a non-transparent type 1 nudge, as they are attempting to manipulate the participant’s automatic behaviour. This is done by encouraging new habit formations and a new framing of healthy living and the social norms associated with having a good time. As this nudge is characterised as truly paternalistic, it is important for CCD to consider their responsibilities in relation to the effects and side effects of the nudge as well as the democratic perspectives of the nudge. However, I would still characterise this nudge an ethically responsible nudge, as the habit formation and reframing is entirely based on the participant’s own self-made experiences during the challenge. Thus, unlike changing the plate sizes in a cafeteria, the non-

transparent aspects of the long-term purposes are based on self-imposed changes for the automatic system to pick up on.

In conclusion, the Novo Nordisk Challenge is a type 1 nudge with both transparent and non-transparent features. Thereby, the nudge is not fully libertarian and requires Novo Nordisk to consider their responsibilities related to the nudge. Nevertheless, the nudge is evaluated as ethical.

### 11.3 Source of error

Even though the research quality of this thesis was considered high, a few sources of errors have subsequently been recognised, which may have compromised the trustworthiness of the findings of this thesis.

Firstly, even though it was a deliberate choice to interview informants that I already knew to increase the trustworthiness of their statements, there is a possibility that this has distorted the research. Accordingly, despite interviewing informants with different educational backgrounds, the people I know may still belong to the same sub-culture. If this is the case, the nudge created in this thesis is not proposed to influence young Copenhagen dwellers in the age 20-30 years, but instead, actors of that target group who are also in the same sub-culture as I am.

Secondly, during the analysis of the empirical data, the testimonies of the informants were taken out of their original context and were reconceptualised. In this process, the meanings associated with their testimonies are at risk of being altered and since the final analysis was not verified by the informants, this constitutes a potential source of error. Similarly, the interviews conducted for this thesis were conducted in Danish. Therefore, during the analysis of the interviews I translated the informant's testimonies and the concepts discovered in the interviews. As a result, the essence of the testimonies and concepts may have been altered or been lost in translation due to linguistic and semantic differences between the two languages. This too constitutes a potential source of error.

## 12 Conclusion

In conclusion, despite the above mentioned sources of error, the empirical data of this thesis is considered to have been collected and analysed in a reliable manner. Consequently, the findings of this thesis are evaluated to be highly trustworthy.

The purpose of this case study research was to study how CCD could use nudging to change the behaviour of young Copenhagen dwellers in order to prevent the rise in urban diabetes. To answer the research question of this thesis two sub questions were posed.

The first sub question was answered by conducting qualitative research. Hence, five semi-structured interviews were conducted with young Copenhagen dwellers in the age of 20-30 years, who were self-reliant and were completing a high-level education. The interviews were analysed by using meaning coding (Kvale, 2007) and tools from Corbin & Strauss' (2008) grounded theory. From the analysis of the interviews, I uncovered that the gap between young Copenhagen dwellers' descriptive and normative behaviour related to healthy living was primarily caused by the following cognitive biases: (1) habits, (2) the framing of unhealthy living and of social norms, i.e. having a good time, (3) social stimuli and (4) temporal discounting, which resulted in a preference for immediate rewards. Additionally, young Copenhagen dwellers were discovered to be motivated by the non theoretical factors: Competition, having fun and freedom of choice.

The second sub question was answered by applying the findings from the first sub question to the theory of nudging. As a result, the Novo Nordisk Challenge nudge was created, which encouraged young Copenhagen dwellers to challenge their friends, family, co-workers and fellow students to "who can lead the healthiest life within the timeframe of one month".

The overall purpose of the challenge was to change young Copenhagen dwellers' temporal discounting by decreasing their discomfort of self-denial and increasing their immediate pleasure caused by the anticipation of a healthier life. Furthermore, Ainslie's (1975) three reasons for impulsiveness were considered.

Consequently, the short-term purpose of the nudge involved changing the misleading evaluation of the consequences of healthy living and encourage young Copenhagen dwellers to make healthier choices. This was achieved through early commitment to the challenge, i.e. Elster's (1984) principle of precommitment.

Moreover, the first long-term purpose of the nudge was to encourage the formation of new habits. This was done by involving the automatic and the rational system at different times. Hence, during the challenge, the rational system was expected to make behavioural changes as a result of the priming of the automatic system through competitive framing and the social stimuli. Subsequently, it was anticipated that some of the behavioural changes caused by new personal experiences would be picked up on by the automatic system resulting in new habits.

The second long-term purpose of the nudge was to change the mindsets of the participants and their emotional responsiveness to lower principles. These lower principles involved the framing of healthy living and the social norms associated with having a good time. A change in mindset was achieved through a reframing of healthy living and having a good time by exposing the participants to new behavioural patterns. Thereby, if they wanted to win the challenge as well as enjoy their life, they were nudged to think outside of their unhealthy box and consider new alternatives to substitute their prior unhealthy choices.

The Novo Nordisk Challenge was considered a nudge because it lived up to the brief definition of a nudge by Thaler & Sunstein (2009) by significantly altering the behaviour of Humans even though it would be ignored by Econs. In terms of Hansen's (2016) definition it was also considered a nudge, since (1) it was made possible because of cognitive biases, (2) it worked by using those biases and (3) because it worked independently of forbidding or adding any rational relevant choice options, of changing incentives and the provision of factual information and rational argumentation.

In addition, this thesis discussed some details related to the nudge such as the possibility for participants to compete in public and/or private groups to safeguard their privacy, three different levels of the challenge and why cheating did not decrease the effectiveness of the nudge. Furthermore, the impact of the nudge was suggested to be increased by combining it with the educational approach, i.e. traditional campaigns, as well as other nudges outside of the challenge such as stickers on the stairs at train stations and partnerships with manufacturers of healthy products.

Finally, the analysis of this thesis discussed how to promote the nudge by hosting a kick-off event at universities in Copenhagen and collaborating with successful bloggers and Instagrammers.

Following the analysis of the first and the second sub question a discussion about the findings was initiated. First of all, it was debated how the findings of this thesis were relevant for CCD's *global*

fight against urban diabetes. Hence, it was argued that this thesis represents a potential methodical approach, which could subsequently be applied to other age groups, sub-cultures and countries. Second of all, the moral and ethical implications of using nudging were discussed by applying Hansen & Jespersen's (2013) four types of nudging. Consequently, the nudge was assessed as ethically responsible.

In conclusion, based on this thesis, nudging is considered a useful tool for CCD to change the behaviour of young Copenhagen dwellers in order to prevent the rise in urban diabetes.

### 13 Implications for further research

Due to the limitations of time and space, this thesis had to delimit from some interesting perspectives. Additional research opportunities exist within the following fields.

**Culture:** This thesis briefly touched upon the impact of culture when discussing the influence of an educational background on an actor's decision making process and the affect of injunctive norms (Cialdini et al., 1990). Accordingly, informant 2 stated that the social norms associated with having a good time represented a culture. Hence, further research could analyse the cultural perspective of healthy living by studying the three levels of culture in accordance to Schein (2010): Artifacts, espoused values and basic underlying assumptions. Furthermore, developing a behavioural change could have been based on Kotter's (1996) eight step model (see appendix 15.10).

**The power of the media:** In a study by Lichtenstein et al. (1978) it was anticipated that young students' underestimation of the probability of death caused by diabetes was caused by the students' underexposure to the problem by the media. Therefore, further research could study the effect of the media on young Copenhagen dwellers' behaviour in relation to healthy living. This could be done by studying the principles of agenda setting first discussed by McCoombs & Shaw (1972) and later developed by Carroll & McCoombs (2003) and Vu et al. (2014). Studying the affect of agenda setting could have been done by conducting a comparative content analysis between media platforms and public forums. It could also have included focus group interviews.

**Experimental research design:** This thesis followed the case study research design. Thus, there was no control of behavioural events (Yin, 2014, pp. 9–14) in this thesis and it did not manipulate the behaviour of the young Copenhagen dweller through e.g. testing. As a consequence, the findings from the analysis of this thesis are theoretically founded. For further research, a study following the

experimental research design could be made to test the application of the Novo Nordisk Challenge nudge.

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## 15 Appendix

### 15.1 Health campaign: 6 om dagen

(Dahlager, 2015)



## 15.2 Health campaign: Get moving

(Sundhedsstyrelsen, n.d.)



## 15.3 Energy efficiency rating categories

(Heinzle & Wüstenhagen, 2012, p. 61)



## 15.4 Interview guide

### 15.4.1 Thematical contribution

#### The purpose of the interviews

The purpose of these interviews is to understand and get insight into the life perspectives of the interviewees. The interviewer seeks to understand how the interviewees consider and act regarding the phenomenon of healthy living. The interview is a dialog between the interviewee and the interviewer through which meaning is constructed. Thus, the interviewer is considered a traveller, who does not look for the “right” information or the absolute truth, but gathers and constructs information in cooperation with the interviewee in the context of the interview (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). The purpose of the interview is not to get a precise definition of the interviewees perception of healthy living and he/her lifestyle. The purpose is to understand some of the mechanism that influence the interviewee when making every-day choices about his/her lifestyle and healthy living.

#### Prior theoretical knowledge

Prior to the interviews the interviewer has studied theories about temporal discounting (any reason for caring less about future consequences, e.g. diminished expected utility), probabilistic discounting (a preference for immediate utility to delayed utility), rationality and indirect rationality through precommitment, consistent planning and self-rewarding, the dual-process theory and nudging and choice architecture.

### 15.4.2 Dynamical contribution

#### Briefing

(I overensstemmelse med funnel-shaped interviews)

Tak fordi du vil deltage i dette interview. Interviewet skal bruges til mit speciale om diabetes. Jeg vil ikke sige meget mere på nuværende tidspunkt, da jeg ikke vil påvirke dine svar, så jeg foreslår, at vi går i gang med det samme, medmindre du har nogle spørgsmål inden?

#### Potentielle spørgsmål:

##### Indledende spørgsmål

- Åbent.
- Fx Er det at leve sundt noget, der påvirker dine beslutninger i forhold til kost og fysisk aktivitet?

##### Tavshed

- Tillad refleksion.

##### Opfølgende spørgsmål, fx:

- Hvad forstår du ved fysisk aktivitet?

Sonderende spørgsmål, fx:

- Kan du beskrive, hvad du gør, for at spise sundt og være fysisk aktiv?
- Kan du beskrive en gang fornyeligt, hvor du spiste usundt eller ikke var fysisk aktiv og kan du sige noget om hvad dette skyldes?
- Er der tidspunkter, hvor du er mere tilbøjelig til at spise usundt eller undgå at være fysisk aktiv?

Direkte spørgsmål, fx:

- Var det et planlagt valg eller et spontant valg?
- Hvilken af følgende to typer passer bedst til dig?  
Jeg har sjældent slik og usunde ting liggende i skabene, jeg spiser det som regel samme dag som jeg køber det.  
Eller  
Jeg har som regel lidt slik og usunde ting liggende i skabene, da jeg sjældent spiser det hele samme dag, som jeg køber det.
- Når du spiser usunde ting, er det noget du har købt samme dag eller noget du har haft liggende i skabene?
- Har du som regel slik og usunde ting liggende i skabende? Hvorfor? Hvorfor ikke?
- Er diabetes noget du tænker over i din hverdag?
- Hvad ville du vælge: XX nu, eller to XX om 30 min? Eller imorgen? Nogle mener, at man kan have forskellige tidspræferencer (nu, senere), hvad tænker du om det i forhold til dig selv?
- Ombestemmer du dig nogle gange, dvs. tager en hurtig beslutning og ændrer den ved nærmere eftertanke?
- Bliver du påvirket af dit humør/ dine følelser i forbindelse med at spise sundt og være fysisk aktiv?
- Tænker du over småting som trapper vs elevator?
- Hvad er hygge for dig?
- Hvad hvis du bryder et godt mønster en dag, influerer det resten af dagen? Tænker du over hvad du spiser i forhold til dagene før og efter?
- Kommer sundhed i perioder?

Indirekte spørgsmål

- Spørg ind til andre eller generelle overvejelser.
- Fx Hvad tror du er den typiske grund til at folk spiser usundt eller ikke er fysisk aktive? Og hvad tror du ville kunne hjælpe?

### Debriefing

Godt, jeg har ikke flere spørgsmål, har du noget du gerne vil sige inden vi slutter? Tusind tak fordi du ville deltage i dette interview. Formålet med interviewet er at undersøge nogle af de mekanismer, der influerer din beslutningstagen, når det kommer til at spise sundt og være fysisk aktiv, da jeg med mit speciale undersøger, om der er mulighed for at påvirke beslutningsprocessen.

Har du nogle sidste spørgsmål?

## 15.5 Informant 1

### 15.5.1 Informant 1: Transcription

Interview with informant 1, March 1 2016

0.00 Interviewer: Okay, så kører vi.

0.02 Informant 1: Fedt.

0.03 Interviewer: Øhm, tak fordi du vil deltagte.

0.04 Informant 1: Selvfølgelig.

0.05 Interviewer: Øh, interviewet her det skal bruges til mit speciale om diabetes.

0.08 Informant 1: Ja.

0.09 Interviewer: Og jeg vil ikke fortælle meget mere på nuværende tidspunkt, fordi jeg vil ikke influere dine svar, så jeg foreslår, at vi bare går i gang med det samme.

0.16 Informant 1: Mhm.

0.17 Interviewer: Medmindre du lige har nogle spørgsmål, specifikke spørgsmål inden.

0.21 Informant 1: Nej, jo, måske anonymitet.

0.24 Interviewer: Det er op til dig, hvis du ønsker at være anonym så..

0.29 Informant 1: Men det,

0.30 Interviewer: .. kan vi gøre det

0.31 Informant 1: Det behøver jeg ikke, det er fint.

0.33 Interviewer: Okay. Ja, jamen øh, så vil jeg starte med indledende øh spørgsmål. Er det at leve sundt noget der påvirker dine beslutninger i forhold til kost og fysisk aktivitet?

0.47 Informant 1: Hmm, ja. Det er det helt klart. Øh fordi man kan sige du kan jo ikke, du kan jo ikke leve sundt øh uden at vil ville det, altså sådan, du træffer jo ligesom nogle beslutninger om hvad du propper i hovedet og hvad du laver, så hvis gerne vil sundt, nå men så er det jo, eller vil leve sundt så er det selvfølgelig også en forudsætning at, at du så spiser sundt og træner. Så det er noget jeg er meget bevidst om, fordi jeg gerne vil prøve at leve sundt.

1.14 Interviewer: Nu nævnte du selv, jeg spurgte jo ind til fysisk aktivitet og det nævnte du selv som træning.

1.21 Informant 1: Mhm.

1.22 Interviewer: Vil det sige at fysisk aktivitet for dig, er det at tage op og træne eller hvad er fysisk aktivitet for dig?

1.28 Informant 1: Ja altså hvis det skal sættes i forbindelse med at leve sundt, altså så er jeg godt med på at sådan at man godt kan cykle på arbejdet i stedet for at tage bilen eller tage trapperne i stedet for elevatoren og sådan nogle ting som man ellers bliver bombarderet med øh i sådan hverdags ting man kan gøre bedre, øhm men altså for mit vedkomne og leve sundt, nå men det handler også om at være i form og sådan øhm hvor øh altså der handler det om at træne fordi så forbrænder jeg mere end hvis jeg bare går. Jeg kan godt lide at gå, jeg kan godt lide at røre mig, men det er stadigvæk vigtigt for mig at træne også.

2.09 Interviewer: Nu nævner du selv øh det her man bliver bombarderet med at tage trapperne frem for elevatoren og ...

2.17 Informant 1: Ja.

2.18 Interviewer: Er det noget du selv tænker over i din hverdag?

2.22 Informant 1: Nej, det gør jeg ikke. Øhm, nej jeg har altså, jeg synes selv jeg har et sådan rimelig godt øhm hvad skal man sige indblik i hvad der er sundt og hvad der ikke er sundt og øhm så det er

ikke noget jeg behøver at sådan og skulle spise øh et æble mere om dagen eller tage trapperne, øh fordi altså, det er jo ikke så meget man forbrænder for det alligevel så. Så for mig er det ikke noget der betyder noget.

2.52 Interviewer: Øh det at leve sundt, bliver det i din optik sidestillet med at forbrænde?

3.00 Informant 1: øhm... pff, godt spørgsmål, nej, eller jo, lidt tror jeg. Øh, fordi man kan sige, når du forbrænder, nå men så bevæger du dig jo også og når du bevæger dig så øhm så er du også aktiv. Så, øh... øhm, så ja på en måde er det jo at sidsestille det, men altså det ene udelukke ikke det andet synes jeg, man kan godt være fysisk aktiv uden at træne, øhm, men for mig at se, sådan, når jeg sådan lige tænker på det så er det at være øhm, at træne ved at være fysisk aktiv.

3.38 Interviewer: Ja, øh, kan du beskrive, hvad du gør for at spise sundt og være fysisk aktiv i din hverdag?

3.47 Informant 1: Øhm, jeg forsøger og minimere mit indtag af sukker og fedt og sådan noget. Øhm, faktisk primært sukker og fedt, øh, jeg går ikke så meget op i kulhydrater og sådan noget, øhm, og jeg træner på sådan ugentlig basis, selvom jeg gerne ville træne oftere, så bliver det nok en gang eller to om ugen. Øhm, altså man kan sige, det er selvfølgelig ikke altid det lige holder, altså jeg drikker jo også en gang i mellem, og, spiser også slik og sådan noget, men jeg forsøger i hvert fald at holde det sådan kalorier og øh træning og og og spise grøntsager og fedtfattige alternativer og sådan noget på en balance sådan så jeg ikke går hen og bliver tyk for eksempel, øhm, uden at det er sådan, at altså sådan noget, hvor jeg skal have en fedt procent på 8 eller sådan et eller andet specifikt.

4.45 Interviewer: Ja. Nu siger du at øh, at du træner en til to gange om ugen, og du ville gerne træne mere.

4.52 Informant 1: Mhm.

4.53 Interviewer: Hvad er det der stopper dig?

4.54 Informant 1: Øhm, pff, ja, godt spørgsmål. Altså sådan lige nu her er det, er det meget mit øh, mit studie, øhm om min sådan forvaltning af, eller min daglige struktur som gør at jeg ikke altid får trænet, øhm, men sådan når jeg ser over en længere periode, nå men så er det, så altså, så er det et spørgsmål om motivation fordi, når man kommer ind i en rytme med træning, nå men så glider det bare, så kan jeg sagtens træne tre fire gange om ugen, hvor så er det nogle uger hvor jeg ikke har trænet i et stykke tid, øh, og så virker det som et kæmpe bjerg jeg skal bestige, når jeg skal træne bare en gang om ugen. Og det ved jeg også udmarket godt, så det er sådan en lidt ambivalent følelse, øhm, men sådan, det er min egen sådan ja, mangel på motivation tror jeg, der gør at jeg ikke lige kommer op den dag og så gør jeg det bare dagen efter ikke, og så sker det ikke.

5.45 Interviewer: Ja.

5:47 Informant 1 (host)

5.48 Interviewer: I de her perioder du taler om, hvor du så kommer op og får trænet...

5:52 Informant 1: Mhm.

5.53 Interviewer: ... så meget som du gerne vil. Hvad er det så der motiverer dig de gange?

5.57 Informant 1: Øh, pff, jeg ved ikke om der er noget konkret, øh, altså man kan sige, der er jo selvfølgelig sådan en visuel motivation i man kan se øh ændringer i kroppen, øh, at det ligesom giver noget, eller hvad man skal sige ikke, øhm, men der går jo så noget tid inden man kan det, så, så man kan sige, hvis jeg ikke har træner i lang tid, så ved jeg også at når jeg træner et par gange eller måske et par uger, nå men så kan jeg ret hurtigt se en forskel for det så kommer musklerne ligesom tilbage øh, og det ved jeg også godt, hvor så bagefter, nå men så går der måske lidt stilstand i det og så

er det sådan lidt, nå men så flytter det ikke noget og så er jeg måske mere tilbøjelig til at sådan, glemme det den dag og så gøre det en anden dag tror jeg.

6.39 Interviewer: Så, de gange du så ikke kommer op og træner, det er fordi du glemmer det?

6.44 Informant 1: øh nej altså det er jo ikke, det er sådan en oversprings ting, øh, hvor jeg så, øhm, lige i stedet for så lige sidder fem minutter for meget på Facebook eller, eller så går ned og handler eller, du ved, et eller andet andet ser en film, eller, eller spiller computer eller et eller andet, øhm, hvor i stedet for bare at komme derop og få det gjort, så er det sådan noget, armen så kan jeg sagtens gøre det i morgen og så passer det ind, øhm, og så bliver det ikke til noget den dag heller, og så lige pludselig er der gået en uge ikke. Så det er ikke, altså, det er ikke noget jeg tænker nå men i dag så gider jeg ikke træne. Det er sådan noget, armen jeg skulle også, jeg burde også, men øhm, ja.

7.25 Interviewer: Okay. Øhm (pause) ja, (griner). Øh, kan du beskrive en gang fornyeligt, nu har vi snakket meget om øh, om motion og din motivation for at motionere

7.47 Informant 1: Mhm

7.48 Interviewer: øh, eller manglende motivation på motionere, øhm, så kunne jeg godt tænke mig at vide lidt om dine kostvaner, og dine valg i forhold til kostvaner også. Så, kan du beskrive en gang fornyeligt, hvor du spiste usundt, øhm, og kan du sige noget om hvad det var der gjorde at, du valgte at spise usundt den dag?

8.13 Informant 1: Pff, altså jeg vil, jeg vil sige det er ikke et, altså det er måske ikke så meget et bevidst valg, det er mere sådan en en nå men altså id ag gør det ikke noget, eller i dag har jeg lige lyst til det her. Øhm, det er ikke sådan noget med, nå men altså, hvis jeg spiser den her chokolade eller drikker den her cola, så bliver jeg nødt til at træne i morgen fordi ellers så passer det ikke (hoster) undskyld, så det bliver, så det er mere sådan en, sådan en armen i dag har jeg lige lyst til det her og så, så gør jeg det og så hvis det, hvis jeg har spist usundt, øh, i nogle dage i træk for eksempel, take out, det jo, det er der jo masser af her i byen, så det er sådan, det kunne jeg godt nogle bange blive fristet af, især hvis jeg har travlt, øhm så er det sådan, nå men hvis det er hurtigt, nå men så vinder det nogle gange over hvis det er sundt, eller ja arm med sundt mener jeg at det er noget man selv laver og som du ligesom øh, selv kan styre hvad der er i af fedt og sukker og alle mulige andre lækre e-numre og sådan noget. Hvor der er jeg ret slem til især fryseman og sådan noget, som måske ikke nødvendigvis sådan er hvad skal man sige fedtholdigt eller noget, men jo alligevel er fyldt med alt muligt åndssvagt, som jo ikke er særlig sundt for kroppen.

9.23 Interviewer: Ja. Når du kommer ind i de her flere dage ...

9.26 Informant 1: Mhm.

9.27 Interviewer: ... øh, hvor du spiser usundt, øh påvirker det dig på nogen måde? Altså, dine valg derefter?

9.34 Informant 1: nej, altså, pff, jo, altså jeg er måske lidt sådan, ej nu skal det også øh, nu nu bliver det sgu for meget af det gode, øh og nu må jeg altså hellere få lavet et ordentligt måltid mad og få købt nogle frugter og nogle grøntsager og sådan. Øhm, og så, altså hvis jeg har haft et par dage hvor jeg har spist usundt, så tror jeg også jeg er mere tilbøjelig til sådan at så gå sådan all in dagen efter på sundt og så sådan udlicher det sig lidt sådan hen ad vejen. Så det er ikke noget der er sådan du ved, har nogen effekt rigtigt, andet at det sådan armen så må jeg hellere lige tage mig sammen, og så gør jeg det jo så også, tror jeg.

10.13 Interviewer: Mhm. De gange hvor du enten spiser usundt eller er mindre fysisk aktiv, er det spontane valg eller er det aktive valg, eller hvad skal man sige, er det planlagt eller er det noget der sker?

10.31 Informant 1: Øhm, ej det er bestemt ikke planlagt, øh det er ikke sådan så altså jeg går ud og siger armen jeg har i dag holder jeg en cheatday, og så spiser jeg usund morgenmad, usund frokost og usund aftensmad og snacker til filmen, øhm, så er det mere sådan en, nå men altså, nu står jeg lige nede og handler og fik lige lyst til et eller andet, eller i dag kunne jeg virkelig godt spise noget take out eller sådan et eller andet. Øhm, nogle gange er det også lidt sådan en treat hvis jeg har arbejdet meget eller jeg har læst rigtig meget på studiet, øhm, så kan jeg godt sådan armen så står den altså også på thai i aften, så må jeg godt. Men normalt er det ikke sådan en retfærdiggørelse eller noget, så er det bare sådan en nå, jah, det går noget agtig. Så det er ikke noget sådan jeg siger, nå men nu skal jeg være usund, for det er der mange af mine venner der har sådan en nogle når de som træner meget, så har de sådan nogle cheatdays engang i mellem, hvor de så bare går all in, og det ved jeg ikke, det siger mig ikke rigtig noget (hoster).

11.30 Interviewer: Så, hvis jeg forstår det rigtigt, så når du går ned og handler, øh, har du intentionen om at være sund den dag og så bliver du overfaldet af hvad der end står på hylerne?

11.43 Informant 1: Øhm, altså ja jeg har ofte intentionen at at leve sundt, altså spise sundt de fleste dage, jeg vil ikke sige jeg bliver overfaldet fordi altså jeg ved jo godt at der er masser af fristelser og sådan noget, og det er ikke sådan noget jeg lige pludselig bliver sådan, wow den her ting har jeg ikke set, som jeg har virkelig meget lyst til, det er bare nogle dage, så er det sådan, nå men i dag har jeg altså lige lyst til det her. Øhm, så altså intentionen er da oftest at jeg spiser sundt, men nogle gange så har jeg også fri så sent så, eller sådan, går hjem så sent, så at de normale supermarkeder lukker og så bliver det bare sådan nogle altså, så er der alligevel ikke, så er jeg jo ikke fristet af at lave lækker mad, fordi så er der alligevel ikke, så har de alligevel ikke tingene i de der sådan små ting, og så bliver det bare sådan en, den nemme løsning af et eller andet, som ofte er usundt.

12.30 Interviewer: Køber du nogensinde desserter? Altså nu har vi fokuseret meget på usund mad

...

12.36 Informant 1: Mhm...

12.37 Interviewer: ... altså aftensmad.

12.38 Informant 1: Ja, ja. Øhm, nej altså jeg køber is engang i mellem eller også bliver det som snack til en film eller noget, øh, men det er ikke sådan så jeg køber ind til at skulle have et måltid og så en dessert, altså så bliver tit sådan en, øhm, sådan en snack, late night snack ting, øh, fordi jeg oftest går og bliver lidt smásulten om aftenen, når jeg har spist. Så det er ikke sådan noget jeg sådan køber som en dessert, øhm, og jeg køber heller ikke sådan desserter som sådan, måske kun is, men ikke noget sådan, ellers altså, så er det bare snacks, øh, og det ved jeg ikke, det synes jeg ikke helt jeg kan klassificere som dessert.

13.18 Interviewer: Når du så, når du køber is, er det noget du planlægger før du går ned og handler eller er det noget du køber når du er dernede og du ser det?

13.26 Informant 1: Øhhhhhhh, det er næsten altid noget jeg finder dernede, som jeg lige har lyst til og lige bliver fristet af. Øhm, det, ej det, jeg har ikke sådan tror jeg lige hvad jeg kan huske i hvert fald nogle dage hvor jeg sådan tænker, i dag skal jeg have sådan en her ting, øhm, det er ret sjældent, det er rigtigt sjældent, øh, oftest er det bare sådan, nå men nu var den der lige alligevel, eller sådan noget. Og så må jeg, så er det lige sådan en dag.

13.55 Interviewer: Kan du fortælle lidt om hvad det er, jeg ved godt kan det være lidt svært, men hvad det er du, hvad det er der får dig overbevist, når du står med isen i hånden og har to valg du kan lægge den ned eller du kan tage den med.

14.07 Informant 1: hmm... Det ved jeg faktisk ikke, det altså, det er ikke noget jeg har sådan tænkt over, øhm, det er måske mere sådan en en, øh, sådan en hvad hedder det, in the moment ting, hvor

jeg sådan lige får lyst til den, øhm, hvor oftest så behøver jeg ikke sådan have fat i den, eller så behøver jeg bare kigge det og sige nå men det har jeg ikke lige lyst til, øh, og så er det nogle dage, hvor jeg sådan tænker, ej det her kunne jeg virkelig godt spise lige nu, øhm, og det er forskellige ting sådan for hver gang, så jeg synes ikke det er noget mønster, øhm, men det er måske bare sådan en momental øh svaghed eller sådan du ved fristelse, hvor ni ud af ti gange kan jeg godt gå forbi chipsene for eksempel, og så den tiende gang, sådan er det sådan, ej i dag har jeg altså lige lyst til det her, fordi jeg ved udmærket godt det er der, og det ikke er sundt sådan, øhm, men det er også det der med tror jeg sådan, at når man handler når man er sulten har jeg hørt noget om at så er man mere sådan øhm, så kunne man i højere grad købe for meget eller for usundt eller et eller andet i den stil, jeg kan ikke huske det, hvor det tror jeg, det kunne jeg godt forestille mig var rigtigt, øhm, at jeg så køber mere flere snackcs, når jeg ikke har spist længe eller hvis jeg har siddet en dag på studiet og så trænger til eller andet sukker eller du ved sådan, sådan armen så er det lige sådan en dag, men det er ikke noget jeg er sådan bevidst om rigtig.

15.35 Interviewer: Kan du fortælle lidt mere om de dage, hvor du så går forbi chipsene, hvad det er der gør at du kan kigge på dem og gå forbi.

15.44 Informant 1: øh, pff, der er det egentlig bare et spørgsmål om sådan du ved lyst eller du ved sådan, det har jeg ikke lige lyst til eller jeg ikke, det er ikke lige sådan en dag plejer jeg tit at sige, så det er sådan, øhm, fordi jeg ved udmærket godt at det er usundt og jeg sådan prøver også, de fleste dage overbeviser jeg også mig selv om, at jeg gerne vil leve sundt, øhm, og så vil jeg hvis jeg skal indtage en masse åndssvagt, så vil jeg hellere gøre det på nogle ting der sådan, giver mere mening for min krop end du ved chips eller slik, øhm, for eksempel er jeg rigtig dårlig til sodavand, det drikker jeg ret meget af, også selv om det er fyldt med sukker og eller, øh, hvad hedder det, aspertan. Øhm, så i, uanset hvad er det jo ikke nogen succes, men øhm, men der har jeg klart en svaghed, og eller så er det jo sådan, altså det vil jeg hellere bruge nogle sådan, hvad skal man sige, kalorier på end jeg vil spise en dessert for eksempel. Øhm, så det er sådan, jeg har ikke i dagligdagen behov for chokolade eller chips eller sådan noget, øhm, hvor der har jeg mere lyst til frugt sådan generelt, øhm, og så vil jeg hellere bruge de der, hvad skal man sige, kalorier eller hvad man kan retfærdiggøre det med, øhm, på en sodavand eller på en øl senere i weekenden.

16.59 Interviewer: Ja, kan du, kan du fortælle mig lidt mere om dit sodavands forbrug så, hvad, er det noget du drikker dagligt?

17.08 Informant 1: Næsten faktisk.

17.10 Interviewer: Er det nogle dage, hvor du ikke drikker sodavand?

17.12 Informant 1: Øh, ja ja, det er, det er der jo så, øhm (hoster), altså ikke nogen sådan faste ugedage eller noget, øhm, men oftest så er det, øhm, så er det enten en øh, en sukkerfri sodavand, det køber jeg langt de fleste gange, øh, og så en sjælden gang i mellem køber jeg en sodavand med sukker, og nogen gang køber jeg bare en dansk vand fordi det er, nogen gang er det bare det der brus som jeg lyst til, øhm, plus det også er sindssygt billigt herovre, så det, det er svært at sige nej til når du kan få to liter sodavand til en tier synes jeg.

17.50 Interviewer: Så er det prisen der influerer dig, når du skal tage et valg om ...

17.55 Informant 1: Ja, ikke, ikke udelukkende, men jeg kunne godt være tilbøjelig til at have, altså det tror jeg at jeg har herovre, har jeg et højere forbrug af sodavand, fordi det, øhm, fordi to liter koster mindre end en halv liter gør i Danmark næsten, øh, i hvert fald når det er på tidbud, øhm, så pris er vigtig, øh, ikke at jeg sådan går efter det, men jeg tror jeg ville være mere tilbøjelig til at sige, arh fuck det, det, det er jo kun lige en tier sådan, og så går, og så vælger jeg bare den sukkerfrie løsning, fordi så feder det ikke lige nu, til gengæld propper jeg min krop med alt muligt åndssvagt i

stedet for. Øhm, så, så det er en vigtig del af det tror jeg, og jeg ville aldrig købe en to liters sodavand som kostede 25 kroner, det er jeg sgu for nærig til.

18.45 Interviewer: Hvad skal den så koste for at du, altså hvor er balancen mellem at du er for nærig og du har nok lyst til det?

18.54 Informant 1: Øhm, pff, jeg tror ikke der er nogen sådan graf eller du ved sådan, øh ligning for det men altså for eksempel to liter sodavand for en tier, altså hvis det er sådan noget coca cola eller sprite eller sådan noget, øhm, så kunne jeg godt være mere tilbøjelig til at slå til , og det kan du også få i Danmark jo, men sådan jeg er ikke lige så utsat for det fordi det har du tit i de store supermarkeder, hvor normalt så handler jeg i sådan noget Netto, og fakta og sådan noget, øhm, hvor det ikke er lige så tit at de har det på tilbud, på den front, så når de har på tilbud, nå men så tror jeg også, uden at vide det, at jeg køber mere sodavand der, end jeg køber normalt (hoster).

19.36 Interviewer: Okay. Øhm, jeg kunne godt tænke mig at gå tilbage til noget du lige kort nævnte før...

19.40 Informant 1: Mhm.

19.41 Interviewer: ... det var det her med at, med at hvis du kom ind i en vane om at træne meget for eksempel, så var det nemmere at gøre...

19.49 Informant 1: Mhm, helt sikkert.

19.51 Interviewer: Hvad er det, der får dig ud af den vane, eller hvad er det der får dig ind i den vane, kan du beskrive det?

20.01 Informant 1: Øhm, altså hvad der får mig ud af den er sådan rimelig nemt, for det er jo bare at jeg lige pludselig, at der går du ved en ekstra dag mellem at jeg træner, og så går der lige en dag mere, og så lige pludselige har jeg ikke trænet i en uge, og så, du ved, så er det lidt ligesom ude af træning, hvor hvis jeg først kommer over de der, og får træner du ved en to, tre gange om ugen, eller en uge, så er jeg allerede næsten der tilbøjelig til at gøre næsten det sammen eller det samme ugen efter. Og så kan jeg så mærke, når jeg så er inde i det, så glider det bare, øhm, fordi så er det lige pludselig ikke noget problem, øh, at komme derop, øhm, så er det noget jeg gerne vil, øhm, så det er den der sådan pukkel lige at komme over de der første par træninger, også fordi jo jeg, jeg ved fra erfaringer, at når man ikke har trænet længe, nå men så er det et helved at træne den første gang, plus der så også går, så er du øm de næste fire dage, og så går der lige noget tid inden du træner igen næste gang. Og så det ved, altså når man har været inde om, inde ogude af det der trænings noget hele tiden, jamen så bliver man også, altså jeg ved jo ligesom også hvad der skal til og jeg ved også hvad det kræver, men det er ikke altid jeg sådan gider og du ved, ofre de ting det, ofre de par dages ømhed og sådan, det er ikke ligefrem noget der motiverer, selvom jeg godt ved at det fungerer, når jeg så er inde i det.

21.28 Interviewer: Øh, de problemer du taler om, som skal overkommes det første stykke tid, er det så primært øh ømheden, eller hvad er det der...

21.38 Informant 1: Nej det er måske mere, måske mere tanken om ømhed, eller du ved sådan, øh, at træning er oftest er sådan en pligt, hvor når du kommer ind i en rytme, nå men så er det bare en ting du gør i løbet af din dag, ligesom du børster tænder eller sådan, det er ikke, det er en pligt, men det er ikke en sur pligt, hvor det er det meget, når man ikke har trænet synes jeg, så bliver det sådan en, nå men men burde også, og sådan, øhm, fordi jeg kan godt se selv jeg bliver lidt lad eller øhm, eller jeg ved jeg ikke har trænet længe derfor har jeg brug for det eller, fordi jeg kan godt lide at træne, jeg kan godt lide at røre mig, jeg kan godt lide at være aktiv, øhm, så jeg bliver også generet af ikke at gøre det, men nogle gange er det ikke nok til at jeg så rent faktisk gør det. Så hvis jeg lige

kan få losset mig selv op i træningscenteret eller ud og løbe de første par gange, jamen så begynder det lige så stille at komme. Og sådan nogle op og ned ture kan man jo have mange gange i løbet af et efterår for eksempel, øhm, men jeg synes helt klart det har øh hjulpet ikke at have så mange ting om ørene som jeg har lige nu, øhm, der har jeg bare kunne fokusere på enkelte ting og så, øhm, så er det nemmere at få trænet, frem for hvis du har 28 ting du skal gøre i din hverdag, så er der mange flere ting der kan sige, armen så må jeg hellere gøre det, så træner jeg bare i morgen.

22.59 Interviewer: Mhm. (pause) Øhm, hvad er det du godt kan lide ved at træne. Du sagde, at du når du kommer ind i de her perioder, så øh kan du faktisk godt lide at træne.

23.20 Informant 1: Jamen altså, jeg kan godt lide selve træningen. Jeg kan godt lide den der øh sådan, hvad skal man sige, øh, altså den følelse det giver og sådan skubbe sig selv og presse sig selv og, øhm, og øhm, og styrketræne især, øhm, jeg kan godt lide den følelse man har bagefter, den, det er sådan en fysisk ømhed på en god måde, også fordi du ved at du så har lavet noget produktivt med din krop den dag, øh, det kan jeg godt lide. Og så kan jeg selvfølgelig godt lide at se, at det fører nogen vegne, øh, på kroppen.

24.01 Interviewer: Mhm. Øhm, hvad tror du er den typiske grund til at folk spiser usundt eller er fysisk inaktive? Og hvad tror du, altså bare hvis du skal komme med et bud på, ikke nødvendigvis dig selv, men hvad tror du sådan generelt?

24.19: Informant 1: Altså den hyppigste grund til at folk ikke ...

24.22 Interviewer: ... ikke spiser sundt eller ikke er aktive.

24.23 Informant 1: Øhhhhh, pff, altså jeg tror de fleste sådan godt er klar over at sukker og fedt ikke er særlig godt for kroppen, øhm, men altså der er jo rigtig mange der siger alt muligt forskelligt om, hvad der er sundt og hvad der ikke er sundt, øh, og så må man ikke spise pasta, og så må man ikke spise øh frugt, og så må du ikke nødder og alt muligt, og alle har en forskellig holdning, øhm, så jeg kunne godt forestille mig at folk var sådan lidt, nå men nu må man heller ikke spise det og sådan nogle ting, øhm, men jeg tror sådan at de fleste er klar over at sukker og fedt ikke er så godt, øhm, men at de måske har det som en belønning, sådan lidt ligesom lørdagsslik og sådan nogle ting, at sådan, nå men nu har vi, fordi det kender jeg jo også selv, at nu har jeg jo ligesom udrettet noget, så må vi gerne lige hygge lidt, og sådan spise noget lækkert og noget vi ikke har så godt af, men til gengæld, altså kroppen ikke har så godt af, men til gengæld har vi sådan godt af det. Øhm, eller bare sådan man kan sige der er jo mange ting, der er billigere smør er usunde, hvor det kender jeg jo selv som studerende, at de aller billigste ting ikke er særlig sunde, fordi de jo så er proppet med alt muligt åndssvagt, øhm, e-numre og fedt og sådan noget øhm, så det kan også være at der er nogle af dem, men jeg tror den primære er at det, at det er sådan en belønnings ting, eller at de ikke, øhm, de måske gerne ville spise sundt, men ikke får det gjort eller sådan, jeg tror ikke, jeg tror det er de færreste som, som har sådan en tilgang til det at det er usundt og det er super fint med mig, altså jeg propper mig bare, det tror jeg er de færreste der har.

26.01 Interviewer: Ja. Hvad tror du ville hjælpe, øhm, hvis du bare skulle komme ved et vilkårligt bud på at få folk til at være mere sunde og være mere aktive?

26.12 Informant 1: Hmm (hoster), altså man kan jo sige, der er jo mange af sådan nogle kampagner, øh altså sådan nogen hvad hedder det, fra Sundhedsstyrelsen og deres anbefalinger og sådan, øhm, men det tror jeg ikke har den store effekt, øhm, så jeg tror altså, det er sådan noget, det helt klassiske eksempel er jo den der med, hvor meget sukker er der i cola for eksempel, med sukkerknalderne, som man har fra tandlægen, øhm, som er sådan et meget godt, altså som jeg stadigvæk sådan lidt, altså som jeg så da jeg var 12 år på tandlægen, hos tandlægen, og som jeg stadigvæk nu her bliver, ser engang i mellem. Øhm, også sådan, som er en ting, der stadigvæk har

en effekt på folk tror jeg, øhm, og sådan nogle ting sådan, hvor man siger prøv nu at hør her, prøv nu at se, hvor meget af det her du egentlig propper dig med, øhm, så tror jeg, jeg tror helt sikkert også at få belyst nogle af de der ting, der er ved for eksempel e-numre, som ikke så godt, eller nogle e-numre, fordi de fleste er der jo ikke nogen der kan kende forskel på dem, de ved bare at mange e-numre er en dårlig ting, så jeg tror det ville være godt at sige sådan, nå men prøv nu at hør her, alle de ting der er i dåse ting, eller fryse ting, som gør at det kan holde i fire år, det er ikke sådan vildt godt, øhm, så sådan nogle forbruger programmer tror jeg ville være meget godt, det plejer at have en god effekt.

27.27 Interviewer: Mhm. Ja, øhm, er der tidspunkter, nu nævnte du godt lige, hvis du er sulten, og at du har hørt at hvis man handler sulten ...

27.36 Informant 1: Ja...

27.37 Interviewer: ... så handler man mere usundt, øhm, eller hvis du har travlt ...

27.40 Informant 1: Mhm ...

27.41 Interviewer: ... så er du mindre fysisk aktiv ...

27.43 Informant 1: Ja.

27.44 Interviewer: øhm, men ud over det, kan du, kan du nævne nogle eksempler på tidspunkter, hvor du er mere tilbøjelig til at enten at spise usundt eller at undgå fysisk aktivitet?

27.54 Informant 1: Hmm, altså man kan sige, i forhold til sådan fysisk aktivitet, så er det oftest sådan om aftenen, fordi så er det alligevel, jeg får aldrig trænet om morgenen, så det er altid, så hvis det skal gøres den dag, nå men så bliver det noget, der bliver gjort om aftenen, og så alt efter hvornår jeg laver aftensmad, så skal jeg jo lige have nogle timer til at lade det ligge, og så lukker fitnesscenteret klokken ti, så det skal seneste være klokken ni og sådan nogle ting, øh, og så kan det godt være, at de lige pludselig ikke passer godt sammen sådan i forhold til hvornår jeg kan træne og hvornår fitnesscenteret lukker og sådan nogle ting, og hvornår min krop er, altså hvornår jeg er mæt og hvornår jeg er klar til at flytte på mig, øhm, så det tror jeg er om aftenen. Hvis jeg gerne ville have det gjort den dag, så vil det være om aftenen at mine dagsrutiner gør, at jeg så ikke får det gjort. Øhm, og hvad det andet med at ...

28.38 Interviewer: Øh, hvornår du er mest tilbøjelig til at spise usundt.

28.41 Informant 1: Ja, øhm, det er jeg nok midt på, sådan om eftermiddagen, øhm, efter jeg har spist frokost og inden jeg spiser aftensmad, øhm, især hvis man har været i skole og er træt, så er det, synes jeg typisk at det er der, at man sådan, ej, jeg kunne godt lige bruge en kop kaffe eller en sodavand eller et eller andet lige at samle mig selv op på.

29.05 Interviewer: Mhm, ja. Gør du noget for at undgå at komme i de her situationer?

29.11 Informant 1: Øhm, pff, nogle gange forsøg.. altså jeg forsøger jo sådan, så meget jeg nu lige kan i forhold til at stykke min dag sådan sammen, så jeg kan nå at få trænet, øhm, og det er jo så også noget af det, når jeg ikke lykkes, så er det jo så noget af det som gør at jeg sådan, armen så træner jeg bare i morgen og så sker det samme igen, og så øhm, øhm, og så får jeg så ikke trænet hele den uge lige pludselig, øhm, så det er ikke noget jeg sådan gør noget sindssygt aktivt for og reducere, og altså, og jeg ved jo også godt, at jeg kunne jo sagtens lave nogle gulerødder og tage med og så spise det i stedet, midt på dagen, i stedet for at fyldte mig med alt muligt åndssvagt, øhm, men det får jeg bare ikke gjort, altså sådan, den slags overskuds ting får jeg ikke lige øh, får jeg ikke gjort i løbet af en den, for så, det er jo sådan noget som skal gøres om morgenen inden man tager afsted, og der vil jeg hellere sove de ti minutter længere.

30.01 Interviewer: Mhm. Tror du det ville hjælpe på dig, hvis øh, hvis du havde aftalt med nogen for eksempel at mødes i træningscenteret på et given tidspunkt?

30.12 Informant 1: Øhm, ja det tror jeg, jeg tror, det tror jeg det ville, nogle gange ville jeg også tro det var irriterende at jeg så skulle derop fordi jeg kan godt lide at have et fleksibelt dag og sådan tilpasse mig alt efter hvad jeg skal, øhm, men det ville klart gøre, tror jeg, at jeg kom oftere derop end jeg ellers ville gøre, og at jeg så også får mere ud af det måske, fordi at man er jo konkurrence mindet, når man træner, så man vil ikke se dårligt ud sammen med den man træner, eller overfor den man træner sammen med, øhm, så det tror jeg helt sikkert.

30.44 Interviewer: Øhm...

30.46 Informant 1: (hoster)

30.47 Interviewer: Hvis det er noget du tror der ville hjælpe, hvordan kan det være at du ikke har implementeret det?

30.51 Informant 1: Hmm, altså, jeg tror, det er måske sådan primært nogle praktiske ting, at sådan det ikke lige passer, så skal vi have to hverdage til at passe sammen og sådan nogle ting, øhm, men også altså jeg har heller ikke noget imod at træne alene, jeg kan godt lide at træne alene, øhm, og kan godt lide at koble af øh, efter en lang dag med at træne og så ligesom rydde hovedet, få brugt kroppen, øh så, så det er ikke noget jeg tænker, ej det har jeg drabeligt brug for. Jeg tror helt sikkert det ville hjælpe, men jeg kan også rigtig godt lide at træne alene, øhm, så altså der, sådan er det jo med de fleste ting, man burde jo gøre en masse ting og ved også godt, der er en masse ting, der er gode for en, men det gør man jo heller ikke nødvendigvis.

31.35 Interviewer: Ja, øhm, kan du beskrive, når for eksempel, det ved jeg ikke, cykler du?

31.41 Informant 1: Øh, ikke lige herovre, men i Danmark ja.

31.44 Interviewer: Okay, øh, hvad får dig til at tage cyklen frem for bussen, eller hvilke dage er det, eller at gå frem for at tage bussen?

31.57 Informant 1: Altså i Købehavn er det helt sikkert, øh, afstanden der gør det, øh, altså, der er giver det bare mest mening at cykle, og der cykler jeg også alle steder, øhm, og det savner jeg rigtig meget, øhm, så cykling er sindssygt vigtigt, især i København, øhm, og jeg ville også, altså det eneste fakten er vejret at jeg ikke cykler, øh, for jeg har ikke noget imod at cykle seks kilometer eller syv kilometer frem til noget og tilbage igen, øhm, så øh, så der er vejret kun en faktor når, altså jeg ville tage bussen hvis det pisser øs regner eller hvis det, eller snør, altså hvis man ikke kan komme frem, så giver det jo sig selv ikke. Øhm, og gå gør jeg også meget, men det er så nogle kortere afstande, øhm sådan en til to kilometer, det kan jeg sagtens, altså det vil, der går jeg også nogle gange hvis det ikke lige er jeg havde min cykel, øhm, men ellers så er jeg næsten altid på min cykel.

32.52 Interviewer: Okay, så har jeg et sidste spørgsmål...

32.56 Informant 1: Mhm.

32.57 Interviewer: ... og det er, hvilke af følgende to typer passer bedst til dig?

33.01 Informant 1: Ja.

33.02 Interviewer: Et, jeg har sjældent slik og usunde ting liggende i skabene, jeg spiser det som regel samme dag, som jeg køber det, eller to, jeg har som regel lidt slik og usunde ting liggende i skabene, da jeg sjældent spiser det hele samme dag, som jeg køber det.

33.19 Informant 1: Okay, øh, pff, en blanding, fordi jeg har sjældent slik liggende, øhm, men jeg spiser det samme dag, som jeg køber det. Øhm, jeg kan ikke, jeg er ikke så god til at have ting liggende, hvis jeg har noget lækkert, så har jeg om aftenen tit sådan en craving for et eller andet, og hvis jeg så ikke kan æde nogle mandler eller bananer eller noget, nå men så spiser jeg noget slik,

hvis jeg har det. Øhm, så altså jeg vil sige, det, jeg har, jeg har en gang i mellem slik liggende, men det får ikke lov at ligge længe, så ryger det altså ned.

33.54 Interviewer: Øh, når du spiser alt det der nu lige er ...

33.57 Informant 1: Mhm.

33.58 Interviewer: laver du nogen form for retfærdiggørelse eller har du nogen tanker, når du spiser det?

34.06 Informant 1: Hmm, altså nogle gange, er der måske et element af retfærdiggørelse, men det er ikke så tit tror jeg, altså nogle gange er det sådan, nå men det har jeg brug for eller sådan, nu har jeg været god, men det er jo ikke altid man synes at man har været god, der har det bare været en lang dag, og så er det bare sådan, nå men altså, nu har jeg det og jeg har lige lyst til at fylde mig med et eller andet og altså jeg har ikke noget, jeg kan spise en hel pose mandler, så det er ikke det at det er usundt, det er bare det, at det er der, så hvis der er noget, nå man så spiser jeg det, fordi jeg er lidt snacky om aftenen tit, øhm, så altså, jeg ved ikke om man kan sige der er en retfærdiggørelse, nogle gange er der, nogle gange er der ikke, tror jeg.

34.50 Interviewer: Ja. (pause) Øhm, nu siger, nu hvis jeg lige spørger lidt ind til den her retfærdiggørelse, det behøver ikke nødvendigvis være en retfærdiggørelse eller noget, men hvad er det der gør, at du for eksempel spiser hele posen med mandler frem for at dele den op i over to dage?

35.16 Informant 1: Øhm, pff, altså, nogle gange så spiser jeg mig jo mæt i det, og så alligevel så mangler jeg en eller anden stopklods til at så holde op igen, fordi så er der lige pludselig kun ti mandler tilbage, og så kan jeg lige så godt æde de sidste, øhm, så sådan nogle gange så, det ved jeg ikke, altså det er jo ikke sådan så jeg bare spiser alt hvad jeg har i huset, øhm, men, men øh især med chips og sådan noget, er det jo svært at holde op igen, når man først er gået i gang, så er det den der automatik, der bare kører, øhm, og inden man ser sig om, så har man spist meget mere end man lige havde regnet med at man gjorde, øhm så jeg ved ikke om det er fordi jeg ikke spiser nok til aftensmad, det kan godt være måske, øhm måske er det det, måske er det ikke, øh men jeg tror også det, mest af alt er det sådan en stopklods hvor jeg bare spiser, også spiser fem bananer eller en pose mandler eller en halv, hvis det er, altså jeg kan også godt dele det op, øhm, men sådan jeg spiser tit mere end jeg lige havde sådan overvejet, øhm, jeg tror, jeg ikke føler mig sådan rigtig mæt, eller du ved sådan, det er ikke for meget, så kan altid godt lige spise en ting.

36.24 Interviewer: Hvad er det der gør at når der ligger ti mandler tilbage, som du nævner, at du så lige så godt kan spise dem alle sammen?

36.33 Informant 1: Det ved jeg ikke, det har jeg ikke tænkt over, det er måske, det er bare sådan, ja, nu har jeg alligevel spise 170 gram, så kan jeg lige så godt spise de sidste ti gram også, øhm, det ved jeg ikke, det er jo ikke særlig logisk jo, fordi jeg er jo mæt i det øjeblik, øhm, men så et kvarter senere er jeg ikke lige så mæt, så kunne jeg godt lige spise det, tror jeg, så det er lidt sådan en blanding af sådan noget mæthed og så bare en eller anden åndssvag tanke om at, ja, det kan jeg lige så godt agtigt, tror jeg.

37.08 Interviewer: Så, for dig er der ikke nogen større eller mindre værdi i at spise noget nu eller spise det i morgen?

37.17: Informant 1: Hmm, nej altså, hvis jeg har lyst til at, eller hvis jeg ikke lige føler at jeg bliver nødt til at spise det hele, nå men så er det jo super, at jeg så har noget dagen efter, så tænker jeg er det jo er lækkert, at jeg så, når jeg kigger i skabet, har noget, men oftest så har jeg ikke så sådan, har jeg ikke selvkontrol nok til at lade vær med at spise det, når det så endelig er der, så når der så endelig er noget, så er det mega lækkert, at have noget over et par dage ikke, øhm, men ja altså, jeg

vil ikke købe så meget, sådan så jeg kunne have det til et par dage, øh fordi så ved jeg at der jo ikke ville gå særlig lang tid inden det var spist alligevel, så det kan jeg lige så godt lade vær med, og det gør jo så også, at der nogle gange ikke er noget, og så er det sådan, nå men så må jeg spise noget rygbrød eller hvad der så end er, øh, så ja.

38.04 Interviewer: Er det så et bevidst valg du tager ikke at øh handle noget sådan så du ikke kan bliver fristet?

38.10 Informant 1: Ja, især hvis det er usunde ting, så vil jeg hellere lade vær, hvor armen mandler er jo sådan, det er jo rimelig sundt, selvom det jo ikke er sundt at spise 150 gram mandler på en gang, øhm, og bananer køber jeg også riktig meget, fordi mæt.. det ved jeg, det mætter en del, så chancen for at jeg ikke spiser dem alle sammen er større, end hvis jeg bare har noget, en, nogle en bakke øh jordbær eller blåbær for eksempel, der ryger de alle sammen øh samme dag.

38.35 Interviewer: Okay.

38.36 Informant 1: Øh, der kan jeg ikke bare spise fire og så sige, nå men nu er det super, nu har jeg fået det jeg skal bruge, fordi så meget mætter det heller ikke alligevel, så kan det være lige meget. Så mæthed spiller sådan, en stor rolle, øhm, det er ikke altid måske jeg får, eller også er jeg måske længere vågen end jeg har, du ved, budgetteret mad med i forhold til mæthed, sådan så, hvis jeg spiser klokken syv, så er jeg snack sulten igen klokken ti eller klokken elleve, hvis jeg først går i seng klokken tolv, øhm, og så har jeg ikke rigtig, altså, så har jeg jo ikke noget og snacke med på det tidspunkt, øhm, så det, altså jeg vil sige, det er ikke noget jeg bevidst undgår, men hvis det er, altså jeg vil sige jeg køber bevidst ting, der mætter mere, når jeg køber snacks end jeg ville købe, ja, blåbær.

39.26 Interviewer: Ja. Jamen øh, jeg har ikke lige flere spørgsmål, er der noget du vil sige inden vi slutter?

39.32 Informant 1: Næh, det tror jeg ikke.

39.34 Interviewer: Godt, jamen så vil jeg sige tak fordi du ville deltagte.

39.37 Informant 1: Selvtak.

39.38 Interviewer: Og øh, så kan jeg jo godt afsløre nu, at formålet med interviewet her, øhm, det er at undersøge nogle af de mekanismer, der influerer din beslutningstagen ...

39.47 Informant 1: Ja.

39.48 Interviewer: Øh, når det kommer til at spise sundt og til at være fysisk aktiv.

39.51 Informant 1: Spændende.

39.52 Interviewer: Da jeg i mit speciale undersøger, om der vil være mulighed for at man kan påvirke de her beslutningsprocesser.

39.57 Informant 1: Ja. Det ville være lækkert (griner).

39.59 Interviewer: Ja, men øh, hvis du ikke har andet, nogle spørgsmål, så vil jeg bare sige tak.

40.07 Informant 1: Selvtak.

## 15.5.2 Informant 1: Memos

### 15.5.2.1 Memo 1: Working out and everyday things

When asked about physical activity, informant1 made the distinction between (1) working out (træne) and being healthy, and (2) everyday things, such as biking, taking the car, taking the stairs and taking the elevator (personal communication, March 1, 2016, 1:28).

The distinction was further confirmed later in the interview, when he mentioned that one can be physically active without working out (informant1, personal communication, March 1, 2016, 3:00).

Furthermore, he mentions that being healthy involves being in shape and working out. He also discussed what working out is about for him, which is getting into shape, burn presumably calories. Additionally, he mentioned that he liked moving around and walking, but that was important for him to work out too (informant1, personal communication, March 1, 2016, 1:28). At the end of the interview he mentions that what he likes about working out is being able to unwind, clearing one's head and using one's body (informant1, personal communication, March 1, 2016, 30:51).

Categories: Working out, everyday things, being healthy

Properties: Biking, taking the car, taking the stairs, taking the elevator, walking, be in shape, burn [presumably calories], unwinding, using the body, clearing head

Dimensions: Better (things one could do better), flooded (with information), important (working out), like (moving around)

#### *15.5.2.2 Memo 2: The small things*

Informant1 further elaborates on what he referred to above as everyday things. Even though he does not use the word everyday things again, he refers to taking the stairs again. Also, he adds eating an apple to the list of everyday things. Regarding everyday things, informant1 believes that since he has insight into what is healthy and not healthy, he doesn't need to consider the everyday things, since they also don't burn much. Consequently, he does not consider everyday things important (informant1, personal communication, March 1, 2016, 2:22).

However, this is contradicted later in the interview when informant1 says that he misses being able to bike and that biking is very important to him (personal communication, March 1, 2016, 31:57).

Categories: everyday things, insight

Properties: Taking the stairs, eating an apple, living healthy, living unhealthy, , biking.

Dimensions: Not important/important (everyday things), burn [presumably calories]

#### *15.5.2.3 Memo 3: Being healthy and avoiding too many unhealthy habits*

At this point in the interview the informant1 discussed healthy living to include minimising his intake of sugar and fat and eating vegetables as well as working out on a weekly basis. Furthermore, he talks about some of the things he believes are unhealthy such as drinking [presumably alcohol], eating sweets. He tries to maintain a balance between healthy and unhealthy living to avoid becoming fat. (personal communication, March 1, 2016, 3:47).

What is interesting in this paragraph is that he included eating vegetables as part of healthy living he considers, however, earlier he mentioned that he did not consider everyday things such as eating an apple, since they did not burn much (personal communication, March 1, 2016, 2:22).

Category: Being healthy

Properties: minimise sugar and fat, eat vegetables, working out, not drinking [presumably alcohol], not eating sweets, prevents getting fat

Dimensions: 1-2 times weekly (working out), balance (healthy/unhealthy living)

#### *15.5.2.4 Memo 4: Factors that influence working out*

Informant1 is now asked to elaborate on the reasons why he does not work out more often, even though he says he would like to (personal communication, March 1, 2016, 3:47).

The reasons pointed out are his studies, his daily structure as well as getting into a rhythm with working out. Furthermore, he says that sometimes it is because he is missing the motivation. (informant1, personal communication, March 1, 2016, 4:54). Motivation could be the visual motivation of getting muscles (informant1, personal communication, March 1, 2016, 5:57). In regards to the daily structure he later elaborates that this includes not having 28 things in one's everyday life, which makes it easier to get to work out (informant1, personal communication, March 1, 2016, 21:38). He later tells that it is his daily routines that are usually to blame for why he does not work out – when he makes dinner, when he is full and when he is ready to move (informant1, personal communication, March 1, 2016, 27:54).

Other factors that influence the decision of working out are what informant1 calls procrastination activities such as Facebook, grocery shopping, watching a movie, playing computer (personal communication, March 1, 2016, 6:44).

Even though he did not consider biking working out, it should be mentioned that in regards to biking, he is influenced by the weather and by the distance (informant1, personal communication, March 1, 2016, 31:57).

Categories: Influence factors

Properties: studies, daily structure, rhythm, procrastination activities (Facebook, grocery shopping, watching a movie, playing computer), weather, distance.

Dimensions: Motivation (visual), easy (to work out with less things to do)

#### *15.5.2.5 Memo 5: Healthy and unhealthy food*

Informant1 elaborates on what he considers healthy and unhealthy, take out is considered unhealthy and food prepared by himself is considered healthy. (personal communication, March 1, 2016, 8:13).

Categories: (previous categories: healthy living)

Properties: take out (unhealthy), food prepared himself (healthy)

Dimensions:

#### *15.5.2.6 Memo 6: A deliberate or spontaneous decision*

Informant1 first of all mentioned that eating unhealthy is not a deliberate or a planned choice, it is simply influenced by whether or not he wants something unhealthy in that moment (personal communication, March 1, 2016, 8:13; 10:31). It could still be questioned when he than has the want for something unhealthy. However, this is a contradiction to an earlier statement about the fact that one cannot live a healthy life without wanting to do so, and that he is in fact very conscious about eating healthy and working out, because he wants to lead a healthy life (personal communication, March 1, 2016, 0:47) and that he has the intention of eating healthy most days (informant1, personal communication, March 1, 2016, 11:43). This implies that he to some extend is planning and making deliberate choices when it comes to eating healthy.

This debate relates to a statement informant1 said earlier in the interview about trying to keep a balance to avoid getting fat (personal communication, March 1, 2016, 3:47), which he contradicts by first saying that if he eats something unhealthy he does not consider to himself that he has to work out to make it even (personal communication, March 1, 2016, 8:13), second, by saying that he usually does not feel the need to justify his actions (personal communication, March 1, 2016, 10:31). However, this is yet again contradicted as he describes that if he eats unhealthy a few days in a row he is more likely to eat healthy the following days (personal communication, March 1, 2016, 9:34). The lingering between whether or not his eating habits are deliberate and planned or spontaneously happen is assumed to imply that there is room for further influence, since his eating habits are not all based on deliberate and rational decisions.

Categories: (previous categories: healthy living), influence factors

Properties: justifying, want (to have something unhealthy).

Dimensions: no balance, balance (healthy/unhealthy living).

#### *15.5.2.7 Memo 7: Factors influencing eating healthy*

According to informant1 his eating habits are influenced by the fact that he sometimes uses unhealthy eating as a treat for hard work or for doing a lot of reading (personal communication, March 1, 2016, 10:31).

Another factor that influences informant1's decision is if he is busy, in that case something fast will often win (personal communication, March 1, 2016, 8:13).

A third influence factor is temptation in supermarkets. If they don't have anything he is not tempted to make delicious food and instead he chooses the easy and often unhealthy choice (informant1, personal communication, March 1, 2016, 11:43). He is also tempted by what they do have, if they have ice cream he may sometimes buy it just because it was there (informant1, personal communication, March 1, 2016, 13:26), what he calls a moment of weakness (informant1, personal communication, March 1, 2016, 14:07).

A fourth influence factor is the fact that he sometimes gets a little late night hungry in the evening (informant1, personal communication, March 1, 2016, 12:38).

A fifth influence factor is if he has not eaten for a long time or has studied all day and he needs sugar. He believes in such situations he is more compelled to buy snacks (informant1, personal communication, March 1, 2016, 14:07).

A sixth influence factor is price. In England soda is cheap, which influences his decision to buy it (informant1, personal communication, March 1, 2016, 17:12).

Later in the interview informant1 mentions that he often gets cravings in the evening and if he cannot eat something healthy, he will eat something unhealthy (personal communication, March 1, 2016, 33:19).

Sometimes he eats unhealthier than he realises because it can be hard to stop, e.g. with crisps, and it goes automatically. He believes sometimes he is missing a "stopklods", which could be referred to as a stop block. Sometimes he questions if it is because he has not eaten enough dinner (informant1, personal communication, March 1, 2016, 35:16).

Finally, regarding eating healthy it influences informant1 how many hours he is awake. If he is awake for more hours than budgeted, he may not be full from eating dinner long enough at which point he will want some snacks (personal communication, March 1, 2016, 38:36).

Categories: (previous categories: influence factors)

Properties: Busy, treat, temptation, moment of weakness, need (hungry or long day), cravings, enough dinner, missing stop block, hours awake.

Dimensions: Fast (food preparation), easy (food), delicious (here in relation to healthy food), cheap, automatic, hard (to stop).

#### *15.5.2.8 Memo 8: Rhythms for working out*

He further elaborates on the earlier point that getting into a rhythm influences his decision to work out (informant1, personal communication, March 1, 2016, 4:54) by saying that when he gets into a rhythm of working out, it is no longer an irksome duty to do so, it is just a duty one does like brushing one's teeth (informant1, personal communication, March 1, 2016, 21:38).

It is just about getting over the first hurdle (informant1, personal communication, March 1, 2016, 20:01).

Furthermore, when he gets into a rhythm of working out the thought of being sore does not influence his decision to work out (informant1, personal communication, March 1, 2016, 21:38), because as he made clear earlier, that is also one of the points that makes informant1 not go work out. It is not always that informant1 can be bothered being sore for a few days etc. (personal communication, March 1, 2016, 20:01).

Categories: Rhythms

Properties: Sore, duty, hurdle

Dimensions: irksome (duty), not bothered (with being sore etc.)

#### *15.5.2.9 Memo 9: like about working out*

Informant1 was asked what he likes about working out, to which he answered that he liked the feeling of pushing oneself as well as the feeling afterwards. Furthermore, he liked being productive with his body and finally, he liked to see that it leads somewhere on the body. (personal communication, March 1, 2016, 23:20)

Categories: Working out

Properties: pushing oneself, the feeling afterwards, productive (with the body), leads somewhere (on the body)

Dimensions: like

#### *15.5.2.10 Memo 10: People say a lot of different things*

In the following questions informant1 was asked why he thinks other people eat unhealthy, and even though it was a second hand source question, he answered some of it as a first hand source when he mentioned that it is part of the Danish concept of "hygge", roughly translated as cosy. When he wants to "hygge", he wants to eat something that is delicious and that is not good for the body, but is good for us. Finally, he mentions that a lot of unhealthy things are cheap, which as a student he knows, implying that he sometimes buys unhealthy food because it is cheaper. (Informant1, personal communication, March 1, 2016, 24:23)

Categories: (previous categories: insight, influence factors)

Properties: Information, Hygge

Dimensions: Different (information), lots (information), healthy/unhealthy, cheap, delicious, good (for the body/for us).

#### *15.5.2.11 Memo 11: What would help?*

According to informant1, campaigns from e.g. The Danish Health Authority (Sundhedsstyrelsen) with recommendation do not have much effect. Instead he believes it would help more if they showed people what and how much they fill in their bodies. He believes it would help to enlighten people, which is assumed to involve informing people more about their food, since he suggested consumer programmes. (Informant1, personal communication, March 1, 2016, 26:12).

Categories: Help

Properties: Campaigns, show it, enlighten (information), consumer programmes

Dimensions: Effect

#### *15.5.2.12 Memo 12: How to avoid living unhealthy*

Informant1 tries to structure his day so that he has time to work out. However, it is not something he puts great effort into doing. If he did in fact succeed, it could be considered precommitment.

In regards to eating healthy, he recognises that he could bring carrots, however, he does not do that, he categorises it as an excess thing (overskudsting) that he does not do because he would rather sleep for longer in the morning. (informant1, personal communication, March 1, 2016, 29:11). He was later asked if he believed it would help if he had arranged to meet a friend at the gym to which he responded that it would definitely help because he is competitive and would not want to look bad, however, he might also find it annoying because he likes his flexibility. (informant1, personal communication, March 1, 2016, 30:12). Another reason for not doing it is the practical dimension of having to adjust to two calendars (informant1, personal communication, March 1, 2016, 30:51).

According to informant1, it is a deliberate choice that he does not buy unhealthy food in order to avoid eating it. If he does buy something, he tries to buy something that fills him up such as bananas, because he hopes that the chances of him eating them all is smaller (personal communication, March 1, 2016, 38:10), this plays a big role for him (informant1, personal communication, March 1, 2016, 38:36). This implies some sort of precommitment.

Categories: Avoid unhealthiness

Properties: Structure day, excess things (bring carrots), practical dimension, not buying unhealthy food, fills up.

Dimensions: Rather sleep (i.e. not important), annoying, flexibility, competitive, look bad, big role (being full)

#### *15.5.2.13 Memo 13: Access to unhealthy food*

Informant1 seldom has unhealthy food lying around because he eats it the same day he buys it. He often gets cravings in the evening (personal communication, March 1, 2016, 33:19). He later says himself that he has bad self-control (informant1, personal communication, March 1, 2016, 37:17).

He also discusses why he may not be able to have it lying around, because he is missing a stop block, which makes him stop, sometimes it just happens automatically and it is hard to stop e.g. eating crisps. It is not until the end he realises how much he has eaten (informant1, personal communication, March 1, 2016, 35:16). However, sometimes it may because he thinks to himself that he has already eaten 170 grams of almonds, he might as well eat the remaining 10 grams (informant1, personal communication, March 1, 2016, 36:33). This implies the existence of the adjustment principle, thus, that he is considering if it makes sense to leave the rest in comparison to how much he has already eaten.

Categories: Access (to food)

Properties: Lying around (stash), same day, stop block, self-control

Dimensions: seldom, not good (no self-control), automatic, hard (to stop)

### 15.5.3 Informant 1: Open coding categories

#### 15.5.4 Informant 1: Axial coding categories

Categories	Working out	Healthy eating and drinking	The small things	Information	Factors influencing work out	Factors influencing healthy eating	Indirect strategies
Properties	Lead to something unwinding	minimise sugar and fat eat vegetables	Biking Taking the car	Campaigns Show it	Studies Daily structure	Busy Treat	Structure day Excess things (bringing carrots)
	using the body	not drinking alkohol	taking the stairs	enlighten (information)	habit	Wants to (eat unhealthy)	Practical dimension
	clearing the head	prevents getting fat	taking the elevator	consumer programmes	procrastination activities (Facebook, grocery shopping, wathing a movie, playing computer)	justify	not buying unhealthy food
	pushing oneself	Take out (unhealthy)	Eating an apple	mental accounting (balance)	mental accounting (balance)	fill up	
	the feeling afterwards	home cooking (healthy)	Walking	being healthy	lack of self-control		
	being in shape				moment of weakness		
					need (hungry, long day, hours awake)		
					cravings		
					missing stop block		
					no diminishing utility		
Dimensions	Important	Balance/no balance (healthy/unhealthy)	Like (moving around)	Living healthy/unhealth y	1-2 time a week work out (being healthy)	balance (healthy/unhealthy)	Rather sleep (not important)
	like	Not important/importan	Different	duty	fast (food preparation)	annoying	
	Burn calories		Flooded (e.g. Small things)	hurdle	easy (food)	flexibility	
	Build muscles		effect (of external help)	irksome (duty)	delicious (here in relation to healthy food)	competitive	
			Better (things one could do)	Focus (with less things)	cheap	look bad	
					automatic action	big role (being full)	
					hard (to stop)	Not good	
					Good (for the body/us)		

## 15.6 Informant 2

### 15.6.1 Informant 2: Transcription

Interview with informant 2, March 4 2016

0.00 Interviewer: Ja, godt, jamen øh, tak fordi du ville deltage i det her interview, øhm, interviewet skal bruges til mit speciale om diabetes, men jeg vil på nuværende tidspunkt ikke sige alt for meget mere om det, og hvad meningen med det er, fordi jeg vil ikke influere eller påvirke dine svar. Så, medmindre du har nogle spørgsmål nu her, om interviewet og hvad der skal foregår, så foreslår jeg vi bare går i gang.

0.23 INFORMANT 2: Jamen øh, lad os komme i gang.

0.24 Interviewer: Ja. Det første spørgsmål jeg har til dig, det er, er det at leve sundt, noget der påvirker dine beslutninger i forhold til kost og fysisk aktivitet?

0.36 INFORMANT 2: Ja det er det i høj grad. Øhm, jeg synes jeg faktisk hver eneste dag tænker meget over hvad der er sundt at spise og godt at spise i forhold til min krop, øhm, da jeg var yngre var det i høj grad fordi jeg gerne ville tabe mig, men øh, nu er det i lige så høj grad også fordi jeg gerne vil leve længe og have et, et sundt tempel, eller hvad man skal kalde det.

1.00 Interviewer: Mhm. Kan du fortælle lidt mere om de overvejelser du så gør dig, når du gerne vil leve sundt?

1.07 INFORMANT 2: Jamen for eksempel så hvis jeg står nede i et supermarked, så kigger jeg meget på, hvad er indholdet i produkterne, øhm, er det mælk, så drikker jeg øhm minimælk i forhold til at drikke sødmælk, fordi jeg har jo ikke behov for det fedtindhold, der er i den mælk, øhm, og hvis øh, ja jeg går også meget efter ting, der er meget grove, altså øh, rugbrød eller rugbrød i stedet for franskbrød, øhm, skyr i stedet for almindelig yoghurt, øhm, alle sådan nogle ting, som mætttere længere og som gør at mit blodsukker ikke bare går fuldstændig amok.

1.45 Interviewer: Mhm.

1.47 INFORMANT 2: ja, og så prøver jeg så vidt muligt at undgå slik og kager og sådan nogle ting, men altså, jeg er jo ligesom enhver anden, så jeg falder også i med begge ben engang i mellem.

1.57 Interviewer: Hvad, hvad kan få dig til at falde i?

2.00 INFORMANT 2: Jamen øh, jeg synes det er sværest i sociale sammenhæng, øh, når jeg er alene så, så spiser jeg faktisk utrolig sundt, øhm, men det er når man sidder sammen med venner og veninder og kærester, øh, eller familie og lige tænke, armen det gør ikke noget jeg lige spiser det ekstra stykke kage, øh, eller kage bare (griner). Øhm, fordi det er en del af hyggen og det er en del af den kultur jeg ligesom befinner mig i lige nu, at man er ikke bare sammen uden at spise eller drikke et eller andet, øhm, og der er jo ikke nogen der gider at sidde og spise agurkestænger, når man sidder sammen.

2.42 Interviewer: Øh, når du siger at det gør ikke noget at du spise kage for eksempel, hvis du er sammen med nogle veninder, kan du fortælle lidt om, hvad det er du så, når du siger det gør ikke noget, hvad er det, det ikke gør, eller hvorfor er det, det ikke gør noget nu?

2.57 INFORMANT 2: Ja, øhm, ja det er jo selvfølgelig også et øh, et dumt brug af ord, fordi selvfølgelig gør det noget på længere sigt, men jeg tror, som i lige nu, tænker jeg, armen det har jeg også fortjent, nu, nu skal vi rigtig hygge os og vi kan ikke bare, vi kan ikke bare sidde over et glad vand og hygge os. Øhm, så jeg tænker nok at sådan, armen vi tager lige de ekstra kalorier i morgen, de findes ikke rigtig, hvis jeg spiser dem sammen med andre, øh, det, det tror jeg er sådan lidt, det er jo helt vildt åndssvagt, det er jo dumt, men øhm, det tror jeg er den indstilling jeg har til det, når jeg står i

situacionen. Så kan jeg få sindssygt dårlig samvittighed efterfølgende, øhm, og jeg tænke, selvfølgelig gør det noget, nu skal jeg ud og løbe, øh, 5 kilometer for at forbrænde det, og det har man jo ikke tid til (griner).

3.53 Interviewer: (griner) Nej. Øh, har jeg forstået det rigtigt at, det at spise slik og kage, det ses som et symbol på hygge, eller det bliver sidestillet med hygge, når du siger man ikke kan drikke vand og hygge sig?

4.13 INFORMANT 2: Ja. I høj grad. Det er en social konstruktion på en eller anden måde, øhm, og det er jo også på, på samme måde med alkohol, øhm, at jeg ville synes det var mærkeligt at drikke vin alene, øhm, men sammen med andre, så men så gør det ikke noget. Det gør jo noget, men så øh, så er det mere noget, fordi så skal vi rigtig være sammen og hygge os og sådan nogle ting.

4.37 Interviewer: Ja. Hvordan med fysisk aktivitet, hvad, hvad forbinder du, når jeg siger fysisk aktivitet, hvad, hvad tænker du så?

4.46 INFORMANT 2: Jamen øh, at det er svært at få fysisk aktivitet ind i et liv som mit, øh, og at selv jeg, øh cykler rundt til de fleste ting, øhm, og er meldt ind i et fitnesscenter, og sådan nogle ting, så, så handler det meget om at, det sådan det nødvendige onde for og også at have en sund krop og sådnu nogle ting, øhm, jeg har ikke på den måde en slags sport jeg går op i eller udøver, men jeg går så i fitnesscenteret, øhm, men det gør jeg egentlig udelukkende fordi de har fleksible tider, hvor jeg kan komme når jeg vil og sådan nogle ting. Så, som fuldtidsstuderende og, og til dels arbejdende har jeg for et stykke tid siden, øhm, så handler det om at motion er en prioritet, som man skal have, fordi man ved et er sundt og alle de her ting, men, men det samtidig også noget som skal tilpasses en øh, en ret travl hverdag.

5.51 Interviewer: Mhm.

5.52 INFORMANT 2: Og det kan være svært.

5.55 Interviewer: Ja. Hvad, når du siger det kan være svært, og det er en travl hverdag, hvad er det der kommer i vejen, eller hvad er det, der bliver opprioriteret, øhm, de gange hvor du jo så ikke kommer afsted eller ikke får, får været aktiv?

6.13 INFORMANT 2: Jamen øhm, det, det kan faktisk være, være alt muligt. Jeg prøver så vidt muligt at booke mig ind på nogle hold, øh Fitness World, der kan man booke sig ind på nogle hold, øhm, og prøver og booke mig ind på nogle hold, og så ligesom sætte det i min kalender sådan så jeg ved, okay det har jeg så en time, hvor det så drejer sig om min sundhed og ikke at jeg lige skal nå til et møde eller skrive en opgave eller hvad det nu lige er, øhm, men jeg kan godt finde på og sige, ej okay, den træningstime jeg så har sat ind i min kalender, og som jo burde ligge fast, øh, hvis en veninde lige spørger, skal vi drikke en kop kaffe, eller min kæreste har fri fra arbejde lige den dag eller et eller andet, så ville jeg prioritere at se dem frem for at få den time i fitnesscenteret, øhm, så jeg vægter den sociale relation højere end min ene time i fitnesscenteret.

7.14 Interviewer: Okay. Går du, er fitnesscenteret for dig alene tid?

7.22 INFORMANT 2: Hmm, jeg har tidligere trænet med veninder, øhm, men nogle gang synes jeg det hurtigt kan blive sådan en hyggeklub hvor at, hvis jeg er i fitnesscenteret, så skal det også være effektivt og så skal jeg være der øh, få mest muligt ud af det øh, på kortest tid, øhm, så er jeg heller ikke typen der går og er hele dagen i fitnesscenteret, øh, jeg har ikke et socialt netværk i mit fitnesscenter. Jeg kommer der for at træne, og for at svede og, og for min sundheds skyld men, men jeg kommer der ikke som en social ting, men det kan være nemmere og komme derop, ved at gå sammen med en veninde, men det skal så være effektivt, så hvis jeg har gået med veninder, så har jeg oftest øh, gjort det på hold, fordi ellers, så står man og sludrer om alt muligt.

8.15 Interviewer: Ja.

8.16 INFORMANT 2: Så øhm, ja primært er det en aktivitet jeg har for mig selv, eller alene tid.

8.21 Interviewer: Ja. Okay. Kan du beskrive engang fornyeligt, hvor du spiste usundt eller ikke var aktiv, øh og kan du sige noget om, hvad grunden til det var. Altså en, jeg tænker på at finde en specifik dag, hvor du købt et eller andet lækkert, eller spiste en kage eller...

8.48 INFORMANT 2: Øhm, så det skal kun være en enkelt dag eller skal det være, altså, en periode eller, eller...

8.55 Interviewer: Ej det må, det må også godt være en periode, men, men ikke sådan alt for generelt, øh.

9.01 INFORMANT 2: Okay, jamen øhm, jamen øhm, hvad jeg lige tænke mig om. Ja, altså øh, for eksempel så øh, sidder jeg med et ret presset program i øjeblikket, jeg skriver speciale og jeg søger job og jeg er lige kommet hjem fra Kina, øhm, hvilket gør at, at øhm min kæreste og jeg, vi har ikke ret meget tid sammen, øhm, så når vi endelig har tid sammen, det er oftest om aftenen, så har vi prøvet i høj grad at komme ud og gå en tur, øhm og få noget frisk luft og sådan nogle ting, fordi vi begge to har meget stillesiddende jobs, øhm, men nogle gange, så trækker det altså mere at sidde og drikke en flaske rødvin og øh, det skete i, hvad dag har vi, det er fredag i dag, ja det skete i den her uge mandag tror jeg, eller sådan noget, ja, lad os sige mandag. Øhm, ja.

10.00 Interviewer: Hvad så de gange, hvor øh, hvor det der skete i mandags, det modsatte så sker, altså at det ikke er rødvinen der trækker, men I kommer ud og gå, hvad er det der, der får jer ud og gå, eller hvad er det, der får jer overbevist om at det, det er gåturen frem for rødvinen der trækker den dag?

10.22 INFORMANT 2: Det er øh, nok den sunde fornuft, øhm, som i, vi vil begge to gerne leve sundt, og, hvis vi lavet mad herhjemme, så gør vi det også med sunde råvarer og masser af grønt og sådan, med omtanke for at det ikke er flødekartofler og frikadeller, øhm, så, så når det kommer til ej lad os gå en tur i steden for, lad os drikke en flaske rødvin og sidde foran fjernsynet, øhm, så er det jo fordi det, det der, det er det vi gerne vil være og at, så tror jeg mere, så er det, hmm, hvad skal man sige, ej lad mig lige omformulere det, jeg tror det handler om balancen imellem og have den her hygge, men at det er også hyggeligt, eller kan også være hyggeligt og lave øh, lave det til en gåtur i stedet for, så prøver at ændre ligesom sit vanemønster, fordi vi før i tiden har været rigtig slemme til, at vi så altid drak rødvin, når vi var sammen, eller altid spise et eller andet take away, eller sådan noget i den stil, øhm, så nu sige, ej, lad os gå en tur rundt om øh, rundt i øh området, øhm, det tror jeg er sådan, det der ligesom ... for også netop at få presset noget motion ind i ens travle hverdag, som vi begge to har.

11.40 INTERVIEWER: Ja. Okay, øh...

11.42 INFORMANT 2: Var det, var det klart nok svar?

11.44 INTERVIEWER: Ja, ja, det er så fint.

11.46 INFORMANT 2: (griner)

11.47 INTERVIEWER: Det her vanemønster du selv snakker om, hvad, er du et, meget et vanedyr?

11.53 INFORMANT 2: I forhold til hvad?

11.56 INTERVIEWER: Nu tænkte jeg egentlig bare generelt, om du godt kan lide at tingene er på en måde altid, øh, i forhold til din hverdag og i forhold til ...

12.09 INFORMANT 2: Jeg tror, hmm, jeg tror som, åh, det er et svært spørgsmål, jeg tror for min, for min egen, lad os sige rutine, lad os sige morgenrutine, øh, ja, så er jeg i høj grad et vanedyr, øhm, og aften rutine også, jeg kan godt lide at have min faste base, øhm, og kan godt lide at, ja, ja, ja,

det tror jeg egentlig godt jeg kan lide vanen, øhm, men samtidig så er jeg også ret omstillingsparat, øhm, sådan i de store livsbeslutninger. Jeg tror, når det kommer ned til, ja ens morgenroutine og sådan nogle ting, der tror jeg, at jeg er ret svær at rykke på, men jeg tror i de store ting, ny job, øh ny livsstil, øh, sådan de store, store ting, så tror jeg øh, så tror jeg, jeg er ret omstillingsparat.

13.08 INTERVIEWER: Mhm. Hvad så i forhold til dine kostvaner? Nu nævner du selv at når I går tur så, det er et forsøg på at bryde en vane ...

13.17 INFORMANT 2: Mhm.

13.18 INTERVIEWER: Øh, så i forhold til din kost eller motionsvaner, øh, hvordan udover at gå ture engang i mellem og få jer ud, er det noget du bevidst gør, øh, for at ændre en vane, eller er det, ej okay, jeg prøver lige igen (griner), ja, som udgangspunkt er du ret opmærksom på at have sunde vaner?

13.57 INFORMANT 2: Ja.

13.59 INTERVIEWER: Så de vaner, der ikke er sunde, prøver du bevidst at ændre dem, eller er det noget der nogle gange bare sker eller er det slet ikke noget du rigtig overvejer?

14.10 INFORMANT 2: Det er helt sikkert bevidst, det er meget bevidst, øhm, fordi hvis det ikke er bevidst, jamen så, så kommer det ikke til at ske, så jeg tror jeg, jeg tror, øhm, jeg havde sådan forestillingen om, da jeg kom hjem fra Kina, at nu skulle jeg omlægge hele mit liv, og jeg skulle træne øh, fire gange om ugen, og jeg skulle spise øh salat hele tiden, og, og det hed ikke nogen alkohol, og, og sådan nogle ting, men, men jeg, jeg har fundet ud af, at det er enormt svært, og det er enormt svært fordi, der er jo en masse sociale sammenhænge man pludselig indgår i igen, som så gør at man siger, ej lad os drikke et glas vin, og det lyder jo som om det er de andre, der får mig til at drikke vin, det er jo lige så meget mig selv, der gerne vil drikke vin, øhm, så, så jeg tror, hvis det er man skal ændre en vane, eller en ændre et livsmønster eller sådan nogen ting, så skal man starte med en ting, og et kunne jo så være for eksempel, ej nu går vi en tur i stedet for, nu går vi en tur tre gange om ugen, i stedet for en gang om måneden, og at så langsomt, så bliver det forhåbentlig også noget man så har lyst til, altså at det kommer helt naturligt at man siger, ej lad os lige komme ud og få noget frisk luft, i stedet for, nå, men vi må også hellere lige få noget frisk luft egentlig, fordi det er jo sundt, øhm, så tror jeg det handler om at starte i det små med at få ændret sådan de små ting først, øh, som så forhåbentlig fører til øh, et sundere livsstil, hvis det er det man ligesom sigter efter, ja det tror jeg, det tror jeg. Svarede det på spørgsmålet?

15.46 INTERVIEWER: Ja, ja, ja.

15.46 INFORMANT 2: Nå okay.

15.47 INTERVIEWER: Bliver du nogen sinde påvirket øh, ubevidst, altså bliver du påvirket, når du er nede og handle af de omgivelser du handler i? ... Jeg ved godt det er lidt svært at svare op, om du bliver påvirket decideret ubevidst, fordi det er jo ubevidst men, men føler du at reklamer, eller billeder, eller et eller andet det gør nogen forskel for, hvad du putter i kurven?

16.18 INFORMANT 2: Ja, det tror jeg i høj grad, det tror jeg, jeg tror også øh, at måden øh, hvad hedder sådan noget, supermarkederne de indretter deres butik på er, er garanteret øh, ret tænkt igennem i forhold til den måde man, eller jeg som forbruger, skal blive fristet af forskellige ting, øhm, og at jeg tror på at de har, det har jeg i hvert fald nede i den lokale Fakta her på Islands Brygge, at der har de sat grøntafdelingen først, øhm, sådan så, armen man tænker lige over det, når man komme ind, men så er der bare en ret stor butik efter det, som er fyldt med rigtig mange lækre ting, men du bliver faktisk ikke konfronteret med det grønne øh, efter du er går igennem den afdeling, der kan du sådan set udgå og øh, hvis vi snakker sådan lidt ubevidst, skulle blive konfronteret med, husk lige det sunde, øhm, og jeg tror også det er nemmere at sælge de usunde varer, end det er at

sælge de sunde varer, fordi det ligger helt naturligt, at vi gerne vil have det øh, det usunde, vi elsker jo alt med fedt og salt og sukker, øhm, så det, det tror jeg i høj grad, at man ubevidst bliver påvirket af, jeg kan jo ikke sådan svare for hvordan jeg så bliver påvirket, men jeg kunne forestille mig at, at det i høj grad også er noget de har med i deres overvejelser.

17.49 INTERVIEWER: Ja. Ja.

17.52 INFORMANT 2: Et eksempel jeg bare lige kom på øh, var at de her spothylder med varer, der er sat ned til en, til en rigtig billig pris, det er jo aldrig sunde produkter, øh, det er jo altid øh slik, kage øh, færdigvarer, produkter med en masse tilsætningsstoffer og, og sådan noget hvor det er jo blandt andet en måde at man måske ubevidst bliver tiltrukket eller rent bevidst, fordi man går efter billigere varer. Det kunne være måske en måde.

18.21 INTERVIEWER: Køber du nogensinde de her spotvarer så? Bliver du tiltrukket af dem?

18.25 INFORMANT 2: I høj grad, ja, øhm, specielt i Fakta og Netto, der øh, der går jeg faktisk altid hen og kigger i de her spotvarer hylder, og det er så uanset om jeg lige har brug for det eller ej, men jeg går altid lige over og kigger om der er et eller andet jeg lige mangler øhm, og som oftest, så køber jeg øh, eller jeg køber mange af mine produkter som tandbørster og tandpasta og shampoo og deodorant og sådan noget, det kan jeg som ofte... bind ... som oftest finde øh, som tilbudsvare.

18.59 INTERVIEWER: Hvad med øh, med slik og kager og usunde ting, bliver du også fristet af dem, når de ligger i spot?

19.07 INFORMANT 2: Ja, det tror jeg, jeg gør, men nok ikke lige så meget, fordi jeg er jo også ret bevidst om specielt slik og kage, øhm, at det, det er nok noget, der kun sket sjældent, øhm, men jo, nu når jeg sidder her og skriver speciale er der også mange langt timer, hvor man sidder og måske kan begynde at kede sig lidt, øhm, og så er det bare rigtig dejligt at have en pose lakridser liggende, øhm, så hvis de er på tilbud, hmm så, så køber jeg dem nok i højere grad, men Mars barer og sådan noget, det, det køber jeg egentlig næsten aldrig.

19.43 INTERVIEWER: Okay. Hvad er det der er dejligt ved at have en pose lakridser lige liggende?

19.51 INFORMANT 2: Jamen det er jo en behovstilfredsstillelse tænker jeg, øhm, ja, det er ved det der med at man, ja man keder sig lidt og man synes det hele er lidt svært og sådan nogle ting, og så er det en måde at ligesom få en til at føle sig bedre på, eller bedre tilpas på, øhm, sådan snakker om sådan is som sådan en comfort food, øhm, at, at jeg tror også at man, givet at, som vi snakkede om før, det er en social kontekst, så tror jeg også at man tillægger øh mad nogle følelser som man har, øhm, og at det så med mig er det bare lakrids og helst så salt som overhoved muligt, jeg skal helst ikke kunne mærke min mund bagefter, øhm, så, så det er den følelse jeg får af det, og det er derfor jeg har det liggende, det er fordi, uha, der kunne godt opstå en situation, hvis jeg sad og skrev speciale eller, eller et eller andet hvor jeg sådan, ej, det skal jeg have for mig, fordi så er det lidt nemmere at komme igennem, på en eller anden måde.

20.54 INTERVIEWER: Mhm. Når øh, køber lakrids for eksempel, er det et spontant valg, der opstår, når du er dermede, Øh nede og handle alligevel, eller er det noget du tænker bevidst, nu går jeg ned og jeg skal også have lakridser?

21.12 INFORMANT 2: Ej det er spontant, ja, det tror jeg, største delen af gangene næsten, så er det spontant.

21.20 INTERVIEWER: Okay.

21.21 INFORMANT 2: Ja.

21.22 INTERVIEWER: Hvad med jeres gåture, er det planlagt, eller er det også, når I sidder i sofaen og snakken går på, hvad I skal lave nu her, om det så er en gåtur eller rødvin.

21.34 INFORMANT 2: Det er også største delen af gangene spontant, øhm, men, men det tror jeg også er fordi at, lige med hensyn til at mødes med min kæreste, er det også oftest ret spontant og lige på dagen, øh, det er meget sjældent vi lige har planlagt hvilke dage vi skal ses langt ud i fremtiden, fordi der bare, der er så mange ting, der kan nå at ændre sig, for begge vores skemaer.

21.58 INTERVIEWER: Okay. Ja. Nu har du godt været lidt inde på det med, hvorfor nu nogle gange selv spiser usundt, med den sociale kontekst eller øh, comfort food, som du selv lige nævnte, men hvad tror du er den typiske grund til at folk spiser usundt eller ikke har, er aktive? Hvis du bare skal givet et vilkårligt bud.

22.22 INFORMANT 2: Hvad er den typiske grund til at folk spiser usundt og ikke er aktive... Det tror jeg, det er fordi at, jeg tror i bund og grund så er mennesket helt vildt dovent, dovent anlagt, øh, hvis jeg kunne ligge i sofaen så ville jeg gøre det hele tiden, øhm, ja så, så det tror jeg egentlig er der for, det er nemmere, jeg tror altid at mennesker, fordi det er dovent, vælger den nemmeste løsning og den nemmeste løsninger er så at ligge på sofaen eller at åben en flaske vin eller ikke tage ned og træne, fordi så var der en god film i fjernsynet i stedet for, øhm, så, man, man burde jo tænke, ej jeg, jeg giver mig selv øh, mere værdi nu ved at gå ned og træne, eller løbe en tur, eller spise en grøn salat i stedet for, men, men det, det tror jeg bare er svært for hjernen at ligesom vænne det tankemønster om for den almindelige borger, eller hvad man nu skal kalde det, for det almindelig, almindelige mennesker. Hvorimod sportsudøvere, de har jo meget den tankegang med at det ligesom deres liv og sådan nogle ting, ja, det tror jeg.

23.47 INTERVIEWER: Mhm. Ja. Øhm, det her er endnu et måske lidt svært spørgsmål, men når du står med for eksempel lakridser i hænderne, hvad kan få dig til at lægge den tilbage igen, og ikke købe den den dag?

24.20 INFORMANT 2: Den øh dårlige samvittighed først og fremmest, og dernæst prisen. Øhm, fordi det jo netop er noget jeg ikke har brug for på den måde, så er jeg også ret prissensitiv over for det, øhm, ja, det tror jeg, men umiddelbart den dårlige samvittighed er nok den største oversag, jeg tænker, ej, det kan jeg ikke lige tillade mig i dag, fordi nu drak jeg også et glas vin i går eller hvad det nu er.

24.52 INTERVIEWER: Laver du så et indre regnskab øh, for hvad du spiste i dag og i går, altså ikke at du skriver det ned i en lille stor bog, men er det noget du overvejer, hvad der er sket dagene før og efter i forhold til hvad du kan i dag?

25.08 INFORMANT 2: Ja, helt sikkert. Hvis jeg skal ud og spise en stor middag med veninder eller familie eller sådan noget, så, i løbet af dagen spiser jeg måske det mindre eller tænker lige over, ej okay, men jeg skal også ud og spise en stor middag senere hen, og der vil jeg gerne kunne spise det jeg har lyst til, så nu passer jeg lige lidt på i løbet af dagen, eller dagen inden, eller dagen efter, det tror jeg i høj grad jeg gør ja.

25.34 INTERVIEWER: Mhm. Har du en præference til, hvornår en glæde skal ske, altså forstået på en måde, har du større glæde ved at spise is senere på aftenen med, alene, eller med nogle venner, end hvis du bare gjorde det nu og her alene eller med venner?

26.03 INFORMANT 2: Jeg tror ikke jeg forstår spørgsmålet.

26.05 INTERVIEWER: Nej, øhm, det er når du siger, i forhold til at du siger at du tænker over de forskellige dage, hvad du har spist før og efter og, om du føler større glæde ved at vente med at spise den, og så glæde dig til det, eller om det skal være mere specielt, hvis du skal vente frem for at, lad os sige du har en pose lakridser liggende nu, får du større... ej, jeg tror ikke rigtig det kan formuleres uden jeg leder dig for meget i forhold til noget.

26.47 INFORMANT 2: Okay.

26.48 INTERVIEWER: Nej, øh, nej, den dropper vi.

26.53 INFORMANT 2: Okay. Jamen det er i orden.

26.56 INTERVIEWER: Har du så perioder af sund og perioder af usund, altså hvor du i flere dage af gangen er sund, eller hvor du i flere dage af gangen er usund?

27.09 INFORMANT 2: Ja.

27.10 INTERVIEWER: Eller er det sådan rimelig kontinuerligt øh ....

27.13 INFORMANT 2: Nej.

27.14 INTERVIEWER: Okay. Kan du fortælle lidt om de perioder, hvor du lever usundt?

27.19 INFORMANT 2: Øh, det er perioder med øh, mange sociale aktiviteter, det er perioder med meget stress, øh, hvor der er fokus på andre ting som skal færdiggøres eller opnås, øh, og det er i perioder med følelsesmæssig ustabilitet, det tror jeg er de tro, ja.

27.52 Mhm. Hvad inspirerer dig så, hvis man kan sige det sådan, til de perioder, hvor du så lever sundt?

28.02 INFORMANT 2: Altså i forhold af decideret blogs eller medier eller mere sådan tanken bag?

28.11 INTERVIEWER: Hvad der, hvis du har været i en, i en øh usund periode for eksempel, hvad er det der får dig til at stå op om morgenens og tænke, ej, i dag kommer jeg faktisk ned i fitnesscenteret, og så får jeg spise en salat eller...

28.25 INFORMANT 2: Øh, det er at jeg kan se det op min vægt og at jeg får øh, en lad krop, øhm, jeg har fået meget op i kropidealer og den perfekte krop og sådan nogle ting, det tror jeg slet ikke man kan undgå i den verden vi laver i, øhm, så jeg tror jeg er blevet mere afslappet med min krop efterhånden som jeg er blevet ældre, men øh, men i høj grad så er det, når det er jeg begynder at kunne se, ej, den her delle var der altså ikke for et stykke tid siden, eller min hud ser også træt ud eller jeg er træt, jeg er lad, jeg er doven, jeg gider ikke lave noget. Det er det der inspirer mig til og så sige, nå, nu skal jeg også få trænet og nu skal jeg få gjort noget ved det, nu skal jeg spise sundere og sådan nogle ting. Og så går der som oftest en periode, hvor jeg er ret øhm, hvor jeg er ret intensivt motiveret for det, specielt hvis jeg har tid, hvis jeg ikke har tid, så går jeg slet ikke ind i det, fordi, det kan jeg simpelthen ikke overskud, selvom det burde jo være den anden vej rundt, men sådan er det nu engang. Øhm, og så er jeg ret dedikeret til så og opnå et væggttab eller noget i den stil. Så, det tror jeg er, er sådan.

29.39 INTERVIEWER: Mhm. Synes du det er nemmere at holde ved, når du er i en periode, hvor du for eksempel har, i nogle dage været sund?

29.47 INFORMANT 2: Ja, i høj grad. Hvis man er inde i en rytme, og det er jo også sådan tilbage til omlægning af vaner, øhm, hvis man er inde i den vane med at træne, eller en rytme med at træne tre, fire gange om ugen, armen så ligger det også sådan lidt mere på rygraden, det er ikke noget man skal tvinge sig til på sammen måde, som hvis man ikke har træner. Også fordi kroppen jo øh, heldigvis, kommer i bedre form og bliver stærkere, og man får mere energi og, alle de her positive øh, hvad kan man kalde det, side effects, eller mål, som opnås ved at, for eksempel, træne ofte og spise sundt og sådan nogle ting. Så i høj grad.

30.24 INTERVIEWER: Mhm. Ja. Øhm, hvis du spiser usunde ting, er det så typisk noget du har købt samme dag, eller er det noget du har haft liggende i skabene som du finder?

30.45 INFORMANT 2: Både og.

30.47 INTERVIEWER: Okay. Så en, en lidt anden ting, eller det er sådan set i sammen dur, har du tit usunde ting liggende i skabene?

31.01 INFORMANT 2: Nej. Øh, nej det har jeg egentlig ikke. Altså jo, jeg har tit øh, slik der kan holde længe, altså en pose lakridser for eksempel, eller en pose bolcher kan jeg også godt, øh, og så i stedet for at jeg tager hele posen ind, hvis jeg skal sidde ved spisebordet, så tager jeg et par stykker, sådan så det er noget, der holder længe et eller andet sted, så på den måde prøver jeg at begrænse indtaget, øhm, men jeg har ikke altså, jeg har ikke sådan kager eller flødeboller eller Mars bar eller sådan nogle ting liggende, øhm, jeg kunne faktisk ikke drømme om at spise en Mars bar, øh bare sådan lige, fordi det kunne være meget sjovt, det, det, det kunne jeg ikke, men jeg kunne godt finde på at spise fem bolcher, fordi i min optik, så er det ikke nær på usundt, hvilket også er åndssvagt, men øh, men det tror jeg er, så er det nogle ting, som kan holde lidt længere, så får jeg ikke nær så dårlig samvittighed på en eller anden måde.

32.09 INTERVIEWER: Altså så kan du bedre dele det op over mange dage for eksempel.

32.12 INFORMANT 2: Ja. Altså en Mars bar ville man jo ikke åbne og så lade halvdelen ligge, der ville man jo spise det hele, øhm, ja det ville jeg i hver fald, øhm, men et bolche, der kan du godt åbne posen og spise tre bocler, men lade resten ligge, det tror er den måde man, jeg prøver ligesom at retfærdiggøre at spise det sukker.

32.37 INTERVIEWER: Ja. Ja, jamen øh, jeg har faktisk ikke rigtig flere spørgsmål, men har du noget du vil sige inden vi slutter?

32.48 INFORMANT 2: Nej jeg vil sige tusind tak for det.

32.53 INTERVIEWER: Jamen det er mig der takker, tak fordi du ville deltage.

32.54 INFORMANT 2: Det var så lidt.

32.55 INTERVIEWER: Og øh, nu kan jeg jo så godt afsløre at formålet med det her interview, det har været at undersøge nogle af de mekanismer, der influerer din beslutningstagen, når du vælger eller ikke vælger at spise sundt øh, eller at være aktiv, fordi jeg i mit speciale vil undersøge, om der er nogen mulighed for at vi kan ændre, eller være med til at ændre de her beslutningsprocesser.

33.17 INFORMANT 2: Mhm.

33.18 INTERVIEWER: Så, ja.

33.19 INFORMANT 2: Har du kigget på psykosomatiske processer?

33.22 INTERVIEWER: Nej.

33.24 INFORMANT 2: Det skal du gøre.

33.25 INTERVIEWER: Det vil jeg gøre, tak.

33.27 INFORMANT 2: Jamen selv tak, farvel.

## 15.6.2 Informant 2: Memos

### 15.6.2.1 Memo 1: Healthy living – why?

According to informant 2, healthy living matters a great deal to her and for many reasons. Firstly, because she wants to loose weight, secondly, because she wants to live a long life and finally, because she wants a healthy temple (personal communication, March 4, 2016, 0:36). She is very conscious about changing bad eating habits because she believes that it wouldn't happen if she didn't do it consciously (personal communication, March 4, 2016, 14:10). Nevertheless, she argues that the choice of buying sweet is almost always spontaneous (informant 2, personal communication, March 4, 2016, 21:12).

However, sometimes she is incapable of making the healthy choice. This happens when she is in a social setting. In that case it is part of the culture and "hygge", i.e. having a good time, to eat or drink something e.g. cake. Therefore, it does not seem to matter as much that she eats an extra piece of cake, when she is amongst friends or family. She also mentions that no one wants to eat cucumber sticks when they are gathered (informant 2, personal communication, March 4, 2016, 2:00). Furthermore, she wants to drink wine etc. when she is in a social setting (informant 2, personal communication, March 4, 2016, 14:10).

Related to the cultures of having a good time, informant 2 also tends to eat unhealthy if she feels she deserves it (personal communication, March 4, 2016, 2:57) or if she is bored (informant 2, personal communication, March 4, 2016, 19:07), having a hard time or wants to feel better (informant 2, personal communication, March 4, 2016, 19:51). Informant 2 believes that we assign feelings to food, e.g. comfort food, which influences her decision to eat healthy or not (personal communication, March 4, 2016, 19:51).

She believes the reason for thinking that it doesn't matter is that in the situation she is more concerned about the present than the long-term consequences (informant 2, personal communication, March 4, 2016, 2:57). This implies that she has a time preference for the present utility of a piece of food. After the situation has passed informant 2 sometimes gets a guilty conscious (personal communication, March 4, 2016, 2:57), which is the biggest reason why she does not eat unhealthy (informant 2, personal communication, March 4, 2016, 24:20). This implies that she does not always make the best decision when she is in the moment. When she realises what she has done she feels that she needs to run to burn what she has eaten (informant 2, personal communication, March 4, 2016, 2:57). This indicates the action of mental accounting.

Another reason for not being able to make the healthy choice is the presumed influence of the way the supermarkets are organised, which tempts the consumer and which informant 2 believes to be influenced by to a high extend (personal communication, March 4, 2016, 16:18). Thus she believes that she is influenced by the choice architecture of a supermarket.

Moreover, she is to a high extend influenced by special product offerings at the supermarkets with their low prices (informant 2, personal communication, March 4, 2016, 17:52; 18:25).

Furthermore, she is to a high extend influenced by what she has eaten earlier, e.g. the day before or what she will eat later, e.g. in the evening or the following day (informant 2, personal communication, March 4, 2016, 25:08). This indicates irrational decision, no time preference and mental accounting.

Categories: Healthy living, hygge

Properties: Loose weight, live long, healthy temple, social, culture, "hygge", no cucumber sticks, guilty conscious, deserves it, conscious decision, feel better, bored, hard time, assign feelings, organisation, special product offerings, spontaneous, days before and after

Dimensions: to a high extend (influences), not important (when social, in culture and having a good time), wants to (others and she), cheap, biggest (reason)

#### *15.6.2.2 Memo 2: Considerations – How?*

When trying to live healthy, informant 2 considers what she buys at the supermarket. Thus, she reads about the ingredients and tries to buy products that are low in fat, high in fibre and fills up so her blood sugar does not go crazy (personal communication, March 4, 2016 1:07). Furthermore, she tried to avoid eating sweets and cakes (informant 2, personal communication, March 4, 2016, 1:47). Finally, she tries to limit her intake of unhealthy food, this is done by only taking a few pieces out of the bag of sweets (informant 2, personal communication, March 4, 2016, 31:01). Doing so implies an act of precommitting.

Categories: Considerations

Properties: ingredients (fat, fibre, fills us), avoids sweets and cakes, limit, only a few pieces

Dimensions:

#### *15.6.2.3 Memo 3: "hygge"*

According to informant 2, "hygge", i.e. having a good time is considered a culture, which involves eating or drink something unhealthy, since no one wants to eat cucumber sticks when they are gathered (personal communication, March 4, 2016, 2:00). Sweets, cakes and alcohol is to a high extend a symbol of having a good time. It is a social construction (informant 2, personal communication, March 4, 2016, 4:13).

Categories: Hygge

Properties: Culture, eating and drinking unhealthy, no cucumber sticks, sweets, cakes and alcohol are symbol, social construction

Dimensions: To a high extend

#### *15.6.2.4 Memo 4: Physical activity*

Informant 2 is a member of a gym and bikes everywhere, but in general she finds it difficult to fit physical activity into her life. It is something that should be prioritised but at the same time needs to adjust to a busy everyday, that is why the gym fits her well, because of the flexibility.

Physical activity is referred to by informant 2 as the necessary evil to have a healthy body. (personal communication, March 4, 2016, 4:46).

Sometimes her boyfriend and she goes for walks to get some physical activity into a busy everyday life (informant 2, personal communication, March 4, 2016, 9:01; 10:22).

Usually informant 2 likes to go to the gym alone, if she goes with a friend it tends to become too much of a chatting club, and she wants it to be efficient, to get as much as possible out of it in the shortest amount of time. However, sometimes it makes it easier to go with a friend. When going with a friend she usually attends courses to avoid chatting too much. (Informant 2, personal communication, March 4, 2016, 7:22). This could be considered an act of precommitment.

Sometimes

Categories: Physical activity

Properties: Gym, biking, necessary evil, healthy body, chatting club, walks

Dimensions: Adjust, busy, priority, difficult, flexibility, efficiency, most done in the shortest amount of time, easier (with a friend),

#### *15.6.2.5 Memo 5: Prioritising*

Informant 2 believes physical activity is important, which is why she tries to ensure that she does it, e.g. by booking classes at the gym ahead of time and putting them into her calendar. However, there are other things in her life that she prioritises higher such as a meeting, writing an assignment or social relations (informant 2, personal communication, March 4, 2016, 6:13).

The fact that she puts things into her calendar is part of the act of precommitting.

However, even though she is currently pressed for time and she and her boyfriend try to go for a walk instead of sitting in the couch. They try to break their pattern of habits and trying to change what having a good time means that it can also mean going for a walk (informant 2, personal communication, March 4, 2016, 9:01; 10:22). It is done spontaneously, because their everyday lives do not allow long-time planning (Informant 2, personal communication, March 4, 2016, 21:34).

They used to always drink wine together or eat take out, now they go for walks as well (informant 2, personal communication, March 4, 2016, 10:22). Thus, they are trying to influence their automatic system with the rational system. Furthermore, they are trying to change the framing of having a good time. Also, informant 2 mentions that it is their common sense that makes them change their behaviour, the behaviour they are trying to implement exemplifies the people they want to be (personal communication, March 4, 2016, 10:22). Hence, they are trying to implement the anticipation utility, which allows them to postpone the gratification because of the higher anticipated gratification in the future.

In relation to habits, informant 2 is a creature of habits and likes her routines when it comes to her morning and evening routines, e.g. the small things, however, with the big things, she is ready to embrace change, e.g. new job, new lifestyle, (personal communication, March 4, 2016, 12:09).

When informant 2 is asked why she presumes most people are inactive and eat unhealthy she answered that it is because the human being is lazy, and that she would lie on the couch all day if she could. Because it is the easier way, to stay on the couch, opening a bottle of wine instead of working out. One should think that it would be more valuable to eat healthy or work out, however, that is not the usual pattern of thought. (informant 2, personal communication, March 4, 2016, 22:22).

Categories: Prioritising

Properties: social relations, meeting, assignment, put in calendar, having a good time, habits, going for walks, how they want to be, common sense, routines (morning, evening), lazy,

Dimensions: Higher (prioritised), likes (routines), more valuable, easier

#### *15.6.2.6 Memo 6: Healthy living*

During the interview the distinction between healthy eating and physical activity was clear, however, for the last part of the interview, informant 2 referred to it as healthy living, which included both healthy eating and physical activity (personal communication, March 4, 2016, 28:25). She is less inclined to live healthy when she has many social activities, has a lot of stress and focus on other things or when she is emotionally unstable (Informant 2, personal communication, March 4, 2016, 27:19). Furthermore, she is influenced to live healthier to a high extend when her body gets lazy and she can tell on her body that she gets rolls of fat. Also, when she feels tired or her skin looks tired. However, it is only if she has the time and the energy that she engages actively in healthy living. (informant 2, personal communication, March 4, 2016, 28:25).

Finally, she is to a high extend influenced by rhythms. If she is in a rhythm of living healthy, it is not something she needs to be forced to do, it is instinctively done. (informant 2, personal communication, March 4, 2016, 29:47).

Categories: Healthy living

Properties: social activities, stress, focus (on other things), emotionally unstable, lazy (body), tired (she and skin), time, energy, weight, rhythm, force, instinctively

Dimensions: To a high extend

### 15.6.3 Informant 2: Open coding categories

Categories	Working out	Everyday things	Being healthy	Insight	Factors influencing work out	Factors influencing healthy living	Rhythm	Help	Avoid unhealthiness	Access (to food)
Properties	Burn [calories]	Biking	Being in shape	Studies	Busy	Sore	Campaigns	Structure day	Lying around (stash)	
	unwinding	Taking the car	Working out	Daily structure	Treat	duty	Show it	Excess things (bringing carrots)	same day	
	using the body	taking the stairs	minimise sugar and fat	rhythm	Wants to (eat unhealthy)	hurdle	Practical enlightenment	enlightened dimension	stop block	
	clearing the head	taking the elevator	eat vegetables	procrastination activities (Facebook, grocery shopping, watching a movie, playing	Justify		consumer programmes	not buying unhealthy food	self-control	
	pushing oneself	Eating an apple	not drinking [alkohol]	weather	temptation			fill up		
	the feeling afterwards	Walking	not eating sweets	distance	moment of weakness					
	Productive (with the body)		prevents getting fat		need (hungry or long day)					
	leads somewhere (on the body)			Take out (unhealthy)	cravings					
				food prepared by him (healthy)	enough dinner					
					missing stop block					
Dimensions					hours awake					
					Information					

#### 15.6.4 Informant 2: Axial coding categories

Categories	Working out	Healthy eating and drinking	The small things	Information	Factors influencing work out	Factors influencing healthy eating	Indirect strategies
Properties	Lead to something unwinding using the body	minimise sugar and fat eat vegetables not drinking alkohol	Biking Taking the car taking the stairs enlighten (information)	Campaigns Show it habit	Studies Daily structure procrastination activities (Facebook, grocery shopping, watching a movie, playing computer)	Busy Treat Wants to (eat unhealthy) Justify mental accounting (balance)	Structure day Excess things (bringing carrots) Practical dimension
	clearing the head	prevents getting fat	taking the elevator	consumer programmes			not buying unhealthy food
	pushing oneself	Take out (unhealthy)	Eating an apple			fill up	
	the feeling afterwards	home cooking (healthy)	Walking	being healthy		lack of self-control	
	being in shape				moment of weakness		
					need (hungry, long day, hours awake)		
					cravings		
					missing stop block		
					no diminishing utility		
					time preference		
Dimensions	Important like	Balance/no balance (healthy/unhealthy)	Like (moving around)	Living healthy/unhealth y	1-2 time a week work out (being healthy)	balance (healthy/unhealthy)	Rather sleep (not important)
		Not important/important	Different	duty		fast (food preparation)	annoying
	Burn calories		Flooded (e.g. Small things)	hurdle		easy (food)	flexibility
	Build muscles		effect (of external help)	irksome (duty)		delicious (here in relation to healthy food)	competitive
			Better (things one could do)	Focus (with less things)		cheap	look bad
						automatic action	big role (being full)
						hard (to stop)	
						Not good	
						Good (for the body/us)	

## 15.7 Informant 3

### 15.7.1 Informant 3: Transcription

Interview with informant 3, March 4 2016

0.01 INTERVIEWER: Nå, ja, men øhm, tak fordi du vil deltagte

0.04 INFORMANT 3: Det var så lidt.

0.05 INTERVIEWER: Øhm, altså ja, som jeg sagde tidligere, så vil jeg ikke sige for meget om hvad det skal bruges til, fordi jeg vil ikke influere det, du kommer til at sige, men det skal bruges til mit speciale, og jeg skriver med Novo Nordisk, så ja, kan jeg fortælle mere bagefter.

0.19 INFORMANT 3: Ja.

0.20 INTERVIEWER: Øhm, men er det at leve sundt, noget der påvirker dine beslutninger i forhold til kost og fysisk aktivitet?

0.30 INFORMANT 3: Ja det er det.

0.32 INTERVIEWER: Mhm, hvordan øh, hvordan tænker du på det i din hverdag?

0.36 INFORMANT 3: Øh, altså jeg prøver ligesom at sådan, få det meget med både i sådan måltider, men også sådan at være lidt fysisk aktiv og sådan, så tænke, nu, jeg arbejder på et kontor fx, og går i skole, så det er ikke fordi man rør sig så meget der, så nogle gange så tænker jeg, selvom, selvom der er langt til Frederiksberg, så tager jeg cyklen i stedet for, fx, øhm, og også i forhold til sådan, ja, at leve sundt, nu sådan, ja, jeg synes det er alligevel sådan, altså det er egentlig ikke så svært, som man måske skulle tro lige at få lidt flere grøntsager med i maden eller et eller andet, så det plejer jeg altid lige at gøre. Så det er sådan, ja.

1.14 INTERVIEWER: Okay. Tænker du over sådan noget som øh at taget trapperne i stedet for elevatoren, de der små ting, nu nævnte du selv det med cyklen.

1.21 INFORMANT 3: ja, en lille smule, øhm, men det kommer også lidt an på dage og tidspunkt på dagen og, altså hvis det er klokken syv om morgen, så kan det godt være, at jeg er tilbøjelig til at tage elevatoren, selvom man egentlig burde tage trapperne.

1.33 INTERVIEWER: Mhm.

1.34 INFORMANT 3. Øhm, men ellers så sådan, ja jeg prøver så, sådan, de små ting betyder jo også noget...

1.39 INTERVIEWER: Mhm.

1.40 INFORMANT 3: ... og lige tage nogle gange lige tage supermarketdet lidt længere væk forbi, bare lige at få lidt luft og lige går lidt.

1.46 INTERVIEWER: Mhm.

1.47 INFORMANT 3: Men, øhm, ja, jeg er også lidt doven nogle gange så, altså det skal man heller ikke være for fin til.

1.53 INTERVIEWER: Når du så øh, når du så tager det supermarket, der ligger tæt på, eller du tager elevatoren, fordi klokken er syv, hvad er det der, får dig til, eller at, tænker du noget inden du gør det, eller er der noget sådan bestemt, hvor, armen så er det fordi, ja...

2.10 INFORMANT 3: ja, altså sådan, så er det egentlig mest bare sådan, tid.

2.13 INTERVIEWER: Okay.

2.14 INFORMANT 3: Altså sådan, og sådan, at så nogle gange går det hurtigere at tage elevatoren eller så hopper jeg bare lige derved, for bare lige og får det overstået...

2.22 INTERVIEWER: Mhm.

2.23 INFORMANT 3: Øhm, fordi jeg synes nogle gange så sådan, ligesom også med at lave mad, nogle gange så ville jeg gerne bruge tiden på at lave noget god mad, men det er ikke så tit at man ligesom, det er ikke altid, at man har tiden til at, og ligesom lægge al det tid, som man gerne vil, i det.

2.37 INTERVIEWER: Mhm.

2.38 INFORMANT 3: Så, så nogle gang, så skal det bare lige overstås, og så tager man gerne elevatoren eller metroen eller et eller andet, ja.

2.45 INTERVIEWER: ja. Okay. Mhm. Hmm, kan du så, kan du sige lidt mere om, hvad du gør for at holde dig fysisk aktivt, eller for at spise sundt, altså, hvad, når du står nede og handler, hvad får dig til så, at købe flere grøntsager i, til aftensmaden fx, eller.

3.10 INFORMANT 3: Øhm, i nogen grad min kæreste, som også sådan er ligesom, altså, hun har en lidt større tilbøjelighed til at ville have flere grøntsager, øhm, men jeg synes også det er rigtig lækkert fx at, altså jeg plejer altså sådan, når jeg laver mad, og så sådan, først gå hen og kigge på, hvad for noget kød har de, og så ligesom, køb på tilbud, også fordi jeg er mand, så jeg kan godt lide sådan, det er ligesom sådan, det vigtige i mit, og så gå over og kigge på grøntsager, og lave sådan, men jeg plejer altid at tænke sådan, at grøntsagerne ligesom, er lige så vigtig en del som, som, altså ikke ligesom kødet, men som, som fx som tilbehøret, øhm, og det er også faktisk tit, at vi sådan bytter tilbehøret ud med nogle grøntsager i stedet for, øhm, så i stedet for sådan, i stedet for at tage spaghetti, så kan vi stege noget spidskål, eller et eller andet.

3.59 INTERVIEWER: Mhm.

4.00 INFORMANT 3: så, det, det sådan, ja.

4.03 INTERVIEWER: Ja. Okay, er det noget øh, nej, ej ikke noget. Øhm, når du så, hvis I køber usunde ting, altså enten færdigretter eller slik, snacks, kager, sodavand, whatever, øh, er der nogle tidspunkter, hvor I er mere til... eller du er mere tilbøjelig til at være usund eller være mindre aktiv fx.

4.28 INFORMANT 3: Hmm, altså jeg vil sige, det komme lidt an på sådan, hvordan ugen har været, fordi hvad jeg har været på arbejde, hvor vi har en lækker kantine med masser af frugt og grønt og alt sådan, så kan jeg godt være mere tilbøjeligt til, når jeg så bare kommer hjem om aftenen, og så lave en øh, en leverpostejsmad og en rugbrøds, altså en ostemad eller et eller anden sådan, og det sammen også sådan, hvis jeg ligesom, hvis jeg har fået, føler at jeg har fået god mad på arbejdet fx, så kan jeg godt være mere tilbøjelig til bare og, og sådan slække lidt på sundheden i gåseøjne, og sådan, i weekenden fx.

5.00 INTERVIEWER: Mhm.

5.01 INFORMANT 3: Fordi at man ligesom sådan, så føler man ligesom, at regnskabet ligesom er fint der, ikke.

5.05 INTERVIEWER: Mhm.

5.06 INFORMANT 3: Øhm, og ellers så sådan, altså jeg synes ikke vi er så slik og sukker, altså sådan grise, som man kunne være, altså sådan, så kan vi bedre lide at lave sådan, øh, sådan i gåseøjne, sunde snacks, hvor det så er sådan, øh, med nogle dadler og rosiner og mandler og et eller andet sådan, som sådan, i stedet for bare decideret slik fx, kager og sådan noget.

5.33 INTERVIEWER: Mhm. Er det, er det så dit forslag, eller er det din kæreste? Fordi nu nævnte du før, at hun var, trak mere i den sunde retning...

5.43 INFORMANT 3: Hmm.

5.43 INTERVIEWER: ... så da det, før du havde din kæreste, var det så også sådan?

5.47 INFORMANT 3: Øhm, ja, det vil jeg faktisk mene, fordi vi er begge to sådan, altså, vi har aldrig været sådan, altså, fx, min kæreste har altid sagt, at når hun er 80, så skal hun leve af kage, fordi så

har hun ligesom holdt det tilbage resten af livet, ikke, og jeg kan godt forstå den der filosofi, men man kan jo ikke sådan, altså, man må gerne synde engang imellem, men vi har aldrig rigtig være så sådan, tilbøjelige til og og ligesom sådan, så går vi ned og blander noget slik eller sådan, spiser nogle chips, eller drikker noget, drikker en masse sodavand eller sådan, det har aldrig rigtig været så.

6.18 INTERVIEWER: Nej, okay.

6.19 INFORMANT 3: Så sådan.

6.20 INTERVIEWER: Okay.

6.21 INFORMANT 3: Nej, så vigtig en del at sådan, det at slappe af fx, eller at hygge fx, der har det aldrig være sådan, sådan noget.

6.28 INTERVIEWER: Okay. Hvad, hvad er så øhm, altså er der noget, nu nævner du selv at det er ikke en del af hygge, hvad, hvad er hygge for dig? Øhm, er der noget, der hører til hygge, altså hvis I skal sidde og se en film, øhm, er der så noget, et must, der ligesom følger med, eller om gør at nu hygger vi ekstra?

6.50 INFORMANT 3: Altså så skulle det være lige sådan lidt øh, lidt chokolader eller lidt sådan, lidt vindruer eller sådan øh, nogle gange sådan lidt jordbør i chokolade eller et eller andet sådan, og så, min kæreste kan godt lide at drikke sådan nogle light cola til, når vi sådan, når vi ligger og hygger og sådan, ser en film eller sådan, øhm, men ikke, altså sådan, jeg har mange kammerater, der sådan, de sådan, også sådan når ligesom er sammen, så sådan, så skal de spise chips, og de skal drikke sodavand og sådan noget, og det er sådan, jeg synes egentlig ikke det er sådan, chips sådan er ikke så lækre, sådan, det er egentlig ikke noget som jeg sådan, har fået med, eller hjemmefra, at man sådan, at det var en del af det, så det er sådan, når vi ligesom gør det, så er det sådan, ja det ved jeg faktisk ikke, altså det er sådan, ja altså, vi køber, det er meget sjældent vi køber en pose slik i hvert fald.

7.46 INTERVIEWER: Mhm.

7.47 INFORMANT 3: Det, det sker nærmeste aldrig.

7.49 INTERVIEWER: Nej okay.

7.50 INFORMANT 3: Øhm, så det er sådan lidt, chokolade, og lidt lækker chokolade eller en flødebolle eller et eller andet, sådan en lækker flødebolle eller sådan noget.

7.55 INTERVIEWER: Ja, men det er ikke nødvendigt for at, altså at situationen skal være ekstra hyggelig?

8.00 INFORMANT 3: Hmm, nej, men, jo, altså man kan så sige, hvis man gerne vil lave fx en hverdagsaften lidt mere hyggelig, så kan det godt være, at jeg lige har købt en flødebolle med hjem, fordi at så er det sådan, så bliver det lige lidt mere ekstraordinært...

8.13 INTERVIEWER: Mhm.

8.13 INFORMANT 3: ...i stedet for bare at ligge og slappe af, og så lige tage lidt øh, lidt frugt efter man har spise aftensmad eller et eller andet...

8.20 INTERVIEWER: Mhm.

8.21 INFORMANT 3: Så der er da helt klart et eller andet med at, at så kunne man godt lige finde på at købe lidt ekstra, for at det ligesom blev lidt mere end bare...

8.30 INTERVIEWER: Ja.

8.30 INFORMANT 3: Ja, men det igen, det tror jeg også komme an på hvor mange gange man ligesom, hvis der er en uge, hvor man ligesom, hvor man har haft tid til det, og man ikke har haft nogen planer, så gør man det, altså det er det, så køber vi jo fx ikke ting med til, hver aften, fordi så føler vi ligesom ikke vi har behov for det, men hvis man, hvis man har haft en hård uge eller et eller

andet, sådan, så er det sådan, argh, skal jeg ikke lige købe lidt, lidt et eller andet med, sådan så det ligesom, bliver lidt mere ekstraordinært.

8.56 INTERVIEWER: Ja.

8.57 INFORMANT 3: Så det ikke bare bliver sådan, det normale.

8.58 INTERVIEWER: Ja. Så det, det lyder, har jeg forstået det rigtigt, at det lyder som om det ikke er så meget, altså hvis det skal være ekstraordinært, at det skal være noget, der nødvendigvis er usundt, i princippet kunne det også være gulerodsstænger, det er mere bare det, at der er blevet gjort noget andet?

9.14 M Ja.

9.14 INTERVIEWER: Okay.

9.14 INFORMANT 3: Det vil jeg give dig ret i, altså det er, det kunne lige så godt være at så, så stod vi fx og lavede nogle dadel kugler, øhm, med peanuts sådan, og chokolade som sådan, altså, men så er det lidt lige så meget det der med, at så har vi lavet det sammen...

9.28 INTERVIEWER: Mhm.

9.29 INFORMANT 3: ... og så er det det, der er hyggeligt, og så kan vi lige sidde og spise nogle af dem sådan til, men vi ligger og ser en film, øhm, mere end det ligesom er sådan, ja, nu spiser vi bare slik for at spise slik.

9.40 INTERVIEWER: Ja.

9.41 INFORMANT 3: Sådan så det bliver ligesom også en del af hyggen.

9.43 INTERVIEWER: Ja. Ja, okay. Øhm, du var selv lige før inde på det her med, at hvis man har haft en hård uge, og så kan det være rart lige at, at hygge lidt ekstra, eller købe noget et eller andet, øhm, er det så for dig, er det en slags belønning?

10.02 INFORMANT 3: Ja, det vil jeg sige, også hvis der fx er et eller andet sådan, man er et sted henne hvor der er et stykke kage fx eller et eller andet, så er det helt klart sådan, altså så laver man lidt den der sådan overvejelse inde i hovedet, sådan, sådan plus minus agtig, sådan okay, jeg har ligesom plus på kontoen, så det kan jeg godt tillade mig agtig.

10.25 INTERVIEWER: Mhm.

10.26 INFORMANT 3: Øhm, og nu synes jeg også selv, at jeg igennem lang tid, der har jeg været mere fokuseret, altså sådan, for et år siden fx, og sådan lidt før, der har jeg været mere fokuseret på sundhed og på aktivitet og alt sådan noget, øhm, hvor at nu, så slække jeg lidt mere på det, så der har jeg sådan måske stadigvæk lidt den der sådan, jeg var så god før, nu kan jeg godt tillade mig og ligesom at tage et, et stykke kage mere, selvom jeg ikke nødvendigvis har været god i løbet af ugen.

10.52 INTERVIEWER: Ja.

10.53 INFORMANT 3: Det ved jeg ikke om du forstår.

10.54 INTERVIEWER: Jo jo.

10.54 INFORMANT 3: altså ligesom sådan et regnskab over det...

10.56 INTERVIEWER: Ja.

10.57 INFORMANT 3: ... og nu føler man ligesom, at nu har jeg været god i så lang tid, så nu kan jeg godt slække lidt på det.

11.01 INTERVIEWER: Ja. Så det du spiser, eller det at du er aktiv dage før og dage efter, har en effekt på i dag.

11.10 INFORMANT 3: ja.

11.11 INTERVIEWER: Ja, okay.

11.12 INFORMANT 3: Det vil jeg mene.

11.12 INTERVIEWER: Ja.

11.13 INFORMANT 3: Fx var jeg ude og spille fodbold i går, og så kan jeg godt, så kom jeg hjem, og så var jeg sådan, jeg havde lidt ondt af mig selv, det havde været en lidt lang dag, så jeg sådan, jeg spiser lige lidt chokolade, og så lå jeg og drak noget, der drak jeg saftevand faktisk (griner), der lå jeg og drak noget saftvand og øh, og lå og slappede lidt af, og sådan, så følte jeg ligesom, det kunne jeg ligesom godt tillade mig, ikke.

11.36 INTERVIEWER: Mhm.

11.37 INFORMANT 3: Øhm, ja, så det synes jeg helt sikkert, at der ligesom er sådan plus minus afgig.

11.42 INTERVIEWER: Ja, okay. Synes du så at, kommer sundhed så i, altså der mener jeg både kost og fysisk aktivitet, kommer det i perioder så? Eller er det en sådan konstant, nogenlunde?

11.55 INFORMANT 3: Altså, det er konstant en overvejelse, øhm, også fordi jeg tidligere har beskæftiget mig med sundhed og sådan, så jeg jeg synes, igennem studie, så jeg synes det er sådan, altså det er konstant en overvejelse, men jeg synes også nogle gange det øget fokus på sundhed også lidt kan gøre, at man sådan, ej nu må det sgu stoppe altså, jeg behøver ikke at have protein plus yoghurt, altså jeg kan bare spise almindelig yoghurt, det behøver ikke være så meget, men sådan, men jeg synes da helt sikkert at sådan, det er altid noget jeg har i baghovedet, men det er mere, altså det er periodemæssigt. Nu har jeg fx ikke særlig meget tid, synes jeg selv, så synes fx sådan noget som fysisk aktivitet, det ryger så ligesom længere ned på prioritetslisten, men jeg tænker så stadigvæk på, sådan, og så spise sundt, så det ligesom ikke bare sejler fuldstændig.

12.44 INTERVIEWER: Okay, ja. Øhm, du har lidt været inde på, på noget af det, men hvis du, hvis du nu i, lad os sige denne her uge, og du har haft rigtig travlt, og du så slet ikke rigtig har, har været, har haft fokus på sundhed, er det svære at komme tilbage til sundhedsfokus, eller er det bare et spørgemål om at det bare lige skal ske?

13.16 INFORMANT 3: Hmm, altså det kommer lidt, igen, det kommer meget an på hverdagen, fordi hvis, altså nu nå man studerer, og man ligesom arbejder ved siden af, så varierer dagene meget, fordi at sådan, så kommer der til at være eksamener, og så kommer der til at være mere tidspresset, og så kommer der måske, har man noget ferie, læseferien, hvor det så sådan, så har man mere tid, så sådan, øhm, altså det, det er nok mest tiden, der ligesom er sådan en faktor for det, at man ligesom er sådan, har man tid til det eller ej, øh, ja.

13.53 INTERVIEWER: Ja, okay. Mhm. Øh, hvis du spiser fx en fløde... eller du køber en flødebolle med hjem eller, øhm, ja noget andet, køber sodavand med hjem, er det som regel et spontant valg inden du går ned og handler planlagt, eller er det, nej det var så lige to modsætninger, er det spontant, når du er nede og handler, at du køber, bliver fristet, eller er det noget du som regel har planlagt, når du er der hjemme, at i dag er det sådan, sådan en dag.

14.32 INFORMANT 3: Hmm, altså det, det er nok lidt en blanding, fordi nogle gange, så ligger det lidt i kortene, at man sådan, nu snakkede vi fx om det der med, hvis man lå og hyggede og så noget fjernsyn fx, at man så hvis man er nede og handle inden, hvis man nu også lå i går og i forgårs, og slappede af og lavede ingenting og hyggede sådan, så vil man måske ikke være lige så tilbøjelig til at tage de der impulskøb, og så lige sige, argh, skal vi ikke lige have en flødebolle i dag? Men hvis man ligesom har haft det de sidste to dage, så siger vi jo ikke, altså sådan, så er vi klart mindre tilbøjelige til at være sådan, til impulskøb og være spontane og sådan noget, hvorimod, hvis man sådan ligesom har haft, øh, hvis man ikke lige har fået sådan hygget, eller set hinanden i løbet af ugen, og man så ligesom sådan, så kommer jeg måske fra studie, så kører jeg måske lige forbi et sted, hvor jeg så har tænkt, ej ja, det, det kunne egentlig være meget hyggeligt, og så sådan, så kan jeg lige køre ned fordi

der, og så kan jeg lige hente, og så køre hjem fx, det har jeg gjort nogle gange, så ligesom tænkt, argh, så køber jeg lige noget med hjem her fra Frederiksberg, og så med hjem ikke.

15.34 INTERVIEWER: Ja, okay.

15.35 INFORMANT 3: ja. Så det varierer meget, det kommer meget an på sådan.

15.38 INTERVIEWER: Okay.

15.38 INFORMANT 3: Ja, hvad der ligesom har ligget forinden og sådan.

15.41 INTERVIEWER: Ja. Hvad så med, med at du fx går ud og spiller fodbold, eller du kommer op og træner, er det noget du har planlagt inden, eller er det noget der lidt, altså du sidder på studiet og tænker, ej, jeg kan faktisk godt lige når det, eller er det noget du planlægger fx om mandagen, armen jeg skal træne torsdag og fredag.

16.02 INFORMANT 3: Mhm, ja, altså, før i tiden har det været meget sådan, øh, at der har jeg planlagt det forinden, armen så ser min uge sådan ud, og så kan jeg lige gøre det der og der og der og der, øhm, men nu er min hverdag så ændret lidt, i forhold til nyt studie og arbejde osv., hvor at sådan, der føler jeg ikke jeg har samme tid, og så kan det godt være, jeg kan nå, at jeg ville kunne nå ned og træne fx, eller sådan altså nu, jeg synes der er forskel, for mig i hvert fald, på om jeg tager til fodbold, eller om jeg tager ned og træner, fordi fodbold, det er noget jeg gør i fællesskab med andre om jeg, som jeg synes er virkelig virkelig sjovt, som, og det vil jeg gerne planlægge mig til, at jeg tager til fodbold tirsdag og torsdag, hvis jeg kan, hvorimod, at tage ned og træne fx, det er sådan, kan jeg nå det, ja, jeg ville måske godt kunne nå det, men så kommer jeg først hjem klokken ni, halvti, og så er der bare ikke meget dag, og jeg skal op og i skole i morgen og jeg skal også lige have læst, og så ligesom vurderer jeg, okay, det kan jeg ikke nå, øhm, men jeg er helt sikker på, at det ville gavne mig bedre, hvis jeg ligesom sagde til mig selv, okay nu skal jeg planlægge det, nu gør jeg sådan og sådan, fordi så man ligesom også et vist ansvar overfor, eller sådan man kan ligesom holde sig selv, argh, det er også for dårligt, at, nu har du sagt til dig selv, at du skulle ned og træne to gange, og du har ikke været nede en eneste gang, det er, så er det lidt sådan, et nederlag.

17.24 INTERVIEWER: Mhm.

17.24 INFORMANT 3: Hvorimod hvis man står i det hver dag, og tænker, skal jeg tage ned og træne, ej det skal jeg ikke, men sagde jeg så også i morgen i går, så sådan, altså så bliver det hurtigt bare sådan, ej jeg gør det i morgen, jeg gør det i morgen, jeg gør det i morgen, uden at få det gjort.

17.40 INTERVIEWER: Mhm, ja.

17.41 INFORMANT 3: Så, der vil jeg sige, der er lidt forskel i sådan, i de forskellige ting.

17.46 INTERVIEWER: Okay. Gør du noget aktivt for at den her situation med, jeg gør det i morgen, jeg gør det i morgen, jeg gør det i morgen, opstår?

17.54 INFORMANT 3: Hmm, altså, jeg, ej, altså, jeg, jeg prøver lidt at planlægge det, og så sig sådan, så kan jeg komme ned der, men jeg tror bare, lige nu, der er det sådan, lidt lavere på min prioritetsliste, end så mange andre ting, øhm, at jeg så ligesom vælger at vægte det fra, men nu har jeg tænkt sådan her, så jeg fx sagt til mig selv, efter påske, der skal du sætte dig ned, og så skal du lave en decideret plan, hvor du så ligesom sige, armen så kommer jeg end og træner fx to gange om ugen og spiller fodbold to gange om ugen, øhm, for bare ligesom at sådan, ja, også for at holde det ved lige, også fordi jeg synes selv, at jeg var ret godt til sådan ligesom at få det gjort, øhm, det synes jeg også godt at jeg kan se, at jeg ikke er lige så aktiv, altså sådan, når man står foran spejlet eller et eller andet, så kan man godt se, okay, [navn], nu må du lige tage dig sammen, hvor at sådan, jeg så ligesom siger til mig selv, nå [navn], nu bliver det snart påske, og nu bliver det snart lidt bedre vejr og sådan noget, så skal du ud af vinteruniformen, og nu må du ligesom sådan, til at tage dig sammen

ikke. Så sådan, der har jeg ligesom sagt til mig selv, at nu gør jeg det, efter påske, nu må vi så se om det sker, men ja.

19.06 INTERVIEWER: Øh, er det fordi du så har mere tid efter påske, eller hvorfor lige ...

19.09 INFORMANT 3: Ja.

19.09 INTERVIEWER: ... ikke i morgen? Okay.

19.10 INFORMANT 3: Det er fordi jeg har mere tid efter påske.

19.11 INTERVIEWER: Okay.

19.12 INFORMANT 3: Øhm, jeg synes det har været meget sådan, jeg har været meget ude at rejse her på det sidste stykke tid og sådan, øhm, så det vil helt klart være sådan, at efter påske, det har ligesom været sådan, jeg skulle bare over det punkt, og så ville der ligesom begynde at komme lidt mere tid ved at studiet begynder at gå lidt ned i tid, og jeg begynder at sådan, at have nogle friweekender, hvor at jeg så ligesom vil kunne have tid til det.

19.35 INTERVIEWER: ja. Okay, ja. Øhm, nu nævnte du for, at det ikke er noget der rigtig bliver vægtet så højt lige nu, hvor du har altså, ikke så meget tid, og gerne vil andre ting, hvad er det så du vægter højere?

19.51 INFORMANT 3: Hmm.

19.52 INTERVIEWER: Hvad laver du, når du så...

19.54 INFORMANT 3: Altså, jeg er begyndt at vægte mit studie lidt højere og så, min kæreste er lige flyttet, øhm, til udlandet i et halvt år, så det er også, der har jeg klart vægtet øh, at tage ned til hende, og besøge hende, øhm, men også vægtet ligesom at arbejde mere, så jeg ligesom kunne få penge og sådan ligesom så ressourcerne til at kunne tage ned og besøge hende fx, og så har det så ligesom sådan, rykket meget rundt på mine prioriteter, at sådan, arbejde og studie er kommet meget længere op, øhm, hvorimod sådan fysisk aktivitet og træning og sådan, i hvert fald træning, er kommet længere ned. Også til dels sådan sundhed kan man ved egentlig godt sige, fordi at, altså det er ikke så tit jeg får lavet aftensmad til mig selv, men det er så fordi jeg har spist aftensmad på min arbejde, hvor jeg så er mure, end jeg var før, hvor at de så har en god og sund kantine, hvor jeg stadigvæk prøver ligesom at sådan, og spise masser af grøntsager og grov, altså grove grøntsager og alt sådan noget ikke...

20.51 INTERVIEWER: Mhm.

20.52 INFORMANT 3: Ja, så det er sådan, lige nu er der den her prioritetsændring.

20.56 INTERVIEWER: ja.

20.57 INFORMANT 3: Hvorimod, det så efter påske så blvier det ligesom ændret igen ikke. Og så sådan, så går der en måned før jeg skal ned og besøge hende igen, studiet begynder at komme lidt længere ned og så kan jeg så ligesom skrue lidt mere op for sådan, og lige komme ned og træne og sådan, og lige være lidt mere aktiv.

21.11 INTERVIEWER: Mhm, ja. Okay. Øhm, når du, når du spiller fodbold med dine, med dine venner, er det, er det træning, altså, nu tænker jeg ikke på om det er kamp eller det er en træningskamp ...

21.23 INFORMANT 3: Nej nej.

21.24 INTERVIEWER: ...men er det for træningens skyld, eller er det det sociale eller, hvad er det der trækker dig med fodbold?

21.29 INFORMANT 3: Det er øhm, det er et rigtig godt spørgsmål, fordi det er altid sådan, det er en god blanding, fordi at sådan, hvis jeg var alene til fodbold, så ville jeg måske kun komme halv så of, halvt så tit, eller halvt så ofte, eller hvad man kan sige, øhm, men på den anden side, så hader jeg også, når jeg kommer til fodbold, og jeg ikke føler, at jeg ligesom har ydet mig nok, altså sådan, at

jeg føler jeg ikke har fået, at det bare har været en stille og rolig træning fx, det hader jeg, også fordi der kan jeg godt lide, at når jeg så ligesom er der, så vil jeg gerne give den en skalle, fordi det så både er sjovt men det er også hårdt, og ligesom træning ikke, så det er sådan, men det er egentlig ikke træning, altså jeg ser det ikke som træning træning, altså sådan, at det mere sådan, ja, det er noget jeg bare altid sådan har gjort, så det måske ikke sådan, altså jeg føler ikke, når jeg så ligesom laver mig regnskab, så føler jeg ikke at træning, fodbold træning fx, vægter lige så højt, som hvis jeg har været nede og træne, altså som styrke træne fx, men det er måske også fordi at sådan, at det som styrketræning giver mig, er lidt mere det jeg gerne vil have, end det fodbold giver mig, fordi fodbold giver mig kondition og giver mig ligesom sådan, ja, altså kan være med til at holde sådan ligesom den slanke linje, eller hvad man nu kan sige, hvorimod styrketræning ligesom kan være med til at give nogle af de ting, som man måske hellere vil have, sådan, lidt bedre, pænere fysik, og sådan, ja, så det er sådan, det er sådan en balancegang, men i forhold til fodbold, der er det sådan, ja, det er nok en 50/50.

23.05 INTERVIEWER: Ja. Okay.

25.06 M Ja.

25.06 INTERVIEWER: ja.

23.07 INFORMANT 3: Kan man sige.

23.07 INTERVIEWER: Okay. Øh, nu nævnte du selv lige at fodbold er noget du altid har gjort, og du sagde også tidligere at sådan noget som hygge og, jeg går ud fra fredagsslik og sådan, ikke har været noget du har, du har vokset op med på samme måde, har den, din opvækst og de vaner du har haft da du boede hjemme, har de påvirket meget det liv du fører nu?

23.32 INFORMANT 3: hmm.

23.33 INTERVIEWER: Eller har du ændret den måde du lever på nu hvor ligesom er flyttet ud?

23.36 INFORMANT 3: Ja, altså, jeg vil så sige, altså, da jeg var lille, så havde vi også det her fredags, altså der havde vi også fredagsslik, men det var som om at så, det er sådan noget, det var noget min søster har taget mere til sig, som er, hun er otte år ældre end mig, det har hun taget mere til sig nu, at hun skal spise slik og chips, når der ligesom bliver hygget, men det har jeg ligesom ikke taget med mig, og jeg ved ikke om det har noget at gøre med fx sådan, altså mine forældre blev skilt, så der var ligesom sådan et opbrug i familien, og der var min søster lidt ændre, så hun har ligesom haft det i længere tid, hvor jeg var sådan 10-11 år da det ligesom skete, og så blev de skilt, og så var der ikke fredagsslik mere fx, så det sådan, det tror jeg måske godt kan have noget at gøre med det, øhm, så, men altså, vi har jo haft det, men jeg tror ikke at det sådan, altså, hmm, altså jeg er jo nok også blevet påvirket andre steder fra, bl.a. min kæreste og hendes familie og hendes vaner og alt sådan noget. Og det er sådan, hun kommer fra en familie hvor de måske mere har sådan, altså de har stadigvæk spist kager og sådan, men så har det altid været sådan noget hjemmebag og sådan kvalitet og sådan noget, så jeg, hun har aldrig rigtig haft behov eller lyst til ligesom at spise en kage man kan købe nede i fakta fx, en mazarintærte der ligger dernede, fordi hun har altid fået det hjemmefra, sådan hjemmebagt, samtidig med at de så også har været sådan en meget fysisk aktiv familie og ligesom været sådan, øh, ja, altid har været slanke og altid har været meget sådan sundhedsbevidste tror jeg, så det er klart at sådan, det har jeg nok også taget til mig, at sådan, altså jeg kunne måske godt, lige da vi mødtes, finde på at købe en øh mazarintærte nede fra øh fra supermarkedet, og det kunne hun aldrig finde på, og så, så er det bare ikke blevet købt, og så er det måske, hun har så måske påvirket mere end det hjemmefra, nu også fordi vi har boet sammen i mange år, øhm, så det er jo klart, det er jo ligesom hendes madkultur eller hvad man kan sige, der ligesom har påvirket mig.

## SUMMARY

25.45 INTERVIEWER: Hvad tror du er den typiske grund til at de fleste i Danmark er usunde eller inaktive.

INFORMANT 3: Hverdag, og at folk prioriterer i deres hverdag. Grøntsager er jo dyre i forhold til så mange andre ting, men det er det ikke, hvis man bare ved, hvordan man skal bruge sine grøntsager, man kan få 2 kg gulerødder for 8 kr. Så sundhed er jo ikke dyrt som sådan, man skal bare vide hvordan man skal kunne bruge det forskelligt. Fx børn gider ikke at spise gulerødder og kartofler hele tiden på samme måde. Men hvis man skal eksperimentere kan det godt blive dyrt, fordi man skal købe alt muligt nyt, og hvis børnene så ikke kan lide det alligevel, så var det dyrt og besværligt. Og så kan man hurtigt have en tendens til at gøre det man måske altid har gjort, så både prioritere i forhold til penge, men også måske i forhold til tid, gulerødder skal jo skrælles, hvorimod en frysepizza bare skal i ovnen og så bliver børnene mætte. Og så har man mere tid fx sammen med børnene. Tidsaspektet har noget at sige, så kan man være sammen med børnene, eller man kan være længere på arbejde fordi man ikke skal handle og så kan man måske spare det og det, fordi man ikke behøver at handle det.

27.50 INTERVIEWER: Hvad med fysisk inaktivitet?

INFORMANT 3: Det ved jeg ikke. Måske tid og hvis man har fået det ind fra barnsben, altså gennem rutiner. Hvis man altid har danset eller spillet fodbold, og så kommer man ud af rutinen, og så er det svære at komme tilbage, fordi man har fået andre prioriteter og andre ting man kan lave. Derfor han også siger til sig selv, at han skal i gang igen med fodbold og træning, ellers kan man blive ved med at sige, armen der var engang, hvor jeg var så stærk eller sådan. Man skal have det ind fra barnsben og holde det ved lige.

Det er også vigtigt at det er sjovt, mange får at vide at de skal gå til spinning eller crossfit, men hvis folk ikke synes det er sjovt, så holder det ikke. Måske er Zumba ikke effektivt, men hvis man synes det er sjovt, så er det det man skal, evt. I fællesskab med andre, ligesom med fodbold. Det har sundhedsmæssigt meget mere fremtidspotentiale, noget han vil gøre resten af livet, hvorimod noget som styrketræning bliver nok nedprioriteret senere, men det der er sjovt, det bliver man ved med at lave.

30.13 INTERVIEWER: Runtiner, hvis man kommer ind i en god rutine, så er det nemmere at holde?

INFORMANT 3: Ja. Så skal man ikke så aktivt planlægge det, det er bare noget man så gør, og så planlægger man ud fra det, fordi man ikke tænker så aktivt over det – det nærmest sniger sig ind i prioritetslisten.

31.25 INTERVIEWER: Hvis du har taget noget usundt i kurven, ombestemmer du dig nogensinde inden du betaler?

INFORMANT 3: Nej. Det kommer an på om man er to eller en. Hvis man er to, så har man snakket om det blevet enig om det, og så tager man det ikke op. Hvis man er alene kan man godt lige have tendens til at tænke, det har jeg måske ikke rigtig brug for. Men ikke så tit, han ville ikke gide gå ned og lægge det igen.

32.32 INTERVIEWER: Hvad vejer for og imod ved en potentiel indre konflikt ved usunde ting?

INFORMANT 3: At man jo godt ved, at man ikke bruge spise det, og at man burde spise det ovre i grøntkurven i stedet for. Men det indre regnskab spiller ind: Har man haft en hård uge? Har man været god? Så tager han en magnum is og en kop kaffe, men ikke hvis han ikke har været god nok, gemmes isen til belønning. Det har han også, når han handler, så har han også det regnskab.

Han går heller ikke naturligt forbi hylderne med slik og usunde ting, så han bliver heller ikke fristet så meget, det er ikke en del af hans rute, når han handler. Så det er kun hvis det er noget ekstraordinært at kan tænker, ej, nu går jeg lige derned.

34.36 INTERVIEWER: Ville det påvirke dig, hvis du går igennem grøntsagsafdelingen først i et supermarkedet.

INFORMANT 3: Nej, han tager udgangspunkt i kødet og bagefter køber han tilbehør. Men hvis deres grøntmarked er inspirerende som i Kvickly, så kan han godt blive inspireret til at købe en masse til og prøve noget nyt. Kvickly er gode til at vise grøntsagerne som friske og lækre og inspirere.

36.32 INTERVIEWER: Tænker du over diabetes?

INFORMANT 3: Nej.

36.57 INTERVIEWER: Valget mellem flødebolle nu eller to flødeboller om 30 min, hvad vælger du?

INFORMANT 3: Hvis han ikke har behov for to, så ville han bare spise den ene nu, på den anden side, så er det jo dobbelt så mange, så ville han måske vente. Men han ville ikke føle lige så meget glæde ved nummer to som nummer et, bare fordi han ventede. Den anden flødebolle ville ikke give lige så meget glæde som den første fordi nu var det måske flødebollen, der ville gøre det mere ekstraordinært, at man hyggede om aftenen, så når man tager nummer to, så tager man måske en fra dagen efter. Hvis han kunne spise en flødebolle dagen efter, så ville han få mere glæde af den, end han ville af to på samme aften.

Han ville så nok hellere vente, få de to, og gemme den anden til dagen efter.

38.58 INTERVIEWER: Nogle mener nogle mennesker har tidspræferencer. Nogle vil helst have glæden nu og nogle vil hellere have noget senere? Skal der være mere ved det, hvis man venter. Har du nogen tidspræference?

INFORMANT 3: Nej. Hvis han har lyst til noget, så køber han det, spiser det, og så indgår det i regnskabet. Ikke så vigtigt med tid, han ville ikke skifte en ud nu med to senere, for jo det ville da være lækkert, men så ville det gå ud over regnskabet.

40.55 INTERVIEWER: Hvis du køber en plade chokolade, spiser du hele pladen den ene dag eller deler det op til flere dage?

INFORMANT 3: Så ligger det. En plade kan ligge i lang tid, han spiser et lille stykke og lægger det væk igen, han spiser ikke bare det hele. Men, det står også i skabet, så bliver han heller ikke fristet så meget, hvis det bare lå fremme på bordet, så ville han spise mere, så ville det være spiseklart og så var det nemmere lige at tage en bid. Det er det samme med en plade, der skal han brække et stykke af, så føler han, at han har taget et stykke chokolade, i stedet for at han bare let kan taget et stykke, som allerede er klart. Ligesom, hvis han er til familiearrangement, der tænker han ikke så meget over, hvor meget han har spist, der kører armen bare – og det ligger hele tiden og kigger på ham.

43.15 INTERVIEWER: Du har læst sundhed og ernæring, og ved hvordan man bør spise og være aktivt. Hvorfor lever du så alligevel ikke altid efter det, når du ved hvorfor man skal leve sundt og hvordan man gør det?

INFORMANT 3: Før studiet og i starten var han langt mere sundhedsfanatisk, men nu ved han mere om hvad der er godt og dårligt, og at en flødebolle ikke er lige så slemt som en hel pose chips, så han prøver at vælge hans usunde valg ud fra det, som er sundere. Han er nu mere afslappet omkring det, og han ved, at man kan ikke tro på alt hvad man hører. Bare fordi de siger det i medierne, betyder det ikke at det er rigtigt. Nogle dage kan han hygge og spise usundt, og så ved han også dagene efter, at han lige kan tage det lidt med ro. Eller hvis han en uge ikke har så meget tid til at være sund, så kan han ugen efter opveje det lidt, det behøver ikke at være i sådan nogle ryk. Så han vil ikke tage fire ugers juice kur. Han synes heller man skal opveje det lidt og nu hvor han de sidste

par måneder har været lidt sådan, okay, men så har han sagt til sig selv, at han de næste par måneder skal være lidt bedre. Men han tænker ikke så meget på sygdomme og konsekvenser for dårlig sundhed, men afvejer det lidt med før, nu og efter.

46.38 INTERVIEWER: Tror du det er en hindring for folk, der ikke har studeret sundhed og ernæring, at der er så meget information?

INFORMANT 3: helt sikkert! Sundhed for ham er ikke så meget en stressfaktor, som for folk der hele tiden får det at vide. Vi har hele tiden en løftet pegefinger i baghovedet, der siger du burde spise sundere, løbe, træne 4-5 gange om ugen osv. Mange har det som en stressfaktor, hvilket er ærgerligt, når man bliver stresser finder man nemlig hurtigt lidt nemmere løsninger, og er mere tilbøjelige til at tage hvad end der bliver sagt i medierne, og det som "trender" lige nu til sig, og ikke opleve succes men måske knæskader eller lignende, hvor det preller lidt af på ham, fordi han godt ved at sundhed ikke er så stort et problem. Han tænker ikke så aktivt over det, det sker bare. Informationen nu om dage er ikke handlingsorienteret nok. Det er ikke nok bare at sige, at man skal spise flere grøntsager, folk ved godt at de bør, men de ved ikke hvordan de skal omdanne den viden til konkret handling, og det bliver de måske også stresset over, de føler ikke at de kan gøre noget ved det, som de burde gøre noget ved. For ham er det i stedet blevet en mere naturlig del af madlavningen.

Det kan være mere skadeligt end det gavner, fordi man kommer hurtigt til at forbinde sundhed med noget strafbart eller en sur pligt, hvor man måske er rigtig sund i fire uger og så føler man bagefter at man godt kan slække på det, fordi man har været så godt, og så har man måske i virkeligheden ikke rigtig fået noget ud af det. I stedet skulle man lave små skridt og man ikke bliver skræmt.

51:54 INTERVIEWER: Tak, jeg har ikke mere, har du noget du lige vil tilføje?

(specialet blive kort forklaret)

52.50 INFORMANT 3: Sundhedsstyrelsen har faktisk tænkt det ind i de nye kostråd, at de skulle være mere handlingsorienteret, fx. spar på sukker, i stedet for noget som spis mindre sukker. De har også fundet ud af, at man er nødt til at tage folk lidt mere i hånden. Hvis man nu går ind på deres hjemmeside, så kan man også læse mere om, hvordan man kan gøre det, og være mere sund. Det eneste er måske, at det nok ikke er dem, der er usunde, der går ind og læser om sundhed, så det er nok dem, der i forvejen er sunde, som kan få bekræftet dem selv i at de er sunde, men det er en start.

## 15.7.2 Informant 3: Memos

### 15.7.2.1 Memo 1: *The little things*

According to informant 3, living a healthy life includes being physically active, and since he studies and has a sedentary job, he bikes to school to get a little activity in. He also doesn't find it too difficult getting a few more vegetables into his diet, he usually does so. (informant 3, personal communication, March 9, 2016, 0:36).

He thinks a little bit about e.g. taking the stairs, but this depends on the day and the time of day (informant 3, personal communication, March 9, 2016, 1:21). This relates to Strotz' criteria for time preference.

He thinks the little things matter too (informant 3, personal communication, March 9, 2016, 1:34), and sometimes he will take the supermarket that is a little further away to walk a little (informant 3, personal communication, March 9, 2016, 1:40). But he is also lazy (informant 3, personal

communication, March 9, 2016, 1:47) and he usually does it when he has the time, because sometimes it is faster to take the elevator (informant 3, personal communication, March 9, 2016, 2:10; 2:14). In relation to time, if he has it, he also wants to make good food (informant 3, personal communication, March 9, 2016, 2:23).

Categories: The little things

Properties: biking, more vegetables, further away, lazy, time, good food,

Dimensions: Not difficult, usually, means something (the little things), faster (elevator), want to (good food)

#### *15.7.2.2 Memo 2: The decision*

The decision about eating healthy is to some extend influenced by his girlfriend, who has a tendency to use more vegetables. For informant 3 though, the meat is the most important part. Vegetables are also important, but not as important. However, it is often that they swap spaghetti for vegetables. (informant 3, personal communication, March 9, 2016, 3:10). The fact that he is influenced by his girlfriend implies a social stimulus.

The decision about eating is also influenced by what he has eaten the rest of the week or day. Thus, if he has eaten good food with lots of vegetables and fruits at work, he is more likely to eat an open sandwich for dinner or slack on the health. This also happens on the weekends. (informant 3, personal communication, March 9, 2016, 4:28). This implies a form of mental accounting and irrationality and also, the fact that he is influenced by what day it is (weekends) as mentioned by Strotz in relation to dynamic utility maximisation. He has mental accounts (informant 3, personal communication, March 9, 2016, 5:01).

Categories: the decision, (previous category: the little things)

Properties: girlfriend, meat, vegetables, swap for vegetables, previous week or day, weekend, mental accounts

Dimensions: to some extend (girlfriend), important, often (swap)

#### *15.7.2.3 Memo 3: eating healthy*

Informant 3 does not perceive himself and his girlfriend as people with a sweet tooth, they prefer healthy snacks (personal communication, March 9, 2016, 5:06). He also does not perceive it as an important part of relaxing or “hygge”, i.e. having a good time (informant 3, personal communication, March 9, 2016, 6:21).

Categories: having a good time, the decision

Properties: No sweet tooth, healthy snack, relaxing, having a good time

Dimensions: prefer (healthy snacks), not important

#### *15.7.2.4 Memo 4: What is hygge?*

To informant 3, having a good time is about doing something extra that makes a regular day extraordinary. This can involve chocolate, grapes, chocolate covered strawberries, coca cola light or chocolate marshmallows, however he seldom buys a bag of sweets. When he buys something to have a good time and watch a movie, it is something delicious. This also has something to do with

what he knows from growing up. He doesn't find crisps delicious, because he never got them growing up. (informant 3, personal communication, March 9, 2016, 6:50; 7:50; 8:00). In line with his previous statement, it also depends on how many times that week it has been done. Also, if it has been a hard week, he is more inclined to do something extraordinary. (informant 3, personal communication, March 9, 2016, 8:30).

According to informant 3, having a good time is not so much about eating something unhealthy, he could eat date balls, however, it is about doing something together (personal communication, March 9, 2016, 9:14). E.g. being social.

Categories: hygge, the decision

Properties: chocolate, chocolate marshmallows, bag of sweets, watching a motive, coca cola light, chocolate covered strawberries, grapes, hard week, together

Dimensions: seldom, delicious, extraordinary.

#### *15.7.2.5 Memo 5: Being rewarded*

Sometimes he eats unhealthy, e.g. a piece of chocolate, because he feels sorry for himself or because it has been a long day. Therefore, he can allow it (informant 3, personal communication, March 9, 2016, 11:13).

Categories: (previous categories: the decision)

Properties: long day, sorry for himself, allows it

Dimensions:

#### *15.7.2.6 Memo 6: Pressed for time*

According to informant 3, time is the most decisive factor for being physically active. He studies and works and therefore there are times where he doesn't have time to be physically active. (informant 3, personal communication, March 9, 2016, 13:16). Thus, it comes in periods. It is always at the back of his mind, but sometimes it is further down on the priority list. (informant 3, personal communication, March 9, 2016, 11:55).

Also, he thinks there is sometimes too much focus on healthy eating (informant 3, personal communication, March 9, 2016, 11:55).

Categories: (previous category: the decision) factors for physical activities

Properties: time, studies, work, at the back of his mind, in periods, focus

Dimensions: Too much (focus), most decisive, further down (priority)

#### *15.7.2.7 Memo 7: Football and working out*

To informant 3, playing football and working out are two different things. Football is something he does with others and it is fun (informant 3, personal communication, March 9, 2016, 16:02). He doesn't perceive football as work out, and he doesn't weigh it as high as working out, however, football is also social and it is something he has always done. (informant 3, personal communication, March 9, 2016, 21:29). Which implies a habit.

Working out is something he does spontaneously, when he has time, however, football is something he plans.

He is sure it would benefit him to plan his work out too, since it would make him responsible for committing and it would be a defeat if he did not follow through several times in a row. (informant 3, personal communication, March 9, 2016, 16:02). Planning would work as a sort of precommitting. Also, time preference for later.

However, after Easter he will have more time, and he has told himself he will sit down and make a plan for himself (informant 3, personal communication, March 9, 2016, 17:54; 19:10). This is consistent planning. His time until Easter has been busy with things he has prioritised more such as studies, work, traveling to visit his girlfriend. (informant 3, personal communication, March 9, 2016, 19:12; 19:54).

Also, he is influenced to be more physically active by looking in the mirror. (informant 3, personal communication, March 9, 2016, 17:54).

His healthy eating has also been put aside, because he doesn't cook that often for himself (informant 2, personal communication, March 9, 2016, 19:54).

Categories: Factors for physical activity, the decision

Properties: Community (social), planned, responsibility, defeat, work out VS football, looking in mirror, after Easter (more time), girlfriend (social), dinner for himself, social (football), always done it (habit),

Dimensions: Higher (priority), not often (dinner for himself), weight lower (football)

#### *15.7.2.8 Memo 8: Why others are unhealthy and inactive?*

Informant 3 believes that a lot of people think healthy living is expensive, difficult and takes time, however, this is only because they know have the right knowledge about how to do it (personal communication, March 9, 2016, 25:45).

In regards to physical inactivity, he believes it is because of lack of time or because they did not grow up with it and it is not part of people's routines. Once one's gets out of a routine, it is harder to get back to it. (informant 3, personal communication, March 9, 2016, 27:50).

Categories: (previous categories: The decision, factors for physical activities)

Properties: time, lack of knowledge, routines, time , price

Dimensions: difficult (healthy eating), harder (routines)

#### *15.7.2.9 Memo 9: A routine*

According to informant 3, it is easier to stick with something if it is a routine, because there is not as much active planning involves, it simply sneaks into the priority list (personal communication, March 9, 2016, 30:13). Indicating that a decision is made by the automatic system.

Categories: Routines

Properties: No active planning

Sneaks into priority

Dimensions: easier

#### *15.7.2.10 Memo 10: being tempted*

Usually, informant 3 is not tempted to buy unhealthy things, because he mostly does not walk past the shelves with the unhealthy food on (personal communication, March 9, 2016, 32:32). Also, sometimes he is inspired by the food in the vegetable section of certain supermarkets to try new things (informant 3, personal communication, March 9, 2016, 34:36). Both the above examples imply that he is influenced by the choice architecture of the supermarket.

His decision to live healthy is, however, not influenced by diabetes, since diabetes is not something he thinks about (informant 3, personal communication, March 9, 2016, 36:57).

Furthermore, informant 3 was asked if he would prefer a chocolate marshmallow now or two in 30 min. To this question he was a little in doubt, because on one hand, it was the double amount, on the other hand he presumed he would not feel as much joy for the second one as the first. (informant 3, personal communication, March 9, 2016, 36:57). Thus, time was not so important for informant 3, if he wanted something he would buy it and eat it (personal communication, March 9, 2016, 38:58). This insinuates first of all the principles of adjustment, since he considered the fact that it was the double amount. Second of all, his answer displayed a diminishing marginal utility and finally, he seemed to not have a time preference.

Moreover, his mentioned that if he buys a block of chocolate, it can lie for a long time, he doesn't just eat it all, but a little piece at a time. However, this is partly because it is in the cupboard and partly because it is a block of chocolate and not little pieces that are ready to be eaten. If this was the case it would be easier to eat. Therefore, when he is at family gatherings he will not think too much about it, his arm will just go, because it is lying there all the time staring at him. (informant 3, personal communication, March 9, 2016, 40:55). The above section revels the existents of several principles: accessibility and availability and precommitment.

Categories: Now or later, the decision

Properties: Temptation (supermarkets), inspiration (supermarkets), in the cupboard, not ready to eat, double the amount, wants it, time (no influence), just goes (arm), no diabetes

Dimensions: joy (less), easier (ready to eat).

#### *15.7.2.11 Memo 11: Having knowledge*

Since informant 3 has studied nutrition and health, he knows how to stay healthy, he doesn't have to think actively about it, it comes natural to him. However, he believes it is different for people that have not studied the same. For other people he believes health can become a stress factor, because we are always told admonishingly that we should be healthier, but they don't know how, and this may cause them to take the easy way out, the unhealthy choice. Thus, advice should according to informant 3 be more action-oriented. Being healthy shouldn't be a punishment or an irksome duty. (informant 3, personal communication, March 9, 2016, 46:38).

Categories: Informant

Properties: knowledge, active thinking, stress factor

Dimensions: action-oriented, punishment, irksome duty

### 15.7.3 Informant 3: Open coding categories

#### 15.7.4 Informant 3: Axial coding categories

Categories	Factors influencing physical activities	Factors influencing healthy eating	The little things	Information	Indirect strategies
Properties	time	girlfriend	biking	Knowledge	in the cupboard
	studies	meat first	More vegetables	no active thinking	not ready to eat
	work	previous week/day	stairs	stress factor	availability, accessibility
	social (girlfriend, community)	temptation (supermarkets)	depends on day and time (stairs)	automatic system	precommitment
	at the back of mind	weekends	swap for vegetables	rational system	adjustment and anchoring
	in periods	inspired (supermarkets)	irrational		precommitment
	mental accounting	mental accounting	mental accounting		
	Consistent planning	hard week (treat)	dynamic utility maximisation		
	precommitment	allows it			
	visual motivatoin	long day			
	habits	sorry for himself			
	friends (football)	balance			
	sunk cost	diabetes			
		relaxing			
		dinner for himself			
		having a good time			
		Healthy snacks			
		No sweet tooth			
		time (no influence)			
		routines			
		focus			
		lack of knowledge			
		having a good time			
		Automatic arm (social setting)			
Dimensions		Double amount			
		diminishing marginal utility			
		Time discounting (dynamic utility maximisation)			
		Price			
		No active planning (habits)			
		sneaks into priority (habits)			
		automatic system			
		rational system			
		self-rewarding			
		habits (from home)			
		social stimuli			
		choice arcitechture			

## 15.8 Informant 4

### 15.8.1 Informant 4: Summary

Interview with informant 4, March 15 2016

0.27 INTERVIEWER: Er det at leve sundt noget, der påvirker dine beslutninger i hverdagen i forhold til kost og fysik aktivitet.

Nok mere i hverdagene end i weekenderne. Specielt, når man arbejder meget. Fx drikker han næsten aldrig i hverdagene, heller ikke til maden, fordi der tænker han, vil gemme det til weekenden og fordi han synes det er ligegyldigt at udsætte sin krop for alkohol i hverdagene, når han alligevel skal i seng om en time. Også når han ser fodbold med drengene på bar og pubs drikker han ikke alkohol, selv på restaurantbesøg kan han være tøvende. Men det betyder ikke at han ikke kan drikke i weekenderne, men der føler han i højere grad, at det har et formål, og så gør han det heller ikke så tit.

Sport har han ikke så meget tid til mere. Men han gjorde det før, men det var ikke umiddelbart af sundhedsmæssige grunde. Han ville have svært ved at dyrke sport pga. Sundhed, det ville han have svært ved at efterleve det. Han dyrker sport, fordi han synes det er sjovt, og så tænker han ikke så meget over, at det er gavnligt for sundhed.

3.10 INTERVIEWER: Når du drikker i weekenderne, kompenserer du så for, at du ikke har drukket i hverdagen?

Nej, han tænker mere, at han kan give slip generelt og have det sjovt, men ikke at nu kan han drikke 40 genstande eller sådan.

3.36 INTERVIEWER: Hvad med sådan nogle småting, som at tage trapperne i stedet for elevatoren fx, tænker du over sådan nogle ting i din hverdag?

Nej. Men det kommer an på situationen, hvis han har været på arbejde og skal hjem, eller generelt er hjemme, så tager han altid elevatoren, men hvis han har fri og har tid, har han ikke noget imod at gå, i stedet for at tage bussen, selv hvis det ikke er hurtigere. Det er ikke fordi det tager meget længere tid med trappen, men det tager lidt længere tid. Men selv hvis han havde tid, ville han nok ikke tage trapperne, fordi han synes ikke det giver så meget.

5.27 INTERVIEWER: Kan du beskrive en situation fornyeligt, hvor du spiste usundt eller var fysisk inaktiv?

Han spiste pizza, og det var pga. tid, han orkede ikke at lave mad. Det sker som regel, hvis han kommer sent hjem fra arbejde, og han ikke har lavet mad før, eller gjort klar til et eller andet han lige kan tage af "normalt" mad, så kunne han godt finde på at købe et eller andet, men det er sjældent at det er pizza, tit sådan nogle færdigretter fra fx Cofoco, som jo også er fastfood, men det er bedre og ikke lige så usundt. Derudover, hvis han ikke har spist noget hele dagen, så er det nok ikke lige så usundt, så gør det nok ikke lige så meget, at han får lidt mere fedt eller andet. Men han prøver at sørge for, at der er noget derhjemme, som er lavet eller som han kan lave. Han kan ikke

lide at købe ind, det er det, der er det primære problem. Han kan ikke overskue at skulle købe ind og finde ud af hvad han skal have og handle samtidig. Han handler derfor tit dagen inden for måske nogle dage, så han ikke skal tænke over, hvad han skal lave.

7.48 C Hvis du køber fastfood, tænker du over om det er sundt eller ikke sundt? Altså er det ren og skær fordi det er nemmere?

Nej nej, han køber det også fordi det er sundt – noget af det.

Hvis man bare skal lave mad til en person eller to personer, så er han dårligt til at spise rester og det der er blevet lavet dagen før, men han synes det er nogle gode alternativer for relativt sundt mad, som ikke tager meget tid, og hvor det hele er købt ind og man bare skal have det hele med og kokkerere det – det gør han tit.

8.52 INTERVIEWER: Så du overvejer alligevel at det skal være lidt sundere?

Ja ja, helt sikkert.

8.59 INTERVIEWER: Hvorfor er det vigtigt for sig at tage det sunde valg?

Han tænker ikke så meget over, at det skal være sundt for kroppen, men at det smager bedre, at det er mere lækkert. Der ligger et sted ved trianglen, hvor der er 5-6 menuer, hvor det hele er samlet, og man tilbereder det selv derhjemme, men man skal ikke handle. Der tænker han ikke, at det vil han hellere have frem for en pizza, fordi det er sundere, der tænker han bare, at det vil han hellere have, fordi det smager bedre. Men det er så måske heller ikke helt rigtigt, fordi mad fra steder som det og Cofoco, der ville han ikke have noget i mod at spise det fem dage i træk, hvor han kunne aldrig finde på at spise pizza fem dage i træk. Han tænker ikke så meget på om han tager noget sundt, når han skal vælge det til noget.

10.40 INTERVIEWER: Vejer du det op imod hvad du har spist før og efter, eller tidligere og hvad du kommer til at spise de næste par dage?

Ja det kan man godt sige. Men hans pointe var bare, at hvis han køber noget sundt fastfood, selvom han siger, at det som udgangspunkt handler om, hvad der smager bedst, så er det jo heller ikke helt rigtigt, fordi hvis han køber noget sundt, så har han ikke noget i mod at spise det fem dage i træk, selvom på et eller andet tidspunkt bliver man måske træt af det, men pizza, det ville han ikke kunne finde på at købe fem dage i træk, selvom han tænkte at det var lækkert, fordi det synes han alligevel ville være for ulækkert. Så på den måde er der alligevel noget sundhedsmæssigt bag det.

11.20 INTERVIEWER: Er det så fordi du får dårlig samvittighed, hvis du spiste pizza fem dage i træk?

Nej, men han får kvalme allerede nu. Han ved ikke om det er dårlig samvittighed eller hvad det er. Igen, det er en blanding af at han ikke ville synes det var lækkert og at han ville føle sig klam.

11.49 INTERVIEWER: Hvad med sådan noget som snacks, ikke bare fastfood aftensmad, men at købe is, kage, slik, chips, alt sådan noget. Har du nogle overvejelser, når du står nede og handler, hvad er det der får dig til at købe det eller ikke købe det?

Det er igen i weekender primært, men der tænker han ikke over om det er sundt eller ej, det gør han ikke.

12.18 INTERVIEWER: Hvad gør dig tilbøjelig til at købe en eller anden snack?

Det er bare, at han synes det smager godt. Der tænker han overhoved ikke over, om det er sundt.

12.39 INTERVIEWER: Er det typisk når du skal have gæster, eller er det når du er alene eller? Er der nogle tidspunkter, hvor du er mere tilbøjelig til at købe snacks?

Det er nok mere, når han er alene.

13.15 INTERVIEWER: Hvad er det der får dig til at tænke, ej i dag skal jeg have det her med?

Jamen det er, at han har tre timer, hvor han ikke skal lave noget, hvor han bare skal se fodbold eller se en film. Helt traditionelt tror han. Men hvis han kommer hjem fra arbejde fredag, og han skal et eller andet om aftenen, så tænker han ikke over slik eller snacks. Det er mest hvis han har nogle timers fri alene.

13.59 INTERVIEWER: Er det så sat i forbindelse med at, er det altid når du fx ser fodbold eller når du ser film at der så også skal være noget snacks?

Hvis det er weekend som sagt, så ja.

14.20 INTERVIEWER: Hvad forstår du ved hygge? Kræver det snacks, eller kan man godt hygge med gulerodsstænger?

Han forbinder ikke nødvendigvis hygge med slik, men i hvert fald ikke med gulerodssnacks.

14.45 INTERVIEWER: Hvis du så skulle forestille dig, det er fredag aften, du har fri, det har været en lang dag, og nu skal du hjem og hygge, hvad gør du så?

Jamen, så køber han noget chokolade.

15.01 INTERVIEWER: Er det en belønning, eller er det fordi der skal ske noget særligt?

Det ved han ikke helt. Han synes tit det handler om at. Umiddelbart har han lige så meget lyst til snacks i hverdagen som i weekenderne, men der hvor forskellen ligger hos ham er, at i hverdagene, der kommer han sent hjem, og så skal han bare have noget mad, lige sidde og arbejde lidt, se lidt tv og så går man i seng. Men i weekenderne, der bruger han mere tid på at lave mad, fordi der køber han ikke fastfood, og så tror han bare det tit handler om at den lige skal rundes af med noget

lækkert. Så belønning, altså det er jo ikke fordi det er en belønning som i ej hvor har jeg været god, det er mere simpelt, det skal bare være der, hvis han har brugt lang tid på noget mad.

16.10 INTERVIEWER: Er det noget du er vokset op med? Har i haft fredagsslik derhjemme?

Nej. Hos ham har de haft mandag til søndags slik. Det er nok meget dansk – en god ting – men nej.

16.33 INTERVIEWER: Føler du, at de beslutninger du tager i forhold til din hverdag nu, både kost og være aktiv, at det er noget der er påvirket af din opvækst, eller er det noget du har ændret selv, da du flyttede hjemmefra?

Både gode og dårlige vaner? Han synes selv, han har taget mange af de gode med, men han har også forsøgt at bryde med lige så mange dårlige. Men om han har fået dårlige vaner, som han ikke har haft hjemmefra, det tror han ikke umiddelbart.

17.22 INTERVIEWER: Hvis du spiser noget chokolade, har du så som regel købt det den dag du spiser det, eller er det noget du har haft liggende?

Det er noget jeg har købt den dag. Helst en time forinden. Han har aldrig slik liggende. Han er en type, som hvis han har lyst til noget, så tager han det, der er han meget sådan, det skal han have nu, der tænker han ikke over at det skal gemmes.

17.54 INTERVIEWER: Kan du gennem det?

Hvis han virkelig prøvede? Det kommer an på hvad belønningen var, men det er ikke noget han har lyst til, og han får ikke dårlig samvittighed, hvis han ikke gemmer det. Så skal der meget til. Jeg føler, at jeg har fortjent det i det sekund – også efter. Han kommer ikke med videre forklaringer om, hvorfor han har fortjent det eller noget. Men hvis det er et godt måltid, eller hvis han har brugt tid på at forberede maden, så føler han mere at han fortjener det.

18.54 INTERVIEWER: Hvad er en belønning, der er godt nok til at lade det ligge eller vente?

Det ved han ikke. Der er jo det der eksperiment med flødebollerne og børnene. Jo, måske hvis han bare skulle vente 5-10 min, så ville det være fint nok, men hvis det var dagen efter, så ville han sige nej det var fint.

19.28 INTERVIEWER: Hvis du har lyst til noget lige nu og her, og du får at vide, at du skal vente, hvad gør du? Bruger du nogle teknikker for at holde dig fra det?

Det kommer an på hvorfor han har lyst til det. Hvis det er fordi han intet sukker har indtaget og han ikke har spist særlig meget, og han åbenbart ikke må få flødebollen, så er det måske fordi han har lyst til at hans blodsukker skal stige lidt, så kunne han måske godt finde på at tage en lur indtil lysten forsvandt og han blev mere sulten på en rigtig måde. Hvis han bare havde lyst til det fordi det var lækkert, så ville han drikke noget vand, børste tænder. Det virker. Efter han har børstet tænder, så

har han ikke lyst til at spise noget. Det bliver mere besværligt og det smager ikke lige så godt efter. Eller måske drikke en kop kaffe.

22.07 INTERVIEWER: Hvad tror du er den typiske grund til at folk spiser usundt eller ikke er fysisk aktive?

Tid. Hvis de er alene. Han har en ven, som bor alene, som ikke lige har venner og familie i nærheden, og som arbejder en del, og han spiser tit usundt, han går ikke så meget op i, hvad han spiser. Han ser også tit mad, som noget der bare skal indtages, for at man kan leve, ikke altid som en kæmpe nydelse. Men hvis det er hverdag, så er det ofte bare noget der er nødvendigt for at overleve. Og hvis man ser det sådan, og man ikke går vildt meget op i mad, han har nogle andre venner, der går vildt mere op i mad, som, selvom de er virkelig trætte, så bruger de halvanden time på at stå og lave mad, spise det og så i seng nærmest. Men hvis man ikke har den der, at man bare elsker mad, og det er hverdag, og man er alene, og man ikke har særlig meget tid, så tror han at det er helt oplagt, at man køber et eller andet. Det gør vennen i hvert fald.

Da han boede alene spiste han også tit sammen med forældre eller venner, ellers ville han også have været tilbøjelig til bare at tage et eller andet, hvis han havde travlt og var alene, så tror han ikke, at han ville orke at forberede et eller andet. Og hvis man så i forvejen ikke har vildt gode vaner med fx at spise rugbrød, så tror han, at man hurtigt kan komme ind i en dårlig rytme.

24.16 INTERVIEWER: Det her med at komme ind i en god eller dårlig rytme, er det noget du kan genkende fra dig selv? Lever du sundt i perioder?

Nej, han synes det er meget gennemgående, han har ikke perioder, hvor han er mere usund.

24.44 INTERVIEWER: Er diabetes noget du tænker over i din hverdag?

Nej. Han sidder og drikker Cola.

25.01 INTERVIEWER: hvis du er nede og handle, ombestemmer du dig nogensinde, når du har puttet noget i kurven, og så kommer længere ned af gangen og tænker, ej.

Ja, men det er tit fordi hans kæreste siger, at det skal de ikke have. Men hvis han selv af egen fri vilje, så ja, det gør han. Enten fordi de ikke har alle ingredienser. Han følger meget opskrifter, hvilket han tror er en mande ting, så hvis de ikke har noget, så dropper han det bare og laver noget nyt. Eller, hvis han ser et eller andet, som er lækkert og som han sjældent spiser, som han har glemt, så kan det godt være han skifter mening. Men det er også derfor han hader at handle, fordi det er sjældent at han ved hvad han skal have inden han skal handle.

26.25 INTERVIEWER: Kunne du finde på, hvis du i starten af din handletur, har lagt en plade chokolade i din kurv, kunne den finde på at komme ud af kurven inden du betaler?

Kun hvis den skal udskiftes med noget tilsvarende, ellers ikke. Han tror aldrig nogensinde han har taget noget slik, chokolade et eller andet og så sagt at han ikke skulle have det alligevel, så er det fordi han har tænkt, okay hvorfor ikke dobbelt op og tage den stor pose, men han har aldrig taget

det op og tænkt, at det skulle han ikke have. Men det handler nok også om, at hvis han skal have noget, så skal han have det.

27.09 INTERVIEWER: Bliver du påvirket af dit humør, eller dine følelser i forhold til at spise sundt og leve aktivt?

Er du fx mindre aktiv, hvis du er sur eller glad eller ked af det? Eller spiser du mere eller mindre sundt?

Han er mest den type, som når han er glad, så er han sundere. Men når han er ked af det, så har han ikke så meget appetit. Han forstår ikke det at trøstespise, så får han bare endnu mere nedtur. Når han er glad, så er han måske mere aktiv, men det er nok også det han spiser mere hvad han har lyst til. Men når han er ked af det, så er han måske mindre aktiv, men til gengæld spiser han heller ikke så usundt, fordi så har han ikke lyst til alt muligt, og han har heller ikke så meget lyst til at hygge, hvis han er ked af det eller sur. Han tror han ville føle det var lidt akavet at spise is, hvis han var ked af det eller sur.

29.14 INTERVIEWER: Du nævnte lige før at du ikke har lige så meget lyst til at hygge, når du er ked af det, men betyder det, at det at spise chokolade eller is, er hygge?

Ja, men det kan ikke stå alene. Det er ikke sådan at han køber noget dessert og spiser det, og så er det bare mega hyggeligt, så er det fordi han er sammen med sin familie eller ser fodbold eller ser film, det skal være forbundet med noget andet hyggeligt, de hænger sammen de to.

30.24 INTERVIEWER: Hvis du er sammen med andre, er du så mere tilbøjelig til at gøre i slikskålen?

Ja, men det skyldes også at hans forældre fx altid har et eller andet slik, så der er mere slik til rådighed hos dem end hos ham.

31.11 INTERVIEWER: Føler du, at du bliver påvirket af reklamer, tilbud og lignende, når du er nede og handle? Primært i forhold til usund mad, så som frysepizza eller lignende.

Tilbud, nej. Reklamer, nej det synes han ikke. Så skulle det være fordi det var noget sæsonbestemt mad. Han ville ønske han gjorde i højere grad, fordi det ofte er mere fornuftigt, men tit indebærer det så, at man skal spise det samme eller lave det samme dagen efter, og det er han generelt dårlig til at skulle tage stilling til, hvad han har lyst til dagen efter, det er nok også grunden til han ikke gemmer slik, fordi han lever meget i nu'et. Hvis han har lyst til noget i dag, så er det det han køber, og så bliver han ikke påvirket af, at der er noget andet, der er på tilbud. Og slik heller ikke, han holder sig meget til de ting han godt kan lide.

36.02 INTERVIEWER: Har du lagt mærke til om du bliver påvirket af, om du kommer ind i grøntsagsafdelingen eller tekstilafdelingen i et supermarked. Kan du se forskel på, hvad du køber alt efter hvordan supermarkedet er indrettet?

Nej. Han prøver altid inden at danne sig et overblik over, hvad han skal have, og så tager han kun det. Det er sjældent at han falder for tilbud, han prøver kun at være der i 2 minutter. Men tit, hvis

de ikke har det, så skal han finde ud af, hvad han så skal have, og så kommer der impulskøb, men det er som regel i forhold til hvad han skal have. Så han handler ikke så spontant. Så skulle det være fordi der er noget specielt eller noget der er sæsonbetoner eller lignende, fx udenlandske øl.

38.58 INTERVIEWER: Hvad trækker dig i forhold til, går du i fitnesscenter?

Nej.

39.06 INTERVIEWER: Løber du eller er det primært holdsport?

Det er i hvert fald konkurrencesport. Der skal være noget konkurrence, løbe, træne og fitness, det synes han er for kedeligt. Han synes det er kedeligt kun at måle sig op mod sig selv. Der skal være noget, hvor man skal kunne noget teknisk.

41.52 INTERVIEWER: Har du noget du afslutningsvist vil sige?

Der er mange ting han personligt ikke tænker så meget over.

42.36 INTERVIEWER: Er det fordi det er vaner, der driver dig eller er det bare et spørgsmål om det lige er sådan en dag, om det er intuition?

Ja, det tror han. Selvfølgelig er der også vaner. Han havde på et tidspunkt en meget dårlig vane med at drikke meget sodavand, hvilket han havde fra sine forældre, fordi de gav det til ham, men da han flyttede sammen med sin kæreste, mente hun, at han drak meget sodavand (han rykker sodavanden væk fra sig), og der sagde hun også, at det var en vane og hun spurgte om han syntes det smagte godt. Og hun drak meget danskvand, så derfor begyndte han at drikke meget danskvand, og der følte han, at hvis han drak meget danskvand i nogle uger, og han så drak en cola, så syntes han det var ulækkert, fordi han syntes det smagte ulækkert, det smagte af sukkervand. Det var bare en vane han havde, som han tror var forbundet med, at hvis han havde lavet noget god mad, eller skulle hygge, så skulle han have sodavand, men i virkeligheden syntes han ikke det var så lækkert, og tit var det også bare to-tre tåre. Og derfor tror han også det var forbundet med hygge, fordi hvis det er nok med så lidt, så kan det heller ikke være så dejligt, hvis det er nok. Det var nok bare følelsen af at det skulle kilde lidt i halsen, hvilket han fik erstattet af danskvand.

44.52 INTERVIEWER: Følte du, at du drak mere sodavand, når folk omkring dig drak meget sodavand?

Ja, det tror han, hvis alle folk bestilte cola og han havde tænkt sig at bestille vand, så ville han tænke, nå man okay, så tager jeg også cola. Men det er nok den dårligste vane han har haft. Han forbandt det meget med hygge.

Han bliver umiddelbart ikke påvirket af reklamer osv., men hvis han kommer ned i supermarketdet, og de ikke har det, som han havde besluttet sig for hjemmefra, at han skulle købe, så kunne kan godt blive påvirket af fx Tex mix, fordi det er nemmere, at det hele er samlet et sted, alt det man skal bruge. Han bliver mere påvirket af standere, hvor alt er samlet, her er italiensk og alt hvad du skal bruge til en ret.

### 15.8.2 Informant 4: Memos

#### 15.8.2.1 Memo 1: *The health aspect and other reasons*

To some degree it is presumed that informant 4 considered his healthy when making decisions about his lifestyle. Consequently, he doesn't drink during the weekdays because he finds it purposeless to expose his body to alcohol during the week and he wants to save it for the weekend (informant 4, personal communication, March 15, 2016, 0:27). This also implies an influence of mental accounting. However, in relation to exercising, he doesn't have much time and he would find it hard to exercise because it was healthy, he does it because he thinks it is fun (informant 4, personal communication, March 15, 2016, 0:27). Nevertheless, diabetes is not something he thinks about (informant 4, personal communication, March 15, 2016, 24:44).

Categories: The healthy aspect, other reasons

Properties: weekdays/weekends, expose to alcohol, time, diabetes

Dimensions: purposeless, hard (exercise for health), fun (exercise), save

#### 15.8.2.2 Memo 2: *The small things*

Informant 4 doesn't think so much about the little things and he almost always takes the elevator, because he doesn't think it does so much to take the stairs (personal communication, March 15, 2016, 3:36). Which relates to the sunk cost that informant 1 was also influenced by. However, in general his decision to do little things such as walk instead of taking the bus are influenced by time. When he has the time, it doesn't matter if walking is quicker or not. (informant 4, personal communication, March 15, 2016, 3:36).

Categories: The small things

Properties: time, give much, quick

Dimensions: always (elevator)

#### 15.8.2.3 Memo 3: *Eating healthy unhealthy and grocery shopping*

A recent time when informant 4 ate unhealthy was in line with what he said above, because of limited time. This is often the case, however, when he eats fast food, it is seldom pizza and often something healthy from Cofocco (a Danish restaurant chain that also makes take out food). He does so because he thinks healthy food tastes better (informant 4, personal communication, March 15, 2016, 8:59). However, if he eats unhealthy food a few days in a row, he would find it disgusting and would change his behaviour, in contrary to his behaviour if he had eaten healthy a few days in a row. (informant 4, personal communication, March 15, 2016, 8:59; 10:40). I.e. he is influenced by mental accounting and adjustment heuristic.

He also doesn't think it is as bad to eat unhealthy if he hasn't eating much all day, which implies mental accounting. (informant 4, personal communication, March 15, 2016, 5:27).

Another thing influencing his tendency to buy take out is his dislike of grocery shopping and having to think what he should make. Therefore, he often goes grocery shopping for a few days at a time, limit the dislike and still make sure to have something at home to avoid eating take out. (informant 4, personal communication, March 15, 2016, 5:27). Which implies consistent planning.

Informant 4 doesn't use unhealthy food as a reward for something, however, if he has spent a lot of time cooking, he wants it to be there (personal communication, March 15, 2016, 15:01). Thus, it can be presumed that when he has made a great effort, he wants there to be something special.

Categories: other reasons, eating habits, avoiding,

Properties: Grocery shopping, shops before, pizza, cofocco, not eaten, time, healthy fast food, taste (healthy food), amount of days, not treat wants it.

Dimensions: Dislike (grocery shopping), seldom (pizza) often, (cofocco), doesn't matter (if not eaten), often (shops for days), better (taste), disgusting (unhealthy food)

#### *15.8.2.4 Memo 4: Having a good time*

Usually informant 4 eats unhealthy when he is alone, and when he is watching a movie or football. However, he does not relate eating unhealthy with having a good time, nevertheless, he does also not relate having a good time to carrot sticks. (informant 4, personal communication, March 15, 2016, 12:39; 13:15; 14:20). He does relate it to chocolate (informant 4, personal communication, March 15, 2016, 14:45). Nevertheless, according to informant 4, having a good time and unhealthy food cannot stand alone, it is also because he is with his family, watching a movie or football (personal communication, March 15, 2016, 29:14). i.e. it is socially related too.

Categories: other reasons, having a good time

Properties: alone, not carrot stick, not sweets, watch movie or football, family, chocolate

#### *15.8.2.5 Memo 5: Wants it, takes it*

Informant 4 never has sweets lying around, when he wants something, he takes it (personal communication, March 15, 2016, 17:22), which implies that he has a clear time preference. It also implies that his decisions are influenced by the automatic and intuitive system. If he has to, he could wait for a later and larger reward, however, he wouldn't wait very long, 5-10 min. If he should wait until the end of the day, he would rather have a smaller reward now. (informant 4, personal communication, March 15, 2016, 18:54). If he had to avoid eating something unhealthy that he wanted, he would either brush his teeth, drink some water or some coffee, as this would make it more difficult and less tasty to eat the unhealthy thing. (informant 4, personal communication, March 15, 2016, 19:28). Hence, he would engage in consistent planning.

Categories: eating healthy, avoid

Properties: sweets saving /waiting, drink water or coffee, brush teeth

Dimensions: never, short time, difficult (avoid), less tasty (avoid)

#### *15.8.2.6 Memo 6: Emotions*

Informant 4 believes he is healthier when he is happy because he is more active. Also, he doesn't understand the concept of comfort eating (personal communication, March 15, 2016, 27:09).

Categories: Eating healthy

Properties: no comfort food,

Dimensions: healthier (when happy)

*15.8.2.7 Memo 7: When with others*

Informant 4 is more likely to eat sweets when he is at his parent's house, because they always have sweets available (personal communication, March 15, 2016, 30:24). Thus, he is influenced by the availability heuristic.

He is also influenced by other people's behaviour, e.g. he now drinks sparkling water instead of coca cola, because his girlfriend does it and if he intended to order water at a restaurant and everyone else ordered coca cola, he would probably do it too. (informant 4, personal communication, March 15, 2016, 42:36; 44:52). Thus, he is influenced by social stimuli.

Categories: Eating habits, other reasons

Properties: available, social,

*15.8.2.8 Memo 8: being influences by surroundings*

Informant 4 is seldom influenced by offers (personal communication, March 15, 2016, 36:02), since he usually grocery shops based on a list, hence not spontaneously (informant 4, personal communication, March 15, 2016, 36:02). However, he is influenced by the shelves where everything is gathered for a meal, e.g. tex mix, because it is easy (informant 4, personal communication, March 15, 2016, 44:52). Hence, he is to some extend influenced by choice architecture.

Categories: other reasons

Properties: not offers, shelves gathered

Dimensions: easier (shelves)

*15.8.2.9 Memo 9: competitive*

In relation to physical activity, informant 4 is definitely driven by competition, he thinks it is boring to compete against oneself (personal communication, March 15, 2016, 39:06).

Categories: Other reasons

Properties: Competition

Dimensions: boring (against oneself)

### 15.8.3 Informant 4: Open coding categories

Categories	The health aspect	Other reasons	The small things	eating habits	avoid	having a good time
Properties	expose to alcohol	weekends/weekdays	time	pizza /coffoco	shops before	no carrots
	diabetes	time	gives much	not eaten		no sweets
		grocery shopping	quick	alone		chocolate
		taste (healthy food)		watch movie or football		family
		amount of days		sweets saving /wanting		movie
		alone		no comfort food		football
		something extra		available		
		no offers				
		shelves gathering food				
		social				
		competition				
Dimensions	purposeless	dislike (grocery shopping)	always (elevators)	Seldom (pizza)	often (shops in advance)	
	Hard (exercise for health)	better (taste)		often (coffoco)		
	fun (exercise)	disgusting (unhealthy food)		doesn't matter (if not eaten)		
		easy (shelves)		never (sweets saving)		
		boring (cometing oneself)		short time (sweet saving)		
				healthier (happy)		

#### 15.8.4 Informant 4: Axial coding categories

Categories	The health aspect	Other reasons	The small things	eating habits	avoid	having a good time
Properties	expose to alcohol diabetes	weekends/weekdays time	time gives much	pizza /cofocco not eaten	shops before alone	no carrots no sweets
	mental accounting	grocery shopping	quick	consistent planning drink water or coffee	brush teeth	chocolate
		taste (healthy food)	sunk cost effect	watch movie or football		family
		amount of days		sweets saving /wanting		movie
		alone		no comfort food		football
		something extra		available		
		no offers		mental accounting		
		Shelves gathering food		adjustment heuristic		
		social		time preference		
		choice architecture		social stimuli		
		competition		intuition (automatic system)		
Dimensions	purposeless	dislike (grocery shopping)	always (elevators)	Seldom (pizza)	often (shops in advance)	
	Hard (exercise for health)	better (taste)		often (cofocco)	difficult (avoid)	
	fun (exercise)	disgusting (unhealthy food)		doesn't matter (if not eaten)	less tasty (avoid)	
		easy (shelves)		never (sweets saving)		
		boring (completing oneself)		short time (sweet saving)		
				healthier (happy)		

## 15.9 Informant 5

### 15.9.1 Informant 5: Summary

Interview with informant 5, March 17 2016

0.06 INTERVIEWER: Er det at leve sundt noget, der påvirker dine beslutninger i forhold til kost og at være fysisk aktiv?

Helt bestemt, men det er ikke det eneste hun lever efter. Hun skal også nyde at leve, og nogle gange betyder det også nogle hyggestunder. Og det behøver ikke at betyde, at det er dårlig mad hun spiser, men nogle gange skal hun kunne hygge sig med nogle venner og det kan også være med noget vin og nogle søde sager. Hun føler, man skal finde en balance i bl.a. madvaner.

0.58 INTERVIEWER: Kan du fortælle lidt mere om de her hyggestunder, hvad er det der gør en hyggestund til en hyggestund?

For handler om de mennesker man er sammen med, men som regel, i hvert fald her i Danmark, så har det en tendens til også at være forbundet med god mad, og det kan være sund mad, men det kan også være det, der er kommer efterfølgende, og ofte har man en tendens til både at have en hovedret, som kan være sund, og så en dessert, og den her dessert, den synes hun kun er god, hvis den er lidt fed. Så hyggestunder for hende er en kombination af godt selskab og god mad.

1.49 INTERVIEWER: Hvad så i forhold til at være fysisk aktiv, er det noget, der påvirker dig i din hverdag?

Ja, hun ved godt, at man skal være fysisk aktiv, det er mere det at have tid til det, og gøre det på en ordentlig måde. Hun har prøvet kræfter med alt muligt forskelligt – fitness, holdsport, individuel sport – men hun falder altid af på den på et tidspunkt, hvorefter hun går tilbage til at tænke, at så længe hun spiser sundt og går nogle ture, så er det okay. Hun ved godt, at hun skal være mere fysisk aktiv, og hun prøver hele tiden at sige til sig selv, at det er nu det sker, det er bare lige det med at tage sig sammen tid det, for der er så mange andre ting, specielt når man er studerende, der tager ens tid. Og så er det en prioriteringssag, og der vil hun hellere prioritere at spise sundere i hverdagen, end at være så fysisk aktiv, som hun ved hun skal været. Så det bliver til nogle lang gåtur, og ind i mellem tager hun op i "det dumme fitnesscenter", fordi hun er stadigvæk medlem af det, og det er det dummeste af det hele mener hun, at hun betaler hver måned, fordi det gør, at hun har det bedre med sig selv, men hun benytter det bare ikke, i forhold til det hun bruger. Så har hun været oppe to gange, og hun har det så godt med sig selv bagefter, og hun ved jo godt, at det er godt, og hun ved godt at det er fornuftigt, og det er det fornuftige at gøre, men nogle gange så ser hun bare andre ting, som er værd at prioritere i stedet for, og det kan også være ting, der måske ikke burde være det mest væsentlige.

3.36 INTERVIEWER: Hvad trækker dig op, de gange du så kommer derop?

Hendes bevidsthed, hun ved godt, at det er noget hun skal give sig tid til, og hun får det dårligt med sig selv nogle gange, hvor hun tænker "det er ikke godt nok", og så har hun de der små momenter

hvor hun tænker at nu er det nu, og nu skal hun gøre noget ved det, og hun har overskuddet til det, og hun tænker, at hun skal tage sig sammen, og leve sundere, også på den vis og ikke kun madmæssigt, men det falder hun så af på.

4.26 INTERVIEWER: Er det fremprovokeret af andre eller noget bestemt, når du står op om morgen og tænker, i dag er det dagen, hvor jeg laver om på det her.

Hun har en kæreste, der går meget op i træning, så det at han hver dag er motiveret til at trække sig selv derhen, det gør at hun får det dårligt med sig selv over, at hun falder i, så han er klart en motivationsfaktor på det punkt, de få gange det sker. Derudover, hendes omgivelser, som hele tiden gør, at hun er bevidste om, at vi skal leve op til et eller andet billede. Og størstedelen af det mener at man skal spise sundt og det er det der gør den største forskel, men træning gør selvfølgelig også noget, specielt, når man går mod sommer, hvor man skal vise sig selv lidt mere bart, end man kunne trække sig sammen i vinterperioden. Men det er også hendes opgivelser der gør, at hun mener, at nogle gange er det noget der skal til. Hun ved så ikke, hvorfor hun falder i, det sker.

5.43 INTERVIEWER: Har du perioder, hvor du kommer rigtig meget op og træne og perioder, hvor du ikke gør, eller er det en lille smule hele tiden?

Nej, hun havde en periode lidt efter 1. Januar, hvor hun mente, at nu skulle der ske noget, fordi nu gik det ikke længere, der havde været for meget fed mad, så der havde hun en periode på omkring en månedstid, hvor hun virkelig trænede og spiste virkelig sundt, og det var rigtig fint, men så kom eksamenerne, og det er der hun falder i hver gang, fordi hun har ikke overskuddet, og der handler det bare om at komme igennem dagen og få læst det hun skal, fordi det bliver hendes prioringsfaktor. Det hænder der kommer nogle perioder, hun havde det også i efteråret, men så falder hun af på den, og det ville hun synes var rigtig dejligt at vide, hvorfor det var det skete, og hvad hun kunne gøre ved det, ud over at sige, du skal bare trække dig selv om igen, og du skal bare blive motiveret.

6.56 INTERVIEWER: Når du så er inde i en god periode, skal der så mindre til at få dig ned i fitnesscentret?

Ja, fordi hun har det rigtig rart efterfølgende, det er en enormt dejlig følelse hun sidder tilbage med, så der kan hun mærke, at hun får mere energi ud af det, hvilket også gør, at hun studerer bedre, men når hun sidder i presset situationer, synes hun det er svært at finde tilbage til den tanke hun havde, da hun havde det godt ved at gøre det.

7.34 INTERVIEWER: Kommer det at spise sundt også i perioder, eller er det kontinuerligt?

Hun er lidt en underlig blanding. Hun spiser rigtig sundt i forhold til hendes hovedmåltider, hun kan godt lide, at der skal være masser af grønt, og hun skal få noget energi ud af det. Problemet er dog, at hun har en sød tand og hun elsker at bage, og det gør, at der kommer noget hygge indover. Nogle perioder spiser hun enormt sundt, ligesom hun havde tidligere, hvor hun undlod hyggedelen. Men hun kan godt lide, at man skal have lov til begge dele, men hovedsageligt vil hun mene, at hun spiser

sundt, på den måde, at hun spiser masser af grønt, og hun får fisk, og hun får kød, prøver at undgå alt for meget pasta og kulhydrater.

8.32 INTERVIEWER: Du nævnte, at du bliver påvirket af dine omgivelser. Er det reklamer, eller hvad er det i dine omgivelser, der påvirker dig, eller der får dig til at stoppe op?

De sociale medier påvirker meget, ikke så meget Facebook længere, mere Instagram, som gør, at man ser de billede, og træning er blevet hipt, og der er hele tiden folk, der kommenterer på det, og vil påvirke en til at være det her glansbillede, eller den her pæne figur. Og som det finder sted der, så er det igennem træning, og ikke igennem sund livsstil, i forhold til madvaner lige så meget. Så helt klart Instagram, hvor man får smidt billede i hovedet af hvordan man skal se ud, og kilden til det er træning. Og på den måde bliver hun påvirket.

Reklamer generelt, der mener hun, at hun hele tiden får smidt fitness reklamer i hoved, som også gør, at man får en lille reminder om, at det måske var på tide, at man smuttede op, samtidig med, at man bliver bombarderet med mails fra træningscenteret om, at nu er der gået så mange dage siden vi sidst så dig, kommer du ikke tilbage. Så der er hele tiden udefra komne ting, der går ind og påvirker ens syn på træning og går ind og taler til ens dårlige samvittighed.

11.18 INTERVIEWER: Får sådanne mails dig til at gå ned i fitnesscentret i højere grad?

I starten, der fik hun en intens dårlig samvittighed, men nu har hun fået dem i så lang tid, så nu påvirker det hende ikke længere.

12.00 INTERVIEWER: Kan du komme på engang fornyeligt, hvor du spiste usundt, eller var fysisk inaktiv, og kan du fortælle lidt om, hvad det var der gjorde, at du spiste det eller sad hjemme?

Det var i går og 48 timer bagud, hvor hun havde en eksamen. Her var hun enormt inaktiv, fordi hun havde kun et mål, og det var, at hun skulle blive færdig, så hun flyttede sig nærmest ikke fra sin stol i de 48 timer. Der prøvede hun at spise sundt i starten, fordi hun vidste hun ville få mere energi ud af det, men som tiden gik, fik hun det dårligere og dårligere med sig selv, og synes at det sådan set var lidt synd for hende selv og den situation hun sad i, og det endte med at der kom lidt is på bordet og der var lidt sodavand ind over, fordi hun skulle have lidt hurtig energi, og det ved hun at hun får fra søde sager. Så der spiste hun hverken sundt eller var særlig aktiv, og det var udelukkende fordi hun følte sig lidt ynkelig, og det hjælper, selvom det kun er en kort periode, så hjælper det.

13.33 INTERVIEWER: Nu nævner du selv at det var lidt en belønning, eller hvis du var ynkelig, så hjælper det lidt. Bliver du påvirket af følelser og dit humør i forbindelse med at spise sundt eller være fysisk aktiv?

Ja, til en vis grad. Hvis hun virkelig er presset, og det bliver altid forbundet med noget læsning eller under nogle eksamener, så ser hun det som en lille belønning hun kan have, hvor på et eller andet tidspunkt kan hun sige, om de her timer, så kan hun få noget sødt eller tage en pause, så jo, de er vel forbundet til en vis grad. Og hvis hun er ked af det af en eller anden grund, så har man nogle gange en tendens til, at så hjælper is, sådan er det bare, der hjælper en banan ikke, det gør den ikke. Så han man det dårligt med sig selv, om man mener, at man skal have en lille treat, og der er det

specielt i den kultur vi lever i, en treat er forbundet generelt mere med noget sødt, end det er med noget sundt.

15.00 INTERVIEWER: Hvorfor tror du at det er mere interessant at spise is end en banan, hvis man er ked af det? Tror du det er fordi man ikke normalt, at man ikke burde, og så får man lov eller hvad?

Man ved jo godt det er lidt forbudt, som område generelt, og man ved at det er ikke noget man burde gøre, men man ved samtidig også, at man får det bedre af det bagefter, i en kort stund, det er jo ikke noget, der er længerevarende, som træning fx ville være. Men man får det generelt bedre i en kort stund, men jo, det er et lidt forbudt område, og nogle gange er det forbudte lidt sjovere, end det man burde.

15.56 INTERVIEWER: Hvis du spiser noget, der er usundt, det behøver ikke være is, det kan også være en hovedret, der er usund, er det så noget du har haft liggende i skabene eller i fryseren, eller er det noget du har købt den samme dag?

Hun har et lille skab eller en lille hylde, hvor hun ved, der er der noget sødt af en eller anden form. Hun er typen, der altid har is i fryseren, men ellers har hun den lille hylde, hvis hun får lyst til lidt. Men hun plejer ikke at være typen, der tømmer en pose, men hun kan tage et lille stykke chokolade eller noget, der lige kan tage sukkertrangen.

Hun bliver ikke i lige så høj påvirket, når hun er nede og handle, fordi hun ved, at hun har noget derhjemme, og derfor ved hun, at det bare er spild af penge, så hun er ikke typen, der bare går ned og hamstre, medmindre hun er sammen med veninder og det er til en hyggelig aften, men ikke generelt, så er det ikke der, hun bliver påvirket.

17.22 INTERVIEWER: Er det fordi du ikke har lyst til at tømme hele hylden, eller er det fordi du ved, at det burde du ikke, eller gør du noget for at undgå at tømme den?

Hun ved at hun ikke burde gøre det, og hun synes også det er lidt spild af penge, fordi hun allerede har noget, hvis det nu skulle være, at trangen kom til hende. Hun synes det er for dyrt, og hun prøver at lade vær, fordi man ikke har godt af det. Men hvis der nu var et godt tilbud, og det er jo også der den kommer, og hun tænker, at det lige er det hun kan lide, så kunne hun godt finde på at købe det, ikke fordi hun ville hamstre det, men så kunne hun godt finde på at købe et enkelt produkt.

18.25 INTERVIEWER: Når du så har spildt pengene, og det ligger på hylden herhjemme, hvad er det så der gør, at du kan lade være med at spise det hele? Er det fordi du bare aldrig har lyst til en hel plade chokolade?

Hun plejer aldrig at have lyst til en hel plade chokolade, fordi hun plejer bare at ville have lidt, og så ved hun også godt, at nu er det også slemt nok, nu har hun været der, og hun har fået en lille smule, men hun behøver heller ikke at ødelægge det fuldstændig, så hun har det fint med at tage dem i meget små doser, fordi det er bare for at få trangen væk.

Så har hun så prøvet at være enorm sund og har haft andre alternativer, tørret abrikoser eller lignende, så hun kunne få stillet den sukkertrang, som automatisk dukker op. Så medmindre hun

sidder med veninder og hun har hyggeaften, så sidder hun ikke og går helt amok i en pose og spiser den hele selv.

19.44 INTERVIEWER: Er diabetes noget du tænker over i din hverdag?

Hun har lige selv haft et projekt om Novo Nordisk og diabetes, og det gjorde, at hun helt klart er begyndt at tænke noget mere over det, og at det er noget der rammer rigtig mange mennesker og flere og flere. Så hun har helt klart tænkt over det efterfølgende, at det rent faktisk er et reelt problem, og det er noget, der kan ramme mange mennesker, og bestem også hende selv, hvis hun ikke begynder at ændre hendes træningsmåde. Så jo, det er noget, hun er begyndt at tænke over, det gjorde hun ikke før overhoved, hun så det som gammelmandssukkersyge, eller noget man fik fra et meget træt familiemedlem, og det ville ikke ramme hende, fordi hun havde hverken nogen i familien, der havde det, og så levede hun også ok sundt, i hvert fald i hendes egen optik. Men nu ved hun at det ikke bare er gammelmandssyg, som man bare får, når man rammer de 70, hvor det også er ligegyldigt, og det vil have en meget stor påvirkning på hendes hverdag, hvis hun skulle være så uheldig og få det. Derfor ved hun også nu, at hun skal stadigvæk have lov til at hygge sig, og spise noget god mad, for det vil hun ikke gå glip af, men det vil nok være en god ide og benytte det fitnesskort, når nu hun alligevel betaler for det.

21.33 INTERVIEWER: Har du lavet nogle ændringer nu, har du ændret din hverdag fra før du havde projektet til nu?

Spis noget mere grønt. Men det der med at træne, nu havde hun sat sig selv op til, at hun skulle ned og træne i dag, og tage derhen med hendes kæreste, så nu må hun se, om det kommer til at ske. Men hun kan give det et forsøg, for hun ved også, at det kan gå ind og have en påvirkning på træthed, som man ofte får, når man læser, og det er specielt noget hun synes er problematisk i øjeblikket, når der er så meget at se til. Så hun har talt med hendes kæreste om, at nu er det nu man skal til at komme i gang, og derudover gør det også en gladere efterfølgende, så nu vil hun prøve, det har i hvert fald motiveret hende mere, end at se reklamer, rent faktisk at blive oplyst omkring, hvad der er af konsekvenser ved det, så det har i hvert fald gjort, at der er større chance for, at hun går ned og gør noget ved det, end at hun bliver bombarderet af udefra komne informationer i forhold til Instagram eller reklamer.

23.04 INTERVIEWER: Ombestemmer du dig nogensinde, når du er nede og handle og du putter noget ned i kurven, ryger det nogensinde op igen?

Nej. Ofte handler hun ud fra en seddel, det har hun også gjort for at lade vær med at blive påvirket af tilbud, i form af søde sager, eller den måde supermarkederne sætter deres produkter, hvad der er i øjenhøjde og hvad der ikke er. Så derfor har hun prøvet at lave en liste før hun går ned og handler, så hun holder sig inden for det hun har brug for, derved også for at spare nogle penge som studerende.

24.05 INTERVIEWER: Tænker du over de små ting, som at tage trappen i stedet for elevatoren, eller går derhen i stedet for at tage bussen?

Ja. Det kommer an på dagen og humør og tid. Nogle gange har hun en indirekte ide om at det er hurtigere at tage elevatoren, selvom om det drejer sig om meget få minutter. Sådan noget som at gå derhen i stedet for at tage bussen, det er noget hun gør, hvis hun har tid. Men det er det der med at have tid og prioritere det.

25.32 INTERVIEWER: Hvis du kan få is nu eller dobbelt så meget is om en halv time, ville du så spise det nu, eller ville du vente?

Hun ville spise is, når hun havde lyst. Mængden er ikke det, der har betydning for hende, det er lysten der driver.

26.05 INTERVIEWER: Så du er mere nu og her, hvis jeg forstår der ret?

Hvis det er nu hun ønsker is, så ville hun spise det nu, selv med tanken om, at hun kunne få mere, selv på et andet tidspunkt.

26.20 INTERVIEWER: Hvis du skal vente, hvis du har lyst til is nu, men du skal vente, fx fordi du skal først spise aftensmad eller et eller andet. Kan du fortælle lidt om hvad du gør, for så at holde dig fra isen?

Hvis hun virkelig havde lyst til is nu, og klokken var fem og hun vidste, at hun kunne spise aftensmad, hvis det kun var hende selv, som skulle spise, så ville hun spise isen nu. Fordi hun nyder så meget at vi har den frihed som unge mennesker, i forhold til hvordan det bliver, når vi bliver ændre, hvor der rent faktisk vil være faste tidspunkter, så der ville hun udnytte den situation hun står i, og spise isen nu, hvis det var det, og så kunne det være at hun så overhoved ikke skulle spise sin aftensmad – det ville godt nok være en dum ide, men herre gud.

Men hvis hun stod i en situation, og hun skulle lave mad til andre, og hun havde virkelig meget lyst til is, så ville hun nok fortælle sig selv, gå ind og påvirke sig selv, og fortælle, at sådan er det bare ikke, fordi der er en rækkefølge, der skal overholdes, fordi den er vi opvokset med, det ligger i vores natur, så der ville hun nok gå ind og spille til den.

27.56 INTERVIEWER: Hvorfor jeg spørger, det er fordi der er lavet en undersøgelse, hvor man har kigget på børn om selvkontrol osv. Og der har man sagt til dem, at de kan få en marshmellow nu, men hvis du venter 15 min kan du få to, og det vil de jo selvfølgelig gerne, for dem er det jo bare, flere er lækkert. Og det er interessant at se hvad nogle af de børn gør for at undgår, nogle kigger væk, fordi så tænker de, så er den ude af sind – out of sight, out of mind – og så er der nogle der rør helt vildt meget ved den, for bare at få en fornemmelse af den eller noget, eller dufter til den og får andre indtryk. Så det var for at høre, om du gør nogen, hvis du skal holde dig fra noget, hvad gør du så for at undgå at..

Så ville hun bare sørge for, at det ikke var der, så ville isen ryge i fryseren, og så ville hun sige til dem hun var sammen med, at den venter vi lige med, og holdt hende væk fra den, hvis det var hun havde så stor lyst til det. Så out of sight, out of mind, samtidig med at hun ville bede dem om at hvis hun havde så meget lyst til den is, at de så sagde til hende, at det bare ikke var nu, som om hun var et lille barn.

29.20 INTERVIEWER: Hjælper det dig, hvis du ved du bør træne, gør du noget for at blive holdt op på det? Fortæller du det til din kæreste, at i dag vil du gå ned og træne, eller sætter du det i kalenderen, eller gør du noget for at få det plottet ind i dit liv?

Der har hun benyttet apps til at tracke hendes kost og træning, det var da hun virkelig prøvede at gøre noget ved det, og det var også fint, der kunne hun se at der skete noget, hun er meget konkurrencemenneske, så hun har brug for at hun har et mål og at hun kan tracke det efterfølgende. Så det var en fin måde at gøre det på, men hun manglede stadigvæk den med at hun skulle gøre det. Fordi det var kun konkurrence med hende selv, og det var også fint til en høj grad, men nogle gange ville det være godt at blive presset. Det ville være smart, hvis man havde en personlig træner, som ventede på en, for man vil aldrig lade vær med at dukke op til en aftale. Der tror hun, at man skal have fat i en træningspartner, så man motiverer hinanden, så man ikke bare tænker, at hvis man ikke kommer ned og træner, hvem går det ud over, det er bare en selv. Nogle gange har man brug for, at det også kommer til at påvirke et andet menneske.

31.16 INTERVIEWER: Når du spiser usundt, er det så typisk når du har sociale arrangementer og er sammen med andre, eller er det, når du er alene?

Typisk når hun har sociale arrangementer. Både hvad der gælder alkohol, hvilket ikke er noget hun gør alene, men samtidig også når det bare er usunde madvarer, så er det den der hyggestund igen.

#### 15.9.2 Informant 5: Memos

##### *15.9.2.1 Memo 1: Living a balanced life*

According to informant 5, living a healthy definitely influences her decisions about nutrition and physical activity. However, she also wants to enjoy her life. She wants to be able to have a good time with friends and have wine and sweets. Thus, she wants there to be a balance. (informant 5, personal communication, March 17, 2016, 0:06). This implies a sort of mental accounting. It also implies that she does not believe one can enjoy one's life at the same time as living a healthy life.

Categories: other reasons,

Properties: Balance, enjoy, wine and sweets

Dimensions: definitely (influence)

##### *15.9.2.2 Memo 2: Having a good time*

For informant 5, having a good time is about the people she is with and the food they eat. It is about good company and good food. However, good food can also be healthy, but having a good time often includes making dessert, which is often greasy. (informant 5, personal communication, March 17, 2016, 0:58).

Categories: Having a good time

Properties: people, food, dessert

Dimensions: greasy, healthy, good

#### *15.9.2.3 Memo 3: a matter of priority*

For informant 5 time and priority is a great influence factor on her life. She knows going to the gym is the sensible thing to do, but sometimes there are other things she prioritises, e.g. her studies. And sometimes she prioritises things she probably shouldn't. (informant 5, personal communication, March 17, 2016, 1:49). This implies that her decision is influenced by her automatic system, by her feelings and intuition. She prioritises eating healthy over being physically active and instead of going to the gym she goes for walks. What is silly is the fact that she still pays to be a member of the gym, which makes her feel better. (informant 5, personal communication, March 17, 2016, 1:49). Being a member of a gym even though she is not using it may be categorised as consistent planning.

Categories: other reasons

Properties: prioritise, go walking, member of gym, time, not sensible, eating / active

Dimensions: Better (member of gym), rather (more important eating)

#### *15.9.2.4 Memo 4: influenced by surroundings*

Usually, it is her conscious that makes her go to the gym because she sometimes feels bad, also the fact that she has the energy makes her go to the gym (informant 5, personal communication, March 17, 2016, 3:36), which implies that her decision is also influenced by her rational system. However, when she has exams she doesn't have the energy and than she doesn't go to the gym (informant 5, personal communication, March 17, 2016, 5:43).

Furthermore, she is influenced by her boyfriend who works out a lot (informant 5, personal communication, March 17, 2016, 4:26) and she is only inclined to buy a lot of unhealthy food when she is with friends (informant 5, personal communication, March 17, 2016, 15:56). Finally, she is influenced by her surroundings. (informant 5, personal communication, March 17, 2016, 4:26). This all points towards the fact that she is influenced by social stimuli. By surroundings she means social media, not so much Facebook anymore, but Instagram. She is influenced by pictures that makes her want to be a perfect figure too. She is not clear about whether or not she believes she is influenced by normal adds, but she does call them little reminders. (informant 5, personal communication, March 17, 2016, 8:32). She has been getting email reminders from the gym for so long now, that they don't affect her any more. At the beginning, she got an intense guilty conscious, but not anymore. (informant 5, personal communication, March 17, 2016, 11:18). This implies that the principle of habit works both for the better and for the worse in regards to healthy living. Thus, many small nudges instead of one big may be beneficial.

Categories: other reasons, why do it?

Properties: boyfriend, friends, conscious, energy, exams (studies), Instagram, pictures, perfect figure, adds, email reminders

Dimensions: feels bad (doesn't go to gym), little reminder (adds)

#### *15.9.2.5 Memo 5: why going to the gym?*

When informant 5 does get to the gym, she has a great feeling afterwards, she has more energy and she studies better. Nevertheless, when she is stressed, she has a hard time finding back to those

feelings. (informant 5, personal communication, March 17, 2016, 6:56). Hence, she does feel immediate rewards when working out too.

Categories: other reasons, why do it?

Properties: Stressed, feels good, more energy, studies better

Dimensions: Hard (getting back)

#### *15.9.2.6 Memo 6: being healthy*

All in all, informant 5 eats healthy, she eats fish, meat, lots of vegetables, not too much pasta and carbs. However, she has a sweet tooth and she likes to have a good time, which seems to be related to not eating healthy. (informant 5, personal communication, March 17, 2016, 7:34).

Categories: having a good time, other reasons, healthy eating

Properties: Sweet tooth, having a good time, vegetables, fish, meat, avoid carbs,

Dimensions: not healthy (having a good time)

#### *15.9.2.7 Memo 7: Treating oneself*

Sometimes informant 5 eats unhealthy because she feels bad for herself or because she needs fast energy, which she can get from sugary things (personal communication, March 17, 2016, 12:00). She is to some extend influenced by her emotions and considers it a treat during an exam or if she is sad. In such a situation, a banana doesn't help, which she believes is because of the culture we live in. (informant 5, personal communication, March 17, 2016, 13:33). Both implies that she is influenced by her automatic system.

She believes one reason for eating unhealthy is because it makes her feel better even for a short amount of time, not like working out, which is long term (informant 5, personal communication, March 17, 2016, 15:00). This implies that she has a time preference. She is aware of the long term reward, but she prefers the short term rewards. Nevertheless, she is not the type of person that empties a bag of sweets, she only eats a little piece of chocolate to satisfy the need for sugar (informant 5, personal communication, March 17, 2016, 15:56) This indicates that she has a diminishing marginal utility. Also, she thinks it is a waste of money to eat it all at once (informant 5, personal communication, March 17, 2016, 15:56)

Categories: Other reasons

Properties: Fast energy, feels bad /sad, treat, culture, empty bag (sweets), money

Dimensions: to some extend

#### *15.9.2.8 Memo 8: When at the supermarket*

In general, informant 5 is not influenced much when she goes grocery shopping (personal communication, March 17, 2016, 15:56), however, she is influenced by offers (personal communication, March 17, 2016, 17:22).

Categories: Other reasons

Properties: Offer, supermarket

Dimensions: to a low degree (supermarket)

#### *15.9.2.9 Memo 9: trying to avoid*

To stay healthier, informant 5 sometimes has other alternatives, healthy alternatives to sweets at home (personal communication, March 17, 2016, 18:25). Furthermore, she usually makes a list before going grocery shopping to avoid buying things she doesn't need (informant 5, personal communication 17, 2016, 23:04). Both actions could be considered an act of consistent planning. The latter also implies that she is influenced by the choice architecture of a supermarket.

Categories: Avoid unhealthy,

Properties: Other alternatives, shopping list

#### *15.9.2.10 Memo 10: Enlightened*

Informant 5 used to think Diabetes was an old man's illness or something you would get from a close relative, however, after being engaged in a project about Novo Nordisk and diabetes in school she knows more about it. (informant 5, personal communication, March 17, 2016, 19:44). Being enlightened about the consequences of diabetes has motivated her more than Instagram or adds. (informant 5, personal communication, March 17, 2016, 21:33). This shows that the educational approach should not be forgotten.

Categories: Diabetes, other reasons

Properties: engaged (project). Old man's illness, close relatives, eat more vegetables, knowledge about consequences

Dimensions: Knows more, motivated (more)

#### *15.9.2.11 Memo 11: the small things*

Informant 5 does think about the small things such as taking the stairs, but it depends on the day, her mood and time. Sometimes she believes taking the elevator is faster, even though it is only a very little. (informant 5, personal communication, March 17, 2016, 24:05). This implies that she is influenced by her automatic system, i.e. her feelings and intuition. It also indicates that she sometimes prioritises time over health.

Categories: the small things

Properties: depends on day

Dimensions: faster (elevator)

#### *15.9.2.12 Memo 12: Not saving it for later*

If informant 5 wanted to eat ice cream now, but knew it was wrong to do, because she should eat her dinner first, she would do it anyway, because she so much appreciates the freedom she has now to do it (personal communication, March 17, 2016, 26:20). This implies that she is very unlikely to want to precommit but instead engage in consistent planning, because she likes her freedom.

Categories: avoid

Properties: appreciate freedom

Dimensions: so much (freedom)

*15.9.2.13 Memo 13: competitive*

According to informant 5, she is a very competitive person, therefore, it helped her to be healthy when she used an app that tracked her fitness and nutrition. She needs goals and being able to track them. However, she was only competing against herself, which didn't motivate her. (informant 5, personal communication, March 17, 2016, 29:20).

Categories: Other reasons

Properties: competition, goals and tracking

Dimensions: very (competitive)

### 15.9.3 Informant 5: Open coding categories

Categories	other reasons	Having a good time	Why be active?	Healthy eating	Diabetes	The small things	Avoid unhealthiness
Properties							
Having a good time	Having a good time	people	feels good	vegetables	Engaged (project)	depends on day	other alternatives
	Sweet tooth	food	more energy	fish	old man's illness	shopping list	
	enjoy	dessert	studies better	avoid carbs	from close relatives	appreciate freedom	
	wine and sweets		guilty conscious (email reminder)	meat	eat more green		
	balance				knowledge about consequences		
	prioritising						
	go walking						
	member of gym						
	time						
	not sensible						
	eating healthy/being active						
	boyfriend						
	conscious						
	exams (studies)						
	Instagram						
	feels bad/sad						
	fast energy						
	treat						
	culture						
	short term joy (unhealthy)						
	long term joy (healthy)						
	money						
	not empty bag						
	with friends						
	offers						
	supermarkets						
	project						
	competition						
	adds						
	email reminders						
	goals and tracking						
Dimensions							
	definitely (influence)	greasy	Hard (getting back)		knows more		
	better (feel)	healthy /not healthy			motivated (more)		
	rather (more important)	good					
	little reminder (adds)						
	to some extend (emotions)						
	to a low degree (supermarkets)						
	very (competitive)						

#### 15.9.4 Informant 5: Axial coding categories

<b>Categories</b>	<b>other reasons</b>	<b>Having a good time</b>	<b>Diabetes</b>	<b>Avoid unhealthiness</b>
Properties	Having a good time /culture	people	Engaged (project)	other alternatives
	Sweet tooth	food	old man's illness	shopping list
	enjoy	dessert	from close relatives	appreciate freedom
	depends on the day		knowledge about consequences	member of gym
	balance		educational approach	consistent planning
	prioritising (studies)		probability discounting	not precommitment
	go walking		representative	
	engage (project)			
	time			
	not sensible			
	social			
	goals and tracking			
	conscious			
	offers			
	Instagram			
	feels bad/sad			
	fast energy			
	adds			
	competition			
	Short term / long term joy			
	email reminders			
	money			
	feels good			
	more energy			
	studies better			
	guilty conscious (email reminder)			
Dimensions	immediate rewards			
	habits (email)			
	mental accounting			
	choice architecture			
	time preference			
	social stimuli			
	automatic and rational system			
	diminishing marginal utility			

## 15.10 Kotter's eight step model

(Kotter, 2007, p. 99)

