

Introducing Sustainable Food Policies

The Case of the Norwegian Armed Forces

Charlotte Lilleby Kildal



Master thesis in Culture, Environment and
Sustainability

Centre for Development and Environment

UNIVERSITY OF OSLO

May 2015

© Charlotte Lilleby Kildal

2015

Introducing Sustainable Food Policies: The Case of the Norwegian Armed Forces

Charlotte Lilleby Kildal

<http://www.duo.uio.no/>

Print: Reprosentralen, University of Oslo

Abstract

This thesis sets out to explore the factors that have challenged the introduction of Meat-Free Monday in the Norwegian Armed Forces. The need to address the unsustainable levels of meat consumption, especially in the West, is related to environmental and health concerns of meat production, especially in regard to the high intake of red meat. This thesis examines the challenges that arise from the military's meat reduction initiative in order to uncover how individuals react to such a dietary change project. By examining the factors that have challenged the implementation of the initiative, this thesis seeks to understand the motivations and dilemmas related to addressing and reducing meat consumption as well as understand the underlying attitudes. The questions guiding the empirical research process were:

What are the factors that have challenged the implementation of Meat-Free Monday in the Norwegian Armed Forces?

To support my main question, I ask:

- i. Why and how is Meat-Free Monday being introduced in the military?
- ii. What are the various attitudes towards reducing meat consumption among soldiers and how can these attitudes be explained?

Data has been collected by qualitative and quantitative research methods, including in-depth interviews and focus group interviews with administrative staff, cooks and soldiers, and a survey distributed to all conscripts in the Norwegian military. Findings were analysed from the perspectives of power and cultural meanings.

Throughout the analysis I demonstrate the importance of meat in the everyday lives of the informants in relation to cultural meanings, perceptions, nutrition, masculinity, comfort and alienation. The difficulties in the implementation of the initiative are connected to structural and contextual features, cultural meanings, information and knowledge, social expectations and notions of comfort. I found the biggest constraints to reducing meat consumption in the military to be its cultural associations with protein, muscular power and comfort. These associations were largely interconnected with deficient communication and insight into the problem.

Acknowledgements

Over the past year I have received support and encouragement from a great number of individuals. First of all I want to thank my informants and connections in the military for their time and willingness to share their thoughts with me. If it were not for the encouragement from the military staff and soldiers, this thesis would not exist.

To my supervisor Karen Lykke Syse, thank you for providing guidance as I moved from an idea to a complete thesis, and for sharing interesting and useful comments throughout the whole process. Furthermore, a big thanks to Elisabeth Henie Madslie (FFI), Annett Storaas (NIH), Mònica Gullien (SUM) and Marte Melnes (FFI) for your time and the extraordinary support you have provided. Especially thanks to Anna Birgitte Milford (NILF) for your valuable comments and feedback. I am grateful to Loise Elizabeth Wells for proofreading my thesis.

To all my fellow students at SUM, thank you for being such fun friends and for all the moments of frustration and panic we have shared. I have enjoyed being a part of an international group. A special thanks to Piper for comments.

I would like to thank all my friends who have motivated me and shown a lot of patience. A special thanks to Charlotte Andersen. You inspire me and our conversations always lift me up. Thank you for your valuable comments and the interest you have shown for my project. Thanks to Ulrik for your hospitality and support.

Last, and most importantly, I am grateful to my parents and sisters for your endless support and encouragement and for always being there both in times of frustration and joy. A special thanks to Camilla for your comments. Thank you for all the phone calls and for listening to me talk about my research.

To each of you, thank you.

Charlotte Lilleby Kildal

Oslo, May 2015

Table of contents

1	Introduction.....	1
1.1	Introducing the problem.....	1
1.2	Research questions.....	3
1.3	Rationale for choice of topic.....	4
1.4	Limitations and clarifications	5
1.5	Structure of the thesis	7
2	Background.....	8
2.1	Conceptual frameworks	8
2.2	Policies for sustainable food consumption	14
2.3	Norwegian notions of meat consumption	18
2.4	Meat-Free Monday	21
2.5	The case of the Norwegian Armed Forces.....	22
3	Methodology.....	26
3.1	Survey questionnaire.....	26
3.2	Interviews.....	29
3.3	Document collection	32
3.4	Mixing methods	33
3.5	Analysing data	35
3.6	Methodological challenges	36
3.7	Ethical considerations	37
4	The Process of Introducing Meat-Free Monday in the Armed Forces	38
4.1	Actors.....	38
4.2	Decision makers and the policy process	48
4.3	Implementation in the kitchen	53
4.4	Key reactions and experiences.....	57
4.5	Power relations in the policy process	61
4.6	Summarising remarks	65
5	Soldiers' Attitudes: Survey Results	68
5.1	The sample.....	69
5.2	Insights and Knowledge.....	70
5.3	Attitudes.....	72

5.4	Gender	75
5.5	Values.....	78
5.6	Summarising remarks.....	81
6	Understanding Soldiers' Underlying Attitudes	82
6.1	Eating habits and the social context	82
6.2	Food consumption and the environment	85
6.3	Meat as Protein.....	91
6.4	Meat as Masculine Food	97
6.5	Meat as Comfort Food.....	102
6.6	Alienation and righteousness	106
6.7	Perception constraints	110
7	Discussion	112
8	Conclusion.....	119
	Bibliography.....	121
	Appendices	131

List of figures

Figure 1 Structure	34
Figure 2 Organisation structure FLO	39
Figure 3 Insights and knowledge	71
Figure 4 Frequency vegetarian consumption.....	72
Figure 5 Overview attitudes.....	73
Figure 6 Popularity of a potential vegetarian day.....	76
Figure 7 Women’s attitudes	77
Figure 8 Men’s attitudes	77
Figure 9 Comparing means – Values.....	80

List of tables

Table 1 Informants focus group interviews with soldiers	31
Table 2 Identifying the sample	69
Table 3 Representative: gender*	70
Table 4 Questions corresponding to Figure 7 and Figure 8	77
Table 5 Questions corresponding to Figure 9	80

List of Abbreviations

AFOLU: Agriculture, Forestry and Other Land Use

FAO: Food and Agriculture of the United Nations

FFI: Forsvarets Forskningsinstitutt (Norwegian Defence Research Establishment)

FIVH: Framtiden i Våre Hender (The Future in Our Hands)

FLO: Forsvarets Logistikkorganisasjon (The Norwegian Defence Logistic Organisation)

GHG: Greenhouse gas

IPCC: Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change

MFM: Meat-Free Monday

NILF: Norwegian Agricultural Economics Research Institute

SPSS: Statistical Package for the Social Sciences

UNEP: United Nations Environment Programme

1 Introduction

1.1 Introducing the problem

It is widely recognised that our diets affect the environment and that increasing levels of meat consumption have vast sustainability impacts. The United Nations Environmental Programme (UNEP) states that “Agriculture, through meat production, is one of the main contributors to the emission of greenhouse gases (GHGs) and thus has a potential impact on climate change” (UNEP 2012). The Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) reports that 14,5% of GHG emissions stems from animal production, with beef production alone accounting for 41% of the sector’s emissions (Gerber et al. 2013, FAO 2013). But, despite growing awareness around the substantial mitigation potential with regard to climate change that the reduction of the consumption of livestock products could have (Gerber et al. 2013), there is a reluctance to instigate the needed policies (Fuchs and Lorek 2005, de Boer et al. 2014, Austgulen 2014).

Meat consumption has drastically increased over the last decades, and demand is set to double by 2050 with global population growth and a growing middle-class. In Norway, the consumption of meat has increased by 40% in less than 30 years. The average Norwegian consumes 76kg of meat each year, compared to 53kg in 1989 (The Norwegian Directorate of Health 2014b). However, ensuring an environmentally sustainable consumption pattern of meat requires a reversed development; a per capita reduction in the level of meat consumption (Grønlund 2015). The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) argues that reduction and changes in diets are elements that need to be included in the transformation towards a sustainable way of consumption (IPCC 2014, 838). However, this awareness has not yet resulted in the needed changes in food practices and it is argued that factors such as urbanisation, marketing and consumer attitudes continue to drive consumption (Sabaté and Soret 2014, Vittersø and Rosenberg 2014).

These high consumption levels are also addressed by the health authorities who recommend Norwegians limit their consumption of red meat¹ to 500g per week (The

¹ Red meat is here defined as meat from cattle, sheep, pig and goat.

Norwegian Directorate of Health 2014a). In stark contrast to this recommendation, the national survey on Norwegian diets conducted in 2010-11 revealed that the average intake of red meat was 620g per week for women, while Norwegian men consumed more than twice of what is recommended, eating 1022g per week (Totland et al. 2012). Only 45% of Norwegian men, and 67% of Norwegian women stay below the recommended 500g per week (The Norwegian Directorate of Health 2014b).

It is within this context that the Norwegian Armed Forces serves as an example of a governmental agency that conceptualises and implements vague national environmental policies by introducing a strategy for sustainable food consumption. In November 2013, the largest newspaper in Norway *Aftenposten* announced that the Norwegian Armed Forces would introduce “Meat-Free Monday” (MFM) in the military messes². MFM is a global campaign aimed at addressing the unsustainable level of meat consumption and to encourage its reduction by promoting meat-free Mondays. The Norwegian Armed Forces stated that the impetus for introducing a vegetarian day was to demonstrate their commitment to environmental sustainability, to meet recommendations for public procurement and health concerns, as well as to reflect societal trends. Considering that the military is dominated by men, who represent the biggest consumers of meat in Norway, this initiative is quite ambitious. How did it happen that the strong and masculine institution – the Armed Forces – establishes itself as a pioneer to actively reduce the consumption of meat – a foodstuff with clear connections to masculinity and power?

Despite the Norwegian Armed Forces’ ambition to implement MFM in all military mess halls within 2014, their goal has not been reached. In fact, this goal has since been modified and no clear alternative has yet been set. So what happened? Why is MFM not yet in place, and where does resistance to the policy emanate from? One of the motivations behind the initiative was to reflect emerging attitudes in the Norwegian society – is this also an attitude among food-conscious soldiers? In order to obtain a deeper understanding of the effectiveness or potential of policies to reduce meat consumption, this study examines the implementation of the current meat reduction

² The mess hall is the military dining facility.

initiative as well as it analyses the individual and collective reactions or responses to the initiative itself.

1.2 Research questions

My central question is *what are the factors that have challenged the implementation of Meat-Free Monday in the Norwegian Armed Forces?*

The question implies an examination of the initiative itself, placing an emphasis on the implementation process. This requires the identification of initiators and other actors in the process and a subsequent examination of their motivations, roles and perceptions. Moreover, in order to understand the obstacles to the implementation process, chefs, cooks and soldiers' attitudes and experience of the initiative will be mapped and analysed. Accordingly, my sub-questions are:

- i. Why and how is Meat-Free Monday (MFM) being introduced in the military?
- ii. What are the various attitudes towards reducing meat consumption among soldiers and how can these attitudes be explained?

When answering these research questions, descriptive and analytical approaches are incorporated. By mixing methods, combining qualitative interviews and a quantitative survey, this thesis will contribute to an understanding of why the Armed Forces is establishing itself as a pioneer in the transformation towards more sustainable meat consumption, and what the challenges of such an implementation are. It is noteworthy that it is the military, of all institutions, that is reducing their consumption of meat. Both meat and the military communicate strength and power. Hence, the initiative itself, and an insight into the attitudes towards it are influential; if the military can reduce their meat consumption, everyone can. For this reason, this research addresses both the institutional process of the initiative and the common attitudes towards it. To answer the guiding questions outlined above I will approach the material in two ways. First, I will examine the policy process through a qualitative analysis in order to identify the factors that challenged the implementation of the MFM initiative. Second, I will study the soldiers' attitudes towards reducing meat consumption through quantitative and

qualitative analysis in order to understand both their common attitudes as well as the underlying attitudes.

1.3 Rationale for choice of topic

In order to mitigate global GHG emissions, there is a strong need for drastic reduction in meat production and consumption. However, reducing consumption levels as a matter of governmental policy has not received much attention. Indeed, consumption levels continue to increase (Fuchs and Lorek 2005, Lafferty et al. 2007). The lack of political effort to address reduction so far makes the Armed Forces' initiative quite unique, and consequently highlights the importance of studying it in order to gain a deeper understanding of its potential. An examination of the military's effort to reduce meat consumption may provide valuable insights that might assist future implementation of similar initiatives in different institutions. It is important to look at an initiative that addresses the *reduction* in meat consumption, as such policies are rare (Austgulen 2014).

Initially, the idea of this thesis was to study the soldiers' reactions to MFM in the military mess hall. My intention was to analyse whether the initiative, through changing consumption patterns and by providing information about the issue, would affect the soldiers' attitudes. The thesis therefore rested on the question: would an information campaign and physical removal of meat one day per week contribute to raising awareness among the soldiers? However, the case proved to be more complicated than I first expected. What I initially perceived to be a successfully implemented meat reduction scheme, once studied, revealed a fragmented implementation. Indeed, it became apparent that there were significant barriers preventing the military from implementing MFM. Consequently, my research project expanded its focus to encapsulate the question: what are the factors that have challenged the implementation of the initiative?

Understanding attitudes towards food, and the cultural and social barriers to reducing meat consumption, is crucial in order to enable change. The similarities of the aspects associated with meat and the military makes studying perceptions and common values especially relevant in this case. The IPCCs 5th Assessment Report includes demand-side

options for mitigations when evaluating the mitigation potential of the Agriculture, Forestry and Other Land Use sector (AFOLU). Here, the report states that “cultural values and social acceptance can determine the feasibility of AFLOU measures” (IPCC 2014, 858). Hence, there is a need for additional empirical studies exploring the role of culture in the consumption of meat; and in particular, to address the ways in which individuals give meat and sustainable food consumption meaning. Uncovering underlying attitudes towards reducing meat consumption may contribute to this.

With that in mind, this thesis provides insight into the process and potential of the military’s MFM initiative to promote more sustainable consumption of meat. As public institutions purchase several hundred billion NOK of goods annually (Difi 2015), it is important to understand how the procurement can be shifted towards more sustainable avenues. In addition, by employing this type of regulation, the Armed Forces is potentially contributing to the education of young “new” consumers by providing them with information and the potential to change their consumption habits. It is therefore important to study the attitudes towards the initiative and reducing meat consumption.

1.4 Limitations and clarifications

Consumption is more than just the purchase of material goods. Food consumption, or consumption decisions, is influenced by social relations, interaction and context. When choosing what to buy, prepare, and eat, we incorporate “conscious decision making and habitual, automatic and subconscious actions” (de Boer et al. 2014, 121), in addition to social and material factors. Harold Wilhite defines consumption as “the acquisition and use of things” (Wilhite 2008, 3). I apply this definition as it entails a wide approach to consumption, referring to the purchase, preparations and the actual eating of the food. The Norwegian Armed Forces is considered a consumer in this context, and according to public procurement standards, should pursue environmentally sound products.

This case also includes another set of consumers. The soldiers are users of a catering service. Therefore, they are seen as consumers in this case as they are choosing what to put on their plate. By being visitors and customers in the mess hall, their actions and practices are characterised as consuming through the act of purchasing, choosing or

eating. The practices concerning their food choices and preferences are studied in the light of this expanded perspective of consumption.

When it comes to defining meat and vegetarianism, this study will not provide a set definition. As Fiddes points out in his book *Meat – A Natural Symbol*, defining meat and vegetarianism is conflicting in this type of study, as the intention is to map and examine “simply that which people regard as meat”, as opposed to providing a moral framework or judgment (Fiddes 1991, 3-4). This study rather points to the associations of meat within the military culture. Likewise, I do not provide a definition of sustainable meat consumption, as the aim of the thesis is to study values and attitudes towards meat consumption.

In the survey, however, *vegetarian* was defined as dishes without meat, fish or poultry. Similarly, *meat-free* refers to meals without meat, fish or poultry³. Moreover, it is important to note that the aim of the MFM initiative, and this thesis, is not to convince everyone to become vegetarian. Rather, the MFM campaign addresses the unsustainable levels of meat consumption. Its purpose is hence to reduce the intake of meat to a level that still ensures a complete diet⁴, while reducing the environmental impact. As the military’s overall goal is to reduce the consumption of meat products, this thesis will not discuss the sustainability of different methods such as veganism and vegetarianism, or the sustainability of different meat products and production methods, such as organic or locally produced meat and poultry versus conventionally produced red meat.

Finally, it is important to note that this is not an evaluation study. In order to evaluate an initiative, the set criteria and goals must be defined and analysed. I will not discuss the potentials and criteria for a successful implementation of MFM as it goes beyond the scope of this thesis.

³ A meat-free day is here defined as ovo-lacto vegetarian, a diet which includes other animal products such as eggs, milk and cheese.

⁴ Here, the Norwegian Directorate of Health’s nutritional recommendations are used as a definition as they give an overview of what should constitute a balanced diet (The Norwegian Directorate of Health 2015).

1.5 Structure of the thesis

This thesis is organised into eight chapters. In this introductory chapter I have presented my research questions and addressed the problem. In the following chapter, I introduce the conceptual frameworks and present the background of the case. Chapter 3 outlines the methodological approach and I elaborate on how I collected my data through interviews and a survey questionnaire. The empirical findings are presented and analysed throughout Chapter 4, Chapter 5 and Chapter 6. In Chapter 4 I identify the main actors in the MFM implementation, explain, and analyse the process of initiating MFM in the military. The findings from the quantitative survey are presented in Chapter 5, which is used as a starting point for the analysis of the soldiers' attitudes. I then continue with an examination of the soldiers' underlying understanding of, and attitudes towards, reducing meat consumption and MFM. Hence, Chapter 6 attempts to understand the soldiers' attitudes through an analysis of how they talk about meat consumption during qualitative focus group interviews. This is presented together with an analysis of how social and cultural factors affect their attitudes. The implications of my findings on the implementation of MFM in the Norwegian Armed Forces are discussed in Chapter 7. Finally, the concluding chapter will summarise the discussion.

2 Background

This chapter contextualises the initiative and sets up a conceptual frame through which the objective and motivation behind the military's Meat-Free Monday (MFM) initiative is examined. First, the conceptual framework and the ways in which they are employed are presented. Second, the public policies for sustainable food consumption in Norway are identified. Third, views on the importance of meat in Norwegian diets are discussed. Finally, the two last sections of the chapter outline the MFM campaign and the case of the Armed Forces' initiative.

2.1 Conceptual frameworks

In order to analyse and evaluate the factors that have challenged the implementation of MFM in the Norwegian Armed Forces, I will apply different conceptual frameworks. In the following, I present the theoretical concepts that I have used to understand this case and the informants' statements. By analysing the case through certain frameworks, this study aims to identify the factors that challenged the implementation of MFM as well as reach a deeper understanding of the underlying attitudes. Exploring appropriate conceptual and theoretical models can shed light on the central problem and serve as a lens through which to see the issues. Using a theory toolbox-approach, the objective of this thesis is to inductively theorise rather than respond to theory (Nealon and Giroux 2012). Hence, the findings are discussed in the light of different conceptual frameworks such as power, culture and knowledge.

This is the case of a food policy initiative. Therefore, I apply implementation theory to guide the examination of why and how the MFM initiative was introduced. Scholars working on policy implementation have theorised about the best analytical approach to understand policy outcomes. Sabatier and Mazmanian provide a general definition and an implementation is here understood as the

(...) carrying out of a basic policy decision, usually made in a statute (...). Ideally, that decision identifies the problem(s) to be addressed, stipulates the objective(s) to be pursued, and, in a variety of ways, "structures" the implementation process (Sabatier and Mazmanian 1980, 540).

Furthermore, when seeking to understand a policy implementation, multiple factors need to be considered, such as the problem, the solution, the politically acceptable solution and the actors (Kingdon 2003). Traditionally, policy studies have looked at policy making as a product of a linear process moving through the stages of agenda-setting, decision-making and implementation (Keeley and Scoones 1999). Such a linear perspective presents a top-down solution to policy making (Sabatier 2007, 7). The bottom-up approach is often presented as an alternative to this, suggesting the agency of different actors and “policy entrepreneurs” (Kingdon 2003, Sabatier 2007, 9). However, in this case, looking at a complex policy process, both approaches might be appropriate.

As Howlett et al. note in their book *Studying Public Policy*, a precondition for a successful implementation is problem recognition. The agenda-setting is one of the first steps of a policy making process, and defines the form in which problems are recognised. According to this view, the actors of the agenda-setting need not only define the problem, but also ensure that other actors recognise the same problem (Howlett et al. 2009, 92). Moreover, Howlett et al. point to the socially constructed element present in this process. During the last decades, much research has acknowledged the presence of these contextual elements and increasingly addressed the complexity of the policy process (Sabatier 2007). In this view, personal and professional stands and experiences also influence the policy outcome. Furthermore, Howlett et al. note that:

(...) the nature of the actors initiating policy discussions and whether the structures in which they operate allow new ideas to come forward are the most important determinants of the movement of public problems from the informal agenda to the state’s institutional agenda (Daugbjerg and Pedersen 2004 in, Howlett et al. 2009, 108).

The nature of the actors is here understood as their background and experiences. This deals with how the actors’ individual and professional experiences shape their perceptions. The theory is that individuals’ perceptions influence the outcome of a policy process (Kingdon 2003, Howlett et al. 2009). This approach includes social, cultural and contextual elements into the policy analysis. According to this view, the individuals involved in policy making processes influence the process and the policy not only by their institutional roles but also personal experiences and views. This approach seems to be beneficial in the study of the MFM case as the initiative was

shaped by a small number of key actors that ambitiously addressed soldiers' meat consumption.

Keeley and Scoones state that issues of power provides another paradigm through which to analyse policy processes. While their research is on environmental policy making in developing countries, their outline of frameworks to approach the policy analysis might be useful to this case. Their approach takes the relationship between knowledge, power and policy as the centre of analysis:

In the context of environmental policies, where scientific expertise plays a major role in framing policy debates, it can be argued that conceptions of the world which become dominant in policy discussions are a reflection of the norms through which people are governed. By seeing policy as discourse, analytical attention is turned to the webs of power underlying the practices of different actors in the policy process, as well as the discursive and non-discursive practices which are invested in policy negotiation and contestation (Keeley and Scoones 1999, 5).

Hence, the concept of power is essential to the understanding of a policy implementation in the Armed Forces. This perspective was chosen because of the role power appears to play in the implementation of the meat reduction initiative. In addition, the military is an interesting case for looking at power relations because of the characteristic hierarchical structure. With a deeply embedded institutional culture, and clear hierarchical roles and positions, one would assume that implementations are smoothly introduced in the military. However, institutional characteristics may also challenge the introduction of "new" policies, depending on whether the policies match the norms and social rules of the institution. Nevertheless, while it is important to study these institutional characteristics, looking beyond them might provide a deeper insight into the underlying power relations and cultural aspects. The power perspective is useful as it contributes to a deeper understanding of the relations between different positions in the military, as both power and powerlessness was expressed by the informants. Power is therefore an indispensable term when understanding social, political and economic issues.

Foucault introduced an alternative approach to the understanding of power. Traditionally, power studies have focused on the sovereign institutions such as the governmental and royal power. Power has been understood as a right or as a contract,

where you do not have power unless it was given to you. Foucault's perspective challenged this understanding as he argued that power exists and is expressed in all levels of the society. In this sense, power comes from below, and the overarching institutions only exist through the support from the structures at the lower levels (Foucault and Gordon 1980). Power analyses that study the powerful elites look past, or overlook, the powerless' experiences of power relations (Kristiansen 1999, 8). The Foucaultian discourse on power thus implies an understanding of the smaller and daily-based expressions of power and power relations – those that shape and reshape us in the social interaction (Foucault 1982).

In every society, power exists in the interrelations between people and actions. Power means someone's power over someone else. However, power may also be understood as actions directed at modifying or directing other peoples' actions. As power is a relation, it cannot be placed in a specific location or with someone (Foucault 1982, 219). These relations are not static, they intersect in the sense that the powerful and the powerless are embedded in the same structures, thus the powerful is also powerless in a different perspective (Hindess 1996, 101). Power may be seen as strength, which implies the other persons' weakness. When power is met with resistance it becomes visible, as it "exists only when it is put into action" (Foucault 1982, 219, Hindess 1996, 102). Where resistance is found, the actors have different, often conflicting, goals, and they choose different strategies to reach those goals (Foucault 1982, 225). In this view, the winning strategy implies the application of power. This aspect will not be developed in detail here, however it is an important aspect to acknowledge considering the formal and hierarchical structure of power in the military.

Consequently, I understand power as something that works among the different actors in this case, and not as an overarching sovereign institution. Furthermore, I will, in accordance with Foucault, describe the various expressions of power and powerlessness in the implementation of MFM. The power perspective in this thesis will be limited to the different relations where resistance and struggle appear. The analysis will be developed through an examination of the power structures in the different units and in the social relations in the military. According to Foucault, power exists in and works through social relations and between people (Foucault and Gordon 1980). This approach takes into account the different actors and power structures, not only focusing

on a top-down power or on domination and repression. Rather, it acknowledges that power relationships are interwoven with other kinds of relations and includes formalised institutional power structures as well as the effect of informal power structures. By employing Foucault's discourse of power, the element of disempowered experiences of power relations are also included (Syse 2010).

This thesis is not an institutional study of power and policy analysis in the traditional sense. These concepts are rather used as analytical categories in the analysis of the interviews. By understanding power as a social and dynamic concept, it will serve as a lens through which to view the case. As Foucault notes, the theory is an instrument, a *logic* of the specificity of power relations and a step by step investigation on the basis of reflection (Foucault and Gordon 1980, 145). Furthermore, this approach – studying power through relations – may prove useful when understanding the feeling of disempowerment of some of the informants (Syse 2010).

Cultural significance of meat

In our everyday lives, eating has to a large extent become a routine, a practice we repeat several times a day. To study eating and the meanings behind it requires an enquiry into our conscious and unconscious feelings towards this everyday activity. The anthropologist Nick Fiddes argues in his book *Meat – A Natural Symbol* that there is a lack of insight into the social aspects of the “phenomenon of meat eating”. When approaching this topic, efforts have been made to understand the nutritional, historical, economic, political and environmental influences while none of these sufficiently explain “*why* meat was so important in the first place” (Fiddes 1991, viii). This thesis is therefore set out to study the underlying attitudes of soldiers' meat consumption through a social and cultural approach.

Sociologist Deborah Lupton's perspective on food and eating suggests that not only are these habits important in order to survive, they are also central to our sense of self and our experience of embodiment. While we eat to survive, *how* we eat and respond to food is influenced by culture and social interaction and thus represents an embodiment of our mind and body. These influences thereby shape our food preferences and illustrate how we support some food choices and militate against others (Lupton 1996, 2). Lupton also explores how we see binary oppositions connected to food, such as good

and bad, powerful and weak, masculine and feminine, alive and dead, comfort and punishment. Bearing in mind the multitude of meanings given to food has helped to guide the analysis of the informants' statements.

Why do we eat meat? Fiddes argues that this question should be followed by a sub question: it is not about why we eat meat at all, but why we eat so much (Fiddes 1991, 1). Fiddes states that meat eating has become a part of our "habitus", referring to the term introduced by Pierre Bourdieu. The social aspect of food choices, which are relevant in order to analyse the challenges of the military's meat reduction initiative, implies that food selection is filled with social rules and meaning (Fiddes 1991, 5). The importance of meat in the lives and diets of my informants suggests the interference of some social values that may have nothing to do with nutrition. As Fiddes argues: "It is the ideas we have about a food in relation to our entire cosmology – our view of how the world is – which govern how it tastes (...)" (Fiddes 1991, 32-33).

I therefore base this thesis on the presumption that what, how and when we eat is influenced by social and cultural factors. Appetite, or desire for a certain food, is socially and culturally constructed and incorporates norms and symbolic meanings in different contexts. By employing a cultural lens through which the informants are understood, this thesis seeks to uncover the cultural meaning of meat in the military. The cultural discourse is taken into account through a focus on knowledge and the way it works in shaping attitudes and perceptions. In this sense, knowledge is understood as power. In addition, social, or embodied knowledge, the one that structures our routinized practices, is a form of 'hidden' knowledge (Hobson 2003, 104). Uncovering these forms of knowledge, the discursive and the embodied, will contribute to an understanding of how informants give meat meaning.

I apply a socio-cultural approach to understand food consumption and attitudes as it goes beyond studying consumption choices as results of reflexive thought. The complexity of the consumption and production systems today challenges the potential for making fully-informed reflexive decisions. Furthermore, food choices and decision making may be challenged and dominated by other factors such as time pressure and hunger (Campbell-Arvai et al. 2014, 467). According to Roos and Wandel (2004), much of today's food studies focus on reflexivity, individualisation and consumers as self-reflexive actors. However, scholars such as Anthony Giddens and Alan Warde have

challenged this approach with descriptions of consumption as an act of habit and routine, as a means to simplify daily life. In my research, I found informants describing their relationship to food as both a reflexive and a habitual act. I argue that both factors should be included to ensure a better understanding of the soldiers' attitudes towards reducing meat consumption.

2.2 Policies for sustainable food consumption

The Armed Forces' initiative to reduce meat consumption is the example of a governmental agency implementing a policy to improve the sustainability of its food consumption. The initiative is in this context quite unique as it addresses actual reduction. In order to create a frame through which the case will be analysed, this section will examine the Norwegian context for policies for sustainable food consumption.

Changing the patterns of consumption was introduced in 1987 by the Brundtland Report and is now well integrated into the concept of sustainable development (World Commission on Environment and Development 1987). Since the report, the Norwegian Government has emphasised the importance of sustainable development and implemented the UN action plan, Agenda 21. However, this document has been criticised for its vague and unambitious goals (Rasmussen 1997). Similarly, the majority of the documents and policies following the Agenda 21 do not address reduction in levels of consumption. Instead they place an emphasis on more efficient use of resources, reducing waste and strengthening information and values (World Commission on Environment and Development 1987, Rasmussen 1997, Fuchs and Lorek 2005).

Consequently, the Norwegian government's main approach towards ensuring sustainable production and consumption has focused upon waste management and "eco-efficiency" (Langhelle in Langhelle 2000, 195). In addition, policies have generally relied on providing consumers with education, information and incentives. In spite of an overall focus on sustainable development, addressing consumption has not been central to policy agendas in Norway. Aall and Høyer argue that, compared to Sweden, Norwegian policies and reports on how to change consumption patterns have been

vague and rare (Aall and Høyer 2007, Lafferty et al. 2007). The Norwegian government has generally approached this policy field with a neoliberal focus on self-regulation. This implies that, instead of direct state intervention, policies are channelled through information campaigns, support to civil society organisations, product labelling and certification. Within this paradigm, the individual is seen as an “active agent of decision and choice” (Austgulen 2014, 48). Consequently, the consumer is left with the responsibility to make the right choice, and to demand sustainable products.

These general characteristics are reflected in the Norwegian governments’ efforts to address sustainable meat consumption. In an analysis of the public debate on meat consumption, Marthe Austgulen found that the Norwegian government’s main tool when addressing sustainable meat consumption is to provide the public with information. One example is the climate awareness campaign *Klimaløftet*. These information campaigns are supposed to inform the citizens on how to make environmentally friendly choices in their everyday lives. Furthermore, it was not until 2006 that food consumption was included in the policy agenda for sustainability in Norway (Austgulen 2014).

In her analysis, Austgulen presents three white papers that put special emphasis on sustainable consumption in the period 2000-2010. Two of these were published by the Ministry of Environment and emphasised that an important policy tool in this field was to raise awareness among the public through information campaigns (Ministry of Environment Norway 2007b, a). The third report was published by the Ministry of Agriculture and Food and addressed agricultural solutions to climate change. The white paper states that the ministry’s work will be focused on optimising the meat and dairy production to ensure decreased emissions per unit and a total reduction of current levels (Ministry of Agriculture and Food Norway 2009, 97). Furthermore, it is argued that Norway should maintain or even increase its agricultural production as a response to the international food crisis. While both the environmental and health related problems with meat consumption and production are addressed, the report emphasises that Norwegian meat production takes advantage of the grass resources that otherwise would not have been used (Ministry of Agriculture and Food Norway 2009, Austgulen 2014, 52). However, Norway imports 60-65% of the total animal feed every year, and the meat producers depend on import of soy from Brazil (Kathle 2014).

In 2013 the Ministry of Agriculture and Food appointed an expert group to provide advice on how the production of meat can be increased to avoid import dependency (Ruud et al. 2013). Among scholars there is a debate about whether or not it is possible to fulfil the political goal of sustaining the self-sufficiency rate and at the same time reduce emissions (Seip and Gaasland 2014). The political and economic incentives for meat production and consumption are strong in Norway. This in turn means that the debate about reducing consumption is not really being addressed from political stands. Furthermore, there is no consensus on what constitutes a sustainable production and consumption of meat (Austgulen 2014). As with the abovementioned diverging approach of the Ministry of Food and Agriculture and the Ministry of Environment, the theoretical gap between the other actors in the debate is vast. These different approaches to solving the climate problem are reflected in the gap between environmental and agricultural organisations, as well as between the two political parties: The Socialist Left⁵ and the Centre Party⁶ who governed together with the Labour Party in the Red-Green Coalition from 2005 until 2013.

Not only do these approaches employ divergent definitions of sustainable meat consumption, they also support their argument by invoking concern for a “larger” issue. When the Ministry of Environment and environmental organisations argue that meat production and consumption must be reduced, they also refer to the health benefits of cutting meat consumption. The agricultural branch and the Ministry of Food and Agriculture do however link their argument of increasing meat consumption to global food security and the international food crisis. The significant interest of these two political branches make the question of the best approach towards sustainable meat consumption complex and politicised (Austgulen 2014). The complexity of the field and lack of consensus fosters consumer confusion, according to Austgulen.

The inconsistency can also be seen in government priorities. The government funds different civil society organisations and businesses that address meat consumption. Civil society institutions and networks have, for some time, encouraged and promoted

⁵ The Socialist Left Party (Sosialistisk Venstreparti) focuses on social inequalities and environmental issues and was in government in the Red-Green Coalition from 2005-2013.

⁶ The Centre Party (Senterpartiet) is an agrarian party that historically represented farmers’ interests in politics. The party was in government in the Red-Green Coalition from 2005-2013.

alternative ways of food consumption. For instance, the environmental organisation, The Future in Our Hands (Framtiden i Våre Hender, FIVH), has been active in the debate by introducing the Meat-Free Monday campaign and providing consumers with information on how to live more environmentally friendly. At the same time, agricultural organisations and businesses promoting meat consumption also receive government funding, arguing that meat production should be maintained, or even increased, as they highlight the importance of sustaining the large Norwegian grazing resources (Austgulen 2014, 54). This financial support to stakeholders demonstrates the government's neoliberal form of regulation. The double standards seen in the funding of opposing actors demonstrate that food and meat production are highly politicised issues in Norway.

Nevertheless, an executive measure in the transition towards sustainable production and consumption in Norway has been the implementation of a green procurement policy (Rasmussen 1997). *The law of July 16th 1999 nr.69 about public procurement § 6* states that public procurers should take into account the environmental consequences of the procurement (Difi 2012b, 5). Moreover, food is a priority product group in *the Action plan 2007 – 2010 for environmental and social responsibility in public procurement*. Here, it is stated that by 2015, 15% of food consumed in government institutions should be organic (Ministry of Environment Norway et al. 2007). In 2005, the Norwegian government presented the goal of increasing organic food production and consumption by 15% within 2015, modified in 2009 to be achieved by 2020 (Ministry of Agriculture and Food 2009). Hence, in order to ensure this, the public sector procurement process was given particular responsibility.

The Action Plan states that “The Government wants the public sector to lead the way as a responsible consumer and demand environmentally sound products and services which have been manufactured in accordance with high ethical and social standards” (Ministry of Environment Norway et al. 2007, 4). However, this report and other public procurement plans and green strategy plans exemplify “environmentally sound products” as organic food and Fair Trade-products. Meat consumption is barely mentioned, and no special restrictions or regulations are set for meat procurement and consumption. Taking this into consideration, it is interesting to study how it came about that a public institution such as the Armed Forces chose to be a pioneer in a

transformation towards more sustainable food consumption by actively implementing vague state policies. This is taken further, as they have also created policies to *reduce* their consumption of unsustainable goods, in this case, meat.

This short presentation of the Norwegian governments' policies on sustainable meat consumption suggests a lack of direct political action in this field. As we have seen, the policies on sustainable food consumption are vague and rare. There is no fixed focus to address meat consumption. Rather, the responsibility to make the right decision is left with the consumer who has to consider and “digest” the different arguments from the actors in the debate. When different Ministries promote different and contradictory goals and strategies, the lack of public action is not surprising. In addition, the multisectorial element of the subject, combining environmental, agricultural and health policies, results in a complex policy field.

2.3 Norwegian notions of meat consumption

The national survey on Norwegian diets conducted in 2010-11, *Norkost 3*, shows that meat consumption has increased significantly, with as much as 20kg of meat per person in 20 years. Moreover, the survey found that young men between the ages of 18 to 29 consume more than the older groups: on average they eat 1540g per week, while the women in this age bracket consume 840g per day (Totland et al. 2012). Because of the health concerns with a high intake of meat, the public recommendations is to reduce the consumption of red meat to 500g per week (The Norwegian Directorate of Health 2014a). According to a recent report from Bioforsk, ensuring important reductions in emissions from agriculture implies a 25% reduction in meat consumption per person in 2050⁷ (Grønlund 2015).

Eating meat has long traditions in Norway. Meat is seen as a central part of the traditional cuisine, and is considered essential for human nutrition and good health. Furthermore, serving and consuming meat has historically symbolised wealth and higher social classes (Kubberød et al. 2002b, 53). Traditionally, meat is seen as “proper food” and the ultimate provider of protein and iron (Lupton 1996, Kubberød et al.

⁷ This number is calculated compared to 2012-consumption levels. A 25% reduction of 2012 levels implies the same consumption levels as in the 1990s.

2002a). However, as with all foodstuff, meat as a symbol also includes meanings related to “goodness” and “badness” (Lupton 1996). In fact, meat might be the clearest indicator for this food ambivalence, as it is associated with power and strength, as well as blood and dead flesh. This contrasting image of meat causes confusion.

These days, we observe an increased red meat avoidance (Kubberød et al. 2002a, Lavik 2008). As Hank Rothgerber notes, “the practice of eating meat has increasingly come under attack” (Rothgerber 2013, 363). Much research note that while meat traditionally has symbolised strength and power, events in the last half of the 20th century have led to an increase in scepticism towards animal products. These events include associations to diseases, illness, health, weight and food poisoning in the western world (Adams 1990, Fiddes 1991, Lupton 1996, Kubberød et al. 2002b, Lavik 2008). However, this downward trend is not as strong among Norwegian consumers as in other western countries. Even so, similar to other countries, young female consumers in Norway are among the groups that are most concerned about their meat consumption (Kubberød et al. 2002a). As young soldiers are the target group of this project, and there is an increasing number of female soldiers in the military (Køber 2015), this could presumably have an effect on the soldiers’ attitudes.

The industrialisation of the food sector favours an extensive production of animal meat for food. This nurtures an enforced ambivalence, as the modern production systems permit the systematic killing of animals for human consumption. The act of eating meat raises several moral questions, such as human’s right to kill animals, animal welfare in the modern meat production system, the use of scarce resources and the environmental threat it poses. A study of attitudes towards meat and meat consumption in Norway found that despite the existence of these moral questions, 2/3 of the Norwegian population reported that they have no concern about their own meat consumption. In addition, the increased focus on environmental issues and climate change has not resulted in a decline in meat consumption (Lavik 2008).

As discussed, the food and consumption policies tend to expect that consumers make responsible choices in their everyday life; for example by linking health, environmental, economic and social issues to their food consumption. In a report from The National Institute for Consumer Research (Statens Institutt for Forbruksforskning, SIFO), 77% of the respondents said that they believe the individual consumer can contribute to tackling

climate change (Austgulen 2012, 8). However, meat consumption was given less attention than other issues in sustainable consumption, like the household and the car (Austgulen 2014). Furthermore, the popularity of meat is still strong, and several scholars have problematized the inconsistency between concerns and actions, defined as the “value-action gap” (Holm and Møhl 2000, Vermeir and Verbeke 2006, Kjærnes 2012, 146, Austgulen 2014, 46). This aspect will be discussed thoroughly at a later point in this thesis.

The importance of meat, and the assumptions about the extensive need for proteins is an established idea in the Norwegian and western food culture. This was however challenged by a critical debate about the role of meat advertisement a few years back. In April 2013, an article in *Aftenposten* stated that The Information Office for Eggs and Meat, a private initiative promoting meat products, for several years has provided Norwegian school children with cookbooks (Aftenposten 2013c). Several actors criticised that a commercial actor was allowed to enter schools in order to promote the consumption of meat and eggs.

The cookbook was donated to every school that wanted it for use in domestic science classes, subsidised by the meat sector. The ensuing debate was characterised by increased scepticism towards the promotion of meat and eggs in every meal in the cookbook, even suggesting adding meat to the vegetable soup. This is however one of the rare examples where the level of meat consumption and the insatiable need for meat has been challenged. Through the debate in newspapers and social media, it was argued that the cookbook denied the advice from public health authorities who state that the intake of red meat should be limited to 500g per week (The Norwegian Directorate of Health 2014a). Instead, the meat industry’s central position in domestic science education might actually reinforce the popularity of meat and maintain the high demand. It was argued that the extensive promotion of meat frames and defines the need for meat to Norwegian school children (Aftenposten 2013b).

These reflections demonstrate the important role meat has in the Norwegian food culture and society. In Norway, only 1-2% of the population state that they are vegetarians. Although the objective of this thesis is not to address vegetarianism, it is worth noting that this is a very low number compared to other countries (Lavik 2008, 32). Consumer research has found that the low number of vegetarians in Norway may

be linked to the strong trust in meat, and the food system (Guzmán and Kjærnes 1998, Lavik 2008, Kjærnes et al. 2010). Furthermore, Lavik found that shifting towards a vegetarian diet seems to be a dramatic step for most Norwegians (Lavik 2008, 32). The dependence on meat to be on the plate, either as animal protein or as an ingredient is strong among Norwegian consumers. Nevertheless, there are signs of reactions against the modern food production and consumption. Food awareness is growing globally, and also among Norwegian consumers. As the next section will describe, Meat-Free Monday is an example of such a reaction.

2.4 Meat-Free Monday

Meat-Free Monday (MFM), or Meatless Monday, is a global campaign aimed at addressing the environmental impact of meat production and consumption in order to encourage reduction in the amount of meat we consume. The campaign is referring to multiple benefits of reducing meat consumption, such as health benefits, economics, animal welfare and limiting GHG emissions. MFM started in 2003 in the US and in 2009 Paul McCartney introduced the campaign in the UK. According to Meatless Mondays' websites, it is now active in 36 countries worldwide (MLM 2015). In France, MFM is called *Jeudi Veggie* and in Germany *Donnerstag ist Veggietag*, and Hong Kong has incorporated it into *Green Monday*. In Norway it has been appropriated as *Kjøttfri Mandag* where the organisation, The Future in Our Hands (Framtiden i Våre Hender, FIVH), has initiated the campaign. The campaign is aimed at reducing total meat consumption and GHG emissions resulting from the production by promoting different meat-free and vegetarian dishes (MFM 2012, FIVH 2014).

FIVH has been a central actor in the public debate on meat consumption. According to their website, they “work to make government and business facilitate green and ethical choices” about food. That is, they “work for reduced meat consumption in Norway, increasing the production of organic food and reducing food waste” (FIVH 2014). In fall 2014, they launched a new campaign on MFM. At the same time, they presented a report on the role of meat in advertising, published by SIFO-researchers Vittersø and Rosenberg (Vittersø and Rosenberg 2014). It can be noted that none of the other environmental organisations in Norway put special emphasis on meat consumption.

When FIVH launched the MFM campaign with a seminar in Oslo in the fall of 2014, a Norwegian Armed Forces representative held a presentation about their meat reduction initiative. This highlights the interdependent relationship between the two actors as a central issue to consider. Due to the lack of a mainstream movement for MFM, the two actors benefit from each other's campaigns and communication. In addition to the inclusion of a presentation by the Armed Forces, FIVH invited politicians, researchers and industry members to discuss the topic of meat consumption and environmental concerns. In this way, FIVH can be seen to be one of the most central actors in the push to put meat consumption on the climate change agenda.

Even though there is not a large social movement addressing the subject, some consumers have reacted to the increasing meat consumption levels. In many western countries, meat consumption levels are now stabilising – however they are not decreasing. As noted in the preceding section, the awareness of meat consumption as an environmental threat is not that well established among Norwegian consumers. Furthermore, changing diets and motivating consumers to cut the consumption of meat in a meat loving nation might be challenging. Meat has also presumably a central position in Norwegian soldiers' diets.

2.5 The case of the Norwegian Armed Forces

This is an example of a public institution initiating food projects to address social and environmental responsibility. In late summer 2014, The Norwegian Defence Logistic Organisation (Forsvarets Logistikkorganisasjon, FLO) distributed a policy document to all military mess halls *requesting* that they reduce their meat consumption, and suggested MFM as one possible approach⁸. As I will come back to, the wording of this document was changed from an *instruction* to a *request* before it was sent out. Prior to this document, the nutritionists of the Catering Management section in FLO had talked to the chefs of the mess halls at the National Catering Conference, an annual conference for all kitchen chefs in the military that was held in February 2014. This conference focused on the meat reduction initiative, climate and environment, sustainability and

⁸ See Appendix F

health. The nutritionists' wanted to explain why the initiative was both beneficial for the environment, and for the soldier's health.

However, in November 2013, almost one year before the policy document was sent out, the newspaper *Aftenposten* posted an article about the Norwegian Armed Forces' initiative to reduce meat consumption. The journalist had visited Rena military camp and interviewed initiators and soldiers while the soldiers tasted a range of different vegetarian dishes (Aftenposten 2013d). The food was provided by the ready meal producer Findus, which used the opportunity to test their vegetarian products. In the article, the initiators from the Catering Management section stated that they wanted to reduce meat consumption to meet official policies for sustainable procurement in public institutions, because of environmental concerns, and as a response to emerging attitudes in the Norwegian society. The goal that was presented in this article was to implement one vegetarian day every week in all military messes within 2014 (Aftenposten 2013d). The news about the military's MFM initiative gained interest from all over the world. In the article, introducing vegetarian food to soldiers was made to seem like an easy task; as long as the food tasted good, the soldiers were happy.

It sounded almost too good to be true: the military was actively reducing their meat consumption and soldiers were displaying a positive attitude towards eating vegetarian food! As young men between the ages of 18 to 29 are the group with the highest intake of meat (Totland et al. 2012), and as much as 86% of the conscripts are male at that age (Kjøber 2015), it is highly probable that the soldiers also peak the consumption rates. Consequently, it is quite ambitious to introduce such an initiative in the military as this part of the population most likely is big meat consumers.

Since 2007 the Armed Forces has promoted a transformation towards more sustainable food consumption in their messes. There have also been different initiatives promoting more sustainable meat alternatives, such as serving hens from egg production farms that would otherwise have been discarded as garbage as their primary purpose was egg production. This initiative came about as a pilot project co-organised by FLO who recommended that these hens be incorporated into meals provided to soldiers by military kitchens (Aftenposten 2014).

Different food campaigns have been introduced in the military messes over the last decade. From 2003, the campaign *Operasjon Grønn Bølge* (Operation Green Wave) focused on increasing soldier's intake of fruits and vegetables. Young men are among the groups with the lowest consumption of fruit, vegetables and whole grain cereals. They are also a difficult group to reach with nutrition information (Uglem 2012). One way the campaign tried to increase the intake of fruit and vegetables was by replacing some meat with vegetables, for example by creating a new recipe for the bolognese sauce. The aim was to have soldiers consume more vegetables by offering a combination of nutritional information and increased availability of fruits and vegetables (Uglem 2012).

While the *Operasjon Grønn Bølge* aimed at improving the soldier's health, the subsequent food campaign addressed environmental sustainability of food consumption. The project *Økologisk mat i Forsvaret – 15% i 2010* started in military mess halls in Mid-Norway in 2007, as a collaboration between the Bioforsk Research Centre, the Armed Forces and local farmers – in accordance with *the Action Plan for Sustainable Public Procurement*. By 2010, the Armed Forces reached their goal of 15% of food being consumed in canteens in Mid-Norway being organic produce. The same goal was set for the entire military to be reached in 2013. This project also gained the Ministry of Defence's environmental award in 2013 (Strøm-Erichsen 2013).

The Norwegian Armed Forces' military kitchens serve around 10 000 people each day (Ministry of Agriculture and Food Norway 2010). About 9.000 of the Armed Forces' personnel each year are conscripts. In Norway, mandatory military service normally implies 12 months of initial service at a military camp (Forsvaret 2015). In December 2014, the Government introduced mandatory military service for both men and women, in order to increase the percentage of enrolled females in the military. The military camp is hence a unique setting to reach young adults from different geographical, cultural and socio-economic backgrounds.

The Ministry of Defence highlights the military's responsibility for providing soldiers with moral and ethical education (Ministry of Defence Norway 2009, 5). The educational role of the Armed Forces is central to this case as this role also includes providing nutritional knowledge and information to soldiers. Hence, they should inform soldiers about what constitutes a healthy diet and its importance for performance and

wellbeing. As I will get back to, my informants in FLO highlighted the military's responsibility to promote public nutrition recommendations and healthy diets to the soldiers. It is likely that food preferences and behaviour are changing and being shaped in the military. For most of the soldiers, the military service is the step between the family household and living by themselves and developing their own food patterns (Uglem 2012, 12). Given that the soldiers mainly eat in the mess hall, there is a strong potential to influence the soldiers' future dietary habits during their military service.

It has been calculated that a successful implementation of the MFM initiative will reduce the consumption of meat in the military by 150 tons per year (Aftenposten 2013d). The strategy of the Norwegian Armed Forces is thus directly aimed at reducing their total consumption of meat. To improve the sustainability of their food consumption, they address both the pattern and the volume of food consumption. However, the implementation has not been as smooth as presented in the media. In order to identify and understand the challenges of the initiative, the rationale and perceptions behind the implementation will be examined through a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods and analyses. The methodological process I have used to answer my research questions will be presented in the next chapter.

3 Methodology

The data collected for this study was gathered by both qualitative and quantitative methods. I have, together with The Norwegian Armed Forces' Logistics Organisation (Forsvarets Logistikkorganisasjon, FLO), conducted a quantitative survey distributed to all the conscripts in the Norwegian military. In addition, interviews with soldiers, mess hall staff and administrative staff contributed to in-depth data about the process, attitudes and experiences. By including actors at different levels this thesis seeks a deep understanding of the implementation of Meat-Free Monday (MFM) in the Norwegian Armed Forces. To clarify, I named the participants of the quantitative research (survey) *respondents*, while the participants of the qualitative research (interviews) were named *informants*.

In this chapter I present the research approach and explain the reason for its suitability in understanding the case of a sustainable food consumption initiative. Furthermore, I will elaborate on the data collection, analysis and methodological and ethical considerations.

3.1 Survey questionnaire

Here I present the implementation of the quantitative methodology, but the results from the statistical analysis presented here will be outlined in Chapter 5. My data collection started with the formulation and distribution of the survey questionnaires. FLO annually conducts user satisfaction surveys among the soldiers. This is done to map the quality of the catering, and the results are used improve the catering in the military. As a part of this year's survey, I was allowed to include a set of questions relevant for this thesis. Questions about attitudes towards the meat reduction initiative, current meat consumption and claims about the respondent's relation to food, health and the environment was added to FLOs original survey questions. My questions were accompanied by topics concerning soldiers' general satisfaction about the food supply and quality in the military mess⁹.

⁹ The Survey questionnaire is found in Appendix A.

The attitude questions had seven options, using a 6-point Likert scale (ranging from 1 = *strongly disagree* to 6 = *strongly agree*). I also included a “Don’t know” category to filter out any items that respondents could not answer, which also may be interpreted as an attitude. Whether choosing the “Don’t know” category was linked to lack of interest, or that the respondents did not understand the question or did not have enough information to answer, it still indicates an attitude (Bryman 2008). When formulating the questions, I was inspired by similar studies on consumer attitudes (Sørum 2012, Bellika 2013, Arvola and Liedgren 2014). In preparing the survey I also received advice and assistance from experienced researchers in FLO and the Norwegian Agricultural Economics Research Institute (NILF). The survey was conducted in Norwegian, thus the questions referred to in the text are translated by myself.

A quantitative survey questionnaire was sent to all Norwegian conscripts, in 36 different locations. The estimated number of distributed questionnaires is 9000, and they were distributed during a meal by one of the soldiers at each camp. The collecting and scanning of questionnaires was done by FLO and the market analysis bureau TNS Gallup. When I received the data set in the software for statistical analysis SPSS, it contained 2848 answers. As FLO did not have the same time frame as I did, they continued to include new answers after I received the data set. In this way, my analysis works as a preliminary version of FLOs own analysis and report.

When I received the data set, it was complete with all questions and coded variables. The questionnaires were anonymous, although each survey was allocated an ID-number that connected it to the individual camps and military branch. I identified and coded the respondents’ affiliation in order to evaluate the representativeness of the data. In addition, as “non-response” was given a value in the original data set, I had to recode it to “system-missing” for the relevant questions.

First, a descriptive analysis of the material was done to map the respondents’ knowledge and attitudes towards the subject matter of this thesis. Second, since this research is geared towards uncovering attitudes towards meat, the statistical study analyses variables that can explain the different attitudes towards the meat reduction initiative. Due to the limitations of this project, I ended up with two explanatory

variables; gender and values¹⁰. These two variables could presumably be connected to the attitudes towards reducing meat consumption or eating vegetarian food. The decision to focus on these variables was based on my reflections and findings from the qualitative data collection and throughout the literature review. The statistical analysis is used to describe the general tendencies among the participants, as well as some limited analysis may say something about the relations between these variables and the soldiers' attitudes.

I chose a set of questions to guide the analysis of the material that provides insight into the respondents' attitudes. I conducted the analysis in SPSS and used the data to create figures and tables in Excel. Questions with ranged categories as well as claims with scaled options are interesting for this study. The statistical analyses that I have done are frequency analysis and crosstabs. The frequency analyses were used to map and identify the knowledge, insight, and attitudes of the respondents. Crosstabs were used to compare two variables (Johannessen 2009). They did this by comparing the attitude questions with the two variables; gender and values.

As for statistical tests, both the chi-square and independent sample t-test were used. The t-test tests the difference between two means¹¹ (Field 2009), in this study this applied to test the significance of the difference in attitude between men and women and between those who reported pro-environmental values and those who did not. The statistical analysis determines whether to keep or reject the hypothesis. The significance value was set to 0,05 which implies that there is a 5% chance that one rejects the correct hypothesis (Field 2009).

Initially, I wanted to study whether exposure to vegetarian food was connected to different attitudes among the respondents. However, it was difficult to get an overview of what the different mess halls were doing in relation to MFM and vegetarian food. Although I got access to data from interviews with the chefs in twenty-two different mess halls, this data showed that six mess halls had served vegetarian food by using six different implementation approaches (Melnes 2015). Hence, there was a lot of

¹⁰ The analysis of the relation between values and attitudes compares the answers of the respondents that reported pro-environmental values with the answers of the rest of the respondents.

¹¹ To calculate the means, the values 7 = *don't know* and 8 = *unanswered* were recoded to "missing data".

uncertainty connected to this data. Although the respondents eat in these mess halls regularly, there is no data on whether or not they had been present for the vegetarian dishes, if they ate the vegetarian meal, and if they did, whether or not they even knew what they were eating. In addition, in some circumstances it was unclear whether or not the meat was completely removed or merely reduced¹². Nevertheless, it is an interesting hypothesis to follow-up, if better data can be obtained.

Before I had the results from the survey, I conducted qualitative interviews at different military camps.

3.2 Interviews

I have conducted twenty-one qualitative interviews: eleven of them were focus group interviews with soldiers, and ten were in-depth interviews with employees¹³. The interviews lasted from forty-five minutes to one and a half hour. The focus group interviews were conducted at two different camps, and soldiers were asked to participate voluntarily on their spare time. The groups consisted of three to seven soldiers, both men and women. In-depth interviews were conducted with employees at their workplace, which is in the mess hall or office. The employees were chefs, cooks, as well as key informants in the administration. As this research seeks to understand, and not only explain attitudes, the qualitative interviews represent my main source of data.

Focus group interviews with soldiers

Applying focus group interviews as a method to collect data on participants' attitudes and opinions is increasingly frequent in social sciences. For decades, this method has been widely used in design and advertising of consumer goods, as a means of mapping and controlling consumer behaviour (Kvale et al. 2009, 22). In addition to exploring the topic in an effort to uncover attitudes towards meat consumption, this method provides an in-depth understanding of the background and rationales for these attitudes. The

¹² As a consequence, it turned out to be difficult to measure whether exposure to meat-free food affected the soldiers' attitudes. I did a comparison of the attitudes of the soldiers that belonged to these six camps ($n = 108$), and the rest of the respondents ($n = 2693$), however there was no significant difference in their attitudes ($p > 0,05$).

¹³ The Interview guide is found in Appendix C. Overview of informants is found in Appendix D.

exchange of opinions, and observing how the participants react to each other's similarities and differences, generates contextual data about the issues that matter to them (Morgan 1998, 12). Furthermore, the process of sharing and comparing allows the participants to reflect on their opinions and statements. The focus groups were thus not only important to map the soldiers' attitudes, but also because of the effects that the discussion itself had on the participants (Morgan 1998).

My role during the focus group discussions was to moderate the conversation and ask for clarifications when necessary. I tried to create an atmosphere conducive to comfortable interaction that promoted a conversational style of interview. This approach proved to be beneficial, as participants spoke freely and commented on each other's statements. My interview guide was used as a disposition of the topics I wanted to raise, however the flexibility of these interviews made it possible for informants to talk about and identify their priorities. This corresponds with the etymological origin of the French word *entrevue*: knowledge is created in the interaction between the interviewer and the interviewed (Kvale et al. 2009, 22).

Soldiers were recruited from two different military camps in Norway¹⁴. The interviews were conducted prior to or during dinner in a room next to the mess hall. None of the mess halls in these camps had served meat-free meals on a regular basis, and neither of them had implemented MFM. Both camps were informed about the focus of my research, and I also suggested a project serving meat-free meals one day a week as a part of my research in both camps. One of the camps responded positively to this request, and introduced a three week project with meat-free dinners on Thursdays. The other camp was neither interested nor willing to arrange a similar project. Therefore, this study may provide an analysis of the variance between the users of the different messes, as one part was exposed to meat-free meals, while the other was not. This pilot test also adds an experimental element to this study. The soldiers who were exposed to meat-free meals were also presented to poster advertisements with related info from the NGO, The Future in Our Hand's, information campaign on MFM¹⁵.

¹⁴ In order to ensure anonymity, I will refer to them as "Camp 1" and "Camp 2".

¹⁵ See Appendix G

I found that the focus group method encouraged a deliberative discussion about a habitual practice. In the beginning of our meetings, and as I explained the purpose of my research, I sensed a scepticism among the soldiers. Several of them gladly volunteered to participate in the interview as they wanted to manifest their resistance towards MFM and the way it was implemented – or “forced down their throats”. However, during the focus group interviews, these strong attitudes softened up, and more modified arguments came into view. Furthermore, by interacting and challenging each other’s arguments and positions, the soldiers stimulated deeper reflections on the subject. In this sense, the interview method contributed to an overarching and deeper understanding of the complexities at play when inquiring about individual’s daily practices.

The two camps differed in many ways. While the food was provided for free in Camp 2, the soldiers had to register and pay for the meals in Camp 1¹⁶. Additionally, the camps varied in size, as one served 700-900 people each day, while the other served 100-300 people. Hence, the camps represent two different cases within the same institution, so a thorough comparison will not be applicable. However, there might be some interesting differences to discuss. Table 1 provides an overview of the informants and their gender from the eleven different focus groups.

Table 1 Informants focus group interviews with soldiers

Camp	Male	Female	Total
Camp 1	24	4	28
Camp 2	23	10	33
Total	47	14	61

In-depth interviews with staff

The ten in-depth interviews conducted were semi-structured and focused on gathering information that was not easily available elsewhere. Talking to employees in the military gave me insight to the daily operations in the military kitchens and an understanding of the division of work. Because of the lack of public documents on the MFM implementation and other military structures, this thesis is to a great extent based

¹⁶ Camp 1 is an Officer School where the soldiers are charged for the meals in the mess hall. Here, the soldiers need to register what meals and what days they want to eat in the mess hall, and a fee of 100 NOK is withdrawn from their salary. In Camp 2, all meals are provided for free, as these soldiers are conscripts doing their military service.

on the information from these in-depth interviews. I interviewed people who cook in the military kitchens (*cooks*), people that govern the procurement and daily operations (*chefs*), as well as central policy makers (*nutritionists* and *directors*).

I recruited informants for the in-depth interviews by contacting key people and using snowball sampling. Through my dialogue with FLO, I got an insight into the progress of the initiative, the status on the different camps, and assistance to get in touch with the two camps. The chefs in each camp set up the interviews with the cooks. The interviews were conducted at the military camps, during the workday. The informants were encouraged to talk about their experiences with food and meat, which also elicited opinions about reducing meat consumption and the initiative. In addition, the flexibility of semi-structured interviews proved valuable as it made room for informants to identify topics they considered important. As Miller and Deutch note, such digressions in food conversations often provide additional information that is useful for a holistic understanding (Miller and Deutsch 2009, 149).

Due to the low number of informants, and easy traceability, all camps, employees and their positions will be kept anonymous. The focus groups and in-depth interviews were recorded in order to allow me to focus on the conversation and interaction between the informants. After each interview I wrote summaries and observations, aiming at mapping the general atmosphere and setting of the interview and the informants' attitudes. The interviews were transcribed, and the data from the interviews was categorised and organised into themes and topics. Furthermore, the material was processed in the light of the results from the survey.

3.3 Document collection

To establish a foundation for the research, existing literature on the topic was reviewed. This involved literature on (sustainable) public procurement, responsibility and consumerism, consumption regulation and sustainable food and meat consumption. Understanding the political and contextual situation of sustainable meat consumption was an essential foundation for evaluating the military's meat reduction initiative, as there were no similar examples to follow. Analysing written sources is a way to approach the context and ensure an understanding of the case. I have also applied

governmental papers and reports, newspaper articles and information from NGOs and organisations engaged in this topic.

3.4 Mixing methods

The qualitative data provides insight into the details of the case, while the quantitative data provides a presentation of the general patterns and attitudes among conscripts. The quantitative data was used for both descriptive and simple inferential statistics. The qualitative data contributes to a greater understanding of the processes linked to these patterns as well as exploring concepts of content and meaning as they relate to different actors and different contextual conditions (Grønmo 2007, 411). The main method used in this study is thus based on a constructivist ontological method, which incorporates interviewing and document collection. Accordingly, the focus will be on analytical descriptions, flexibility and interpretation, and is thereby aimed at specifying the frames within which the actors make “truth claims” (Della Porta and Keating 2008). Furthermore, this study is designed inductively as it moves from observations to theories rather than respond to theory. This interpretative framework is applied to examine the understandings and motivations of actors implementing and experiencing the meat reduction initiative.

The survey contributes to a general overview of the attitudes and perceptions about reducing meat consumption, but does not provide insights into why and how these attitudes exist. Combining the survey data with qualitative interviews will however ensure an overarching analysis that explores the origins of opinions and attitudes towards the initiative. These methods thus complete each other and the combination of the two lead to a greater understanding of the social and cultural structures of attitudes towards reducing meat consumption, in addition to adding a greater credibility to the research (Bryman 2008, 379).

Based on a case study approach, this study seeks to identify patterns, concepts and contextual influences that may contribute to a deeper understanding of the implementation of sustainable food policies (Moses and Knutsen 2007, Della Porta and Keating 2008). As noted by Lijphart, “A single case can constitute neither the basis of a valid generalization nor the ground for disproving an established generalization”

(Lijphart in Moses and Knutsen 2007, 140). This case study thus represents a specific research context which will be used to highlight more general statements and aims to register factors that represent the theoretical framework (Moses and Knutsen 2007).

It is important to note that the following chapters include multiple methodologies, both qualitative and quantitative. This study uses a triangulation of methods and analyses findings by employing an interdisciplinary approach. As a consequence, it has been a challenge to structure the thesis. I found that the best way to communicate the case was to divide the chapters by actors. The structure I have set up to answer my research questions is illustrated in Figure 1 and explained below.

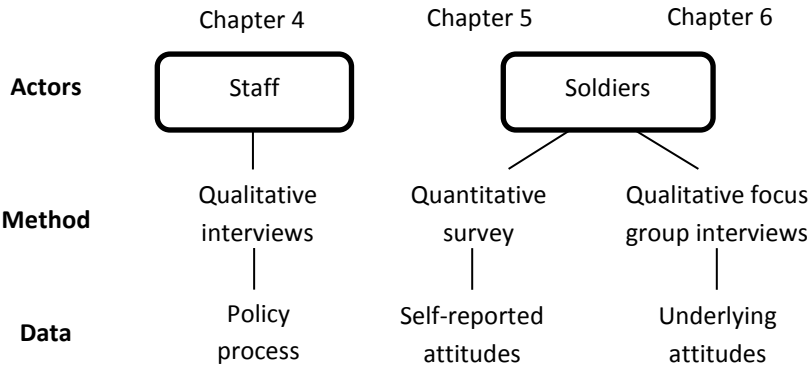


Figure 1 Structure

As the research questions are twofold – approaching both the policy process and attitudes – I have chosen to structure the thesis in compliance with the two sub-questions. Since the sub-questions concern two different sets of actors, the empirical findings and analysis will be presented in accordance with the scale of actors, beginning with the most powerful; the staff. Figure 1 presents the actors; staff and soldiers.

Chapter 4 will present the policy process of introducing MFM in the Norwegian Armed Forces. The chapter starts by outlining the process of the initiative and maps the actors of the policy process; decision makers, initiators, chefs and cooks, and soldiers. Thereafter, findings and analysis will be presented in parallel. By including empirical findings, concepts and analysis, the chapter is set to answer *why and how Meat-Free Monday (MFM) is being introduced in the military*.

Chapter 5 will go through the statistical findings and provides a limited analysis of the quantitative data. It seeks to answer *what the various attitudes towards reducing meat*

consumption among soldiers are by a quantitative approach. The quantitative data do however not provide a deeper understanding of the underlying attitudes. Therefore, Chapter 6 presents the findings and analyses the data from focus group interviews in order to answer *how the attitudes can be explained*.

Consequently, the next three chapters are organised by scale; starting with the staff (policy makers, chefs and cooks) and ending with soldiers (consumers). This also illustrates the problematic circle of sustainable consumption. Policy makers rely upon the opinions and common values of the consumers, and if consumers do not clearly demonstrate a demand for change, the status quo remains. Sustainable meat consumption is a feedback between different sets of actors, in this case policy makers and soldiers. Hence, I organise the chapters by actors and analyse within these.

3.5 Analysing data

During the preparation and collection of data, I wrote field notes and worked on a preliminary analysis. From preparing and scheduling interviews, I sensed different tendencies and attitudes among the contacts I talked to. My field notes and observations have been reviewed throughout the process and temporary categories and themes have been considered.

The qualitative and quantitative analyses were developed in parallel. While waiting for the results from the survey, I started looking for patterns in the data material from interviews. Before starting the analysis it was unclear what my categories would be. The toolbox-method helped me organise my material and look for patterns that could be explained by different concepts and framework. Reading up on the topic of consumer research, food studies and attitudes helped me develop tentative categories. My analysis and interpretation was developed as I turned back to field notes, the transcribed interviews and read the theory. I organised the data by using colour codes that referred to the different topics (Bertrand et al. 1992). To start the analysis I systematised the findings in a spread sheet. The data was finally categorised by attitudes and associations with meat and food consumption. After receiving the quantitative data set, analyses were conducted on categories based on my experiences from the qualitative data collection.

The interpretation started with a preliminary understanding of the case. By identifying the actors and the process of the meat reduction initiative, I could provide an explanation of the case. By combining the explanation of the case and the analysis of the soldiers' attitudes, an understanding of the outcome of the project was drawn together.

3.6 Methodological challenges

When a methodological approach involves the mixing of methods there are a few challenges one needs to be aware of. In this case, a challenge was to make full and appropriate use of the methods (Poteete et al. 2010). This was due to the large amount of data collected, and my limited experience with triangulation – and especially statistical analysis. In order to overcome these challenges, I had to limit the focus and complexity of the quantitative analysis. Furthermore, the qualitative method does, by interpretation and analysis, provide valuable insights into different social and cultural phenomena. There are however some limitations and pitfalls of qualitative in-depth research. For example, these results are more sensitive to subjective interpretations. In order to minimise the subjective experience, I needed to reflect upon my position as a researcher and as an individual (Scheyvens and Storey 2003, 67).

The informants might have been affected by being interviewed by a student from an environmental research institute. They may simply have wanted to respond with “politically correct” answers when the questions referred to issues such as responsibility and the environment. It was important to be aware of this situation and the risk it could imply for my collection of data. However, I did not find this as a problem, and the fact that I was from an institution outside the military may have contributed to a more relaxed and open discussion. Furthermore, I framed the questions in a manner that minimised the risk of misunderstanding, loaded or leaning questions and created an open environment for honest reflections (Moses and Knutsen 2007).

3.7 Ethical considerations

All informants were asked to sign a letter of informed consent¹⁷. Their names, positions and what camp they belong to was anonymised. Even though this research does not gather sensitive information, the approach of the method used introduced me to the informants' personal spheres. I also wanted to anonymise the camps as this decreases the traceability of my informants. Consequently, this might also have permitted a more open and honest discussion. The questionnaires were anonymous and the respondents were given a non-traceable numbered identity, which only connected them to the camp they belonged to. The project is approved by the Norwegian Social Science Data Services.

In this chapter I have explained the methodology I used to collect the data and conduct the research. Having explained how I proceeded to answer my research questions, the next chapter will explore and analyse the process of introducing MFM in the Norwegian Armed Forces.

¹⁷ See Appendix E

4 The Process of Introducing Meat-Free Monday in the Armed Forces

The next 3 chapters are organised by scale¹⁸ beginning with the most powerful actors in this case, those at the highest levels of the military defence organisation; logistics and decision making. From there, I move down in scale, to kitchen staff, and finally to the “consumers”, or the soldiers, who are both impacted by and help to formulate policies. This organisation presents the dilemmas of influencing and changing meat consumption patterns. Policy makers form the structures and guidelines followed by the chefs and kitchen staff as well as the soldiers, yet the decision makers rely upon the opinions and common values of the soldiers. I will address this throughout my analysis, which I will do in parallel with describing the process and my findings.

It is important to note that these chapters include multiple methodologies, both qualitative and quantitative. This chapter focuses on the process of agenda forming and policy implementation, which is a complex, and vital aspect of the success of this initiative. I examine the military’s effort to implement Meat-Free Monday (MFM) based on information from in-depth-interviews with military staff. Interviews conducted with key people and decision makers have contributed to a deeper insight into the policy process of the meat reduction initiative, and information about the status and prospects of the initiative that was not available in documents or reports. This chapter will shed light on why and how MFM is being introduced in the military. What were the motivations behind the initiative, and how can they be understood? Understanding *why* and *how* is key to answer the central question of this research; what are the factors that have challenged the implementation of MFM in the Norwegian Armed Forces? Before I begin, I will attempt to map the actors and the structure surrounding the military and the MFM initiative.

4.1 Actors

Figure 2 gives an overview of the actors in this case and their responsibilities. The military kitchens are managed separately by the different military branches: the Army,

¹⁸ As illustrated in Figure 1, page 34.

the Navy, the Air Force and the National Guard. However, the logistics of the food supply and procurement standards are organised by the Catering Management section of Joint Capacities in The Norwegian Defence Logistic Organisation (FLO). FLO has the responsibility of ensuring the availability of material needed for the Armed Forces to succeed in their mission (Forsvaret 2014a). The Joint Capacities department of FLO is responsible for the materials that the different military divisions share, such as food, uniforms, fuel, weapons and medical supplies. The department develops materials in addition to managing contracts with different suppliers. The Joint Capacities department is divided into several expert sections, where the Catering Management section is responsible for food provision. The directors of the Joint Capacities are the policy makers and resource allocators and make decisions based on the expert sections' evaluations and recommendations. Before policy documents are sent from the expert sections to the subordinate units, they formally need to be approved by the directors of the Joint Capacities department. Thus, the directors are hereby identified as the *decision makers*.

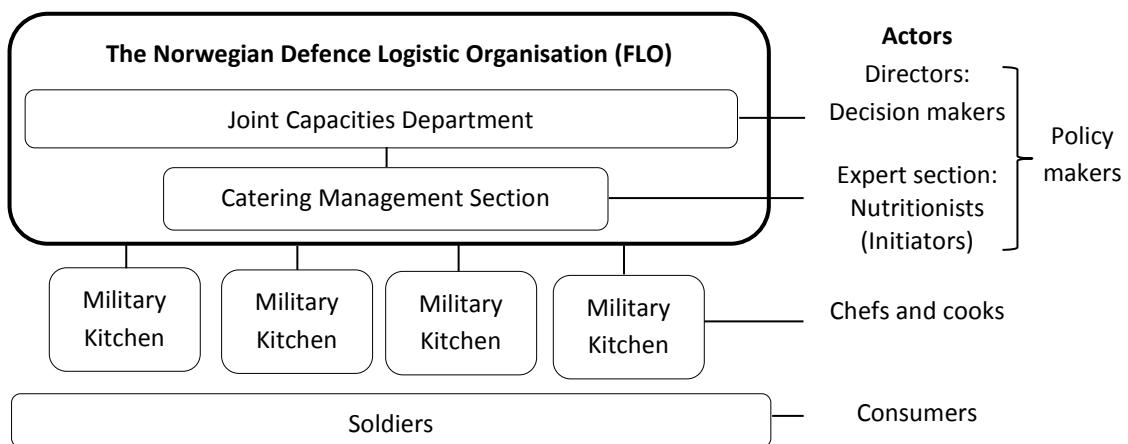


Figure 2 Organisation structure FLO

The Catering Management section of Joint Capacities is led by experts with backgrounds in nutrition and catering. In addition to developing purchase agreements, they conduct research and surveys to ensure that the food provided by the military is following nutrition and health standards. Their role is to ensure that the soldiers receive the energy, fat, vitamins etc. that they need to accomplish the tasks they are set to do (Forsvaret 2014a). Furthermore, the Catering Management section should ensure that food procurements conform to official advices and laws for public procurement. While

their responsibility is to ensure access to healthy and safe food for the soldiers, they have also expanded their mission to include the procurement of sustainable and environmentally friendly food – corresponding with governmental policies.

As I noted in the introduction, it is clear that the structure of FLO is top-down, relying on decision makers and experts to influence chefs and soldiers. When looking for the sources of the MFM initiative, I discovered that only a few number of actors had been present at the negotiation table for the MFM initiative. These were the directors of the Joint Capacities department and the nutritionists in the Catering Management section of FLO. As I learned more about the process it became clear that the initiative was brought to the agenda by a small number of what the political scientist John Kingdon refers to as *policy entrepreneurs* in the Catering Management section. The nutritionists who initiated the MFM campaign were consequently pushing the soldiers' meat consumption on the agenda. The *policy makers* of this case are hence the nutritionists' as *initiators* and the directors as *decision makers*.

In order to push the initiative forward, the Catering Management section formulated a policy document about the need to reduce the consumption of meat and instructed the chefs to implement a weekly meat-free day. Later, the policy document presenting the MFM campaign was sent to the directors of the Joint Capacities department for review. However, the directors of the department edited the policy document before it was forwarded to the chefs. The wording of the document was changed from *instructing* the implementation of a mandatory meat-free day campaign to a *request* to reduce meat consumption. The reformulation of the policy document is important to this analysis as it illustrates the negotiation process and indicates a conflict of interests among the policy makers. As Figure 2 displays, the organisation was characterised by numerous levels and responsibilities. This suggests a complex policy process. The next sections discuss why and how the MFM initiative was initiated in the Norwegian Armed Forces. I start from the beginning; describing the agenda-setting process behind *why*, and move on to the decision making process of *how*. The examination of the policy process is guided by the conceptual frameworks described in section 2.1 by uncovering the actors, the problem definition, problem recognition and the solution.

Implementing Meat-Free Monday: Why?

The idea of introducing MFM to the military was developed by the nutritionists in the Catering Management section. When asked about the background for the MFM initiative, the *initiators* in the Catering Management section told me that since 2007 they have been working to increase the environmental awareness and sustainability of their food procurement. As a continuation of the two campaigns *Operasjon Grønn Bølge* and *Økologisk mat i Forsvaret*, the focus on reducing the consumption levels of meat started in 2013. It was seen as a continuation of these efforts to improve the sustainability of the military's food procurement. During interviews, the initiators in the Catering Management section stated that the MFM initiative was based on public policies such as the public health recommendations and the law on public procurement.

Reference to health recommendations and law on public procurement provided the initiators with solid justifications for endorsing the initiative. However, while the Directorate of Health recommends individuals to reduce their meat consumption, the law on public procurement does not explicitly address meat consumption in relation to sustainable food procurement (Difi 2012a, The Norwegian Directorate of Health 2014a). *The law of July 16th 1999 nr.69 about public procurement § 6* states that public procurers should take into account the environmental consequences of the procurement (Difi 2012b, 5). In contrast to the initiators' operationalisation, the examples of environmentally friendly food procurements given in public documents are organic produce and fair trade products.

Hence, the military's initiative focuses on the procurement of meat even though the law on public procurement does not address this specifically. By initiating actual *reduction* in meat consumption, the initiators have interpreted and operationalised the *Law nr.69* in a broader manner. This interpretation of the law on public procurement to include levels of meat consumption is quite unique. There is as far as I know no other public catering service in Norway that has implemented MFM. When the news about the military's initiative came out, Heikki Holmås, a politician from the Socialist Left Party applauded it and suggested that the Parliament's canteen (Stortinget) did the same. However, according to an *Aftenposten* article, he did not get support for his suggestion among other politicians (Aftenposten 2013a). In the military however, the initiators managed to push the initiative to the agenda. In accordance with Howlett et al., I found

that the initiators' motivation and widened interpretation of the law may be understood through an examination of their backgrounds and roles (Howlett et al. 2009).

First of all, as the initiators have studied food and nutrition for several years, this is their field of expertise. The knowledge and understanding they have of environmental issues related to food production may explain how meat consumption in particular was given attention. In addition, it seemed like the relationship they had to food surpassed their professional interests. Seemingly, the initiators were especially aware of and interested in food topics in regards to the environment, health and nutrition. They stated that they were very interested in cooking and preparing food and that they saw themselves as aware consumers, making ethical and political decisions when shopping for food. In this sense, their personal interest in food and cooking, as well as their knowledge about food production, nutrition and health, explains their motivation to introduce this initiative. This corresponds to the characteristics of policy entrepreneurs (Kingdon 2003).

The enthusiasm the nutritionists had for the MFM initiative was demonstrated in the way they justified the project. The initiators stated that the overall goal was to reduce the total amount of meat consumed. However, by addressing this issue through an already established international campaign, they wanted to have the potential to communicate with the soldiers and staff about sustainable food consumption. One of the informants in the Catering Management section addressed the educational role of the military and that the ideal would be that they have days where they demonstrate what meat-free food can be. As one informant noted, "I think the pedagogical part of this initiative is quite important. We have 8500 young adults and this is an important arena to educate them about vegetarian food and sustainable food consumption" (I:T, 179). One of the objectives of the mandatory military service is also the formation of moral and ethical values (Forsvaret 2014c). Hence, the nutritionists emphasised that this campaign could teach the soldiers about nutritious and healthy diets, and in addition raise awareness on how food production affects the environment and climate. This quote reflects that the nutritionists had an extended motivation for implementing MFM.

The discursive power of the military should not be neglected as they represent a new and credible voice of the meat reduction debate. This implies that the military has a discursive power to communicate sustainable consumption (Foucault 1982). More specifically, this could also raise awareness among young "new" consumers as the

military service often is the soldiers' step between the family household and living on their own. Here, there is potential to foster positive experiences and attitudes towards eating less meat. As the soldiers have limited choice options and most of them eat regularly in the mess hall, there is a strong potential to reach them with nutritional and environmental recommendations of food consumption. Culture and social norms play a role in shaping perceptions and attitudes, and even taste (Lupton 1996). Therefore, presenting soldiers to meat-free food has the potential to form and educate a set of food-aware consumers. It is however important to note the limitations of information alone to affect attitudes (Thøgersen 2005, Campbell-Arvai et al. 2014), as will be shed light on later in this thesis.

Consequently, the objective of the initiators was two-fold: First, their overall motivation was to take seriously the responsibility to find solutions to work against climate change. The way the nutritionists included reducing meat consumption in their food policies represents an effort to implement a *strong* sustainable consumption policy. Whereas a *weak* sustainable consumption approach for example implies a shift from red meat to white meat, *strong* sustainable consumption would include a reduction in meat consumption (Fuchs and Lorek 2005). According to the initiators, their knowledge of the serious environmental impact of meat production made them push forward an initiative that ensures actual reduction. Second, the strategy they promoted added an educational element to the initiative. Hence, through a specific initiative for dietary change they wished to reduce the military's environmental footprint¹⁹ and educate soldiers about sustainable diets.

The issues addressed above illustrate the way the initiators, or the policy entrepreneurs, justified the MFM initiative. The effort they placed in pushing forward the initiative demonstrates their personal interest in the topic, which is an important reason for why the military introduced MFM. As Kingdon notes, the nature of the agenda-setters and their "luggage" explain why a given condition is defined as a problem (Kingdon 2003). The initiators' relationship to food and meat thus reveals how the problem of high levels of meat consumption became their focus of attention. I found that the nutritionists shared a common set of values which in addition to their personal interest, profession

¹⁹ Environmental footprint is here understood as a measure of human effect on the environment and the ecosystem.

expertise and views of responsibility shaped their motivation to introduce the MFM campaign. This reflects that their background and role influenced the policy process, which is also emphasised in recent implementation theory (Kingdon 2003, Howlett et al. 2009).

However, as Kingdon argues, when there are multiple scales of actors involved it takes a lot for a given condition to be defined as a problem for which action is needed (Kingdon 2003). Consequently, the way from an idea to actual implementation is long. According to Kingdon, the issue needs to be considered as a problem before decision makers decide to act on it. The changing of the wording of the policy document insinuates that the initiators' views were not necessarily reflected by the decision makers. The next section will describe how MFM was implemented.

Implementing Meat-Free Monday: How?

The first official document that introduced the Armed Forces' initiative to decrease meat consumption was communicated to the military mess halls in late summer 2014²⁰. This document was signed by the director of the Joint Capacities department of FLO. The document stated that the Armed Forces would start a measure to address and reduce the consumption of meat in the military. Based on the Catering Management section's expert judgments, the directors of Joint Capacities *requested* the chefs to cut meat consumption equivalent with one day's consumption, which amounts to about 15%. The document requested that the measure should be implemented no later than 1st of August 2014.

As this policy document stands as the formal statement of the initiative, I consider it the starting point of the implementation of the meat reduction scheme. Furthermore, the policy document reflects the power of the decision makers as they had the last word in defining and implementing the policy. I understand this as a formal hierarchical power. Hence, the document is an important source to study the policy making process and to answer how MFM was implemented. Therefore, I will now continue with a short examination of the reasoning behind the wording of the policy document in order to

²⁰ See Appendix F

obtain the empirical background for the implementation process. This will be examined in detail in the next section of this chapter.

The decision makers signed and formally anchored the policy document of August 2014. As we have seen, the directors of the Joint Capacities department changed the wording of the original policy document formulated by the Catering Management section. The initiative was framed as a *request* rather than an *instruction*. This signals that a more democratic and intermediate approach was chosen, yielding more autonomy towards the individual kitchens. The new version of the document presented three possible alternatives on how to reduce the consumption of meat, which were: one regular meat-free day per week; meat-free meals several times a week; or, less meat in the served dishes. Evidently, the power was left with the individual kitchens. In this sense, the initiators' and the decision makers' approach differed in the means to achieve reduction. This reflects a conflict of whether or not to use direct power as a strategy to implement MFM.

One of the decision makers stated: "To make an order out of this measure, and especially to command it to specific days or time is a way of micromanagement that maybe would have discouraged the chefs, and resulted in a power use we do not wish to have" (I:D, 197). The objective for framing it as a request rather than an instruction was first of all, the informant stated, that they did not want to tie it to one specific day, as this should be decided by the head of the kitchens individually. In addition, it was important to them to keep an element of volunteerism, as they thought an order would challenge the chef's motivation and feelings for the initiative. The informant argued that more resources would have been required to control or enforce the initiative within the kitchens. The informant's response reflects an unwillingness to use direct power as a means to reduce meat consumption. Although it was a top-down implementation, this decision may be seen as an effort to engage bottom-up action and local ownership, which also might be understood as a mechanism or strategy (Howlett et al. 2009, 165).

The description of the policy document given above illustrates its vagueness. In the effort to encourage ownership of the initiative among chefs and cooks, the policy document communicates a flexible and interpretable initiative. The decision makers wanted to avoid using their formal power to instruct the implementation of MFM. Instead, they gave several different alternatives on how to ensure meat reduction. The

decision makers still presented MFM as the preferred option. In addition, the policy document included a deadline for the implementation. It can be argued that the message of the policy document was confusing – what was the purpose of the initiative and what was the best approach? The intermediate policy approach was not only intermediate but also vague. The definition of a policy implementation given in the quote by Sabatier and Mazmanian in section 2.1 emphasises that a policy decision needs to identify the problem, objective and structure of the policy (Sabatier and Mazmanian 1980). In this case, these central elements of a policy implementation were not clearly identified in the policy document. As a consequence, the chefs seemed to emphasise the element of local autonomy, which implied that very little effort was done to reduce meat consumption in the individual kitchens.

In the kitchen: Implementing Meat-Free Monday

In the presentation of the case, I identified three points in time in the policy process; the media coverage in November 2013, the conference in February 2014 and finally the formal policy document in August 2014. However, throughout my data collection it was challenging to map where and when the actual implementation in kitchens took place. When I started to plan the interviews in September 2014, none of the military mess halls had implemented the measure. At least, no one seemed to be able to provide an overview of the progress of the meat reduction initiative during interviews conducted one year after the media coverage of the case.

However, research done by FFI in February 2015 gave me information on practices in some camps that have tried out meat-free food (Melnes 2015). Out of the twenty-two kitchens in FFIs study, six different locations presented six different approaches to the implementation. The implementation approaches ranged from sporadic vegetarian options to regular meat-free days. The big variance in the way the initiative was implemented may be a consequence of the vagueness of the policy document. The fact that the document presented three different ways of reducing meat consumption gave flexibility to the individual kitchens to define their own approach. As the document was formulated as a request rather than an instruction it further indicated that the chefs were in power to decide themselves. This may explain two things: first, the variance among

those that have implemented parts of the initiative; and second, the lack of implementation among the rest of the kitchens.

In FFIs study, the chefs' experiences were mixed (Melnes 2015). While some of them had ended the project because of the soldier's negative feedback, others were still serving vegetarian dishes regularly – and reported that soldiers were displaying positive attitudes. The soldiers' feedbacks and preferences seemed to be an important factor that impacted on whether the chefs implemented the measure and whether it was continued. As noted in the introduction of this chapter, the decision makers and chefs rely upon the opinions of the soldiers; the consumer. This reflects that power was assigned to the soldiers, which will be discussed later in this chapter.

The stated goal in the *Aftenposten* article was to implement MFM in all military mess halls within 2014. Whereas the policy document stands as the formal implementation of the initiative, actual implementation in the individual kitchens – in terms of actively reducing meat consumption or serving vegetarian food – has been more or less absent. In contrast to what was presented as a successful initiative in the media, there were only a few kitchens that had tried to reduce meat consumption. Neither of the two camps that I visited had done anything in regards to the initiative prior to my visit. Considering the low number of kitchens taking action, it is fitting to call the initiative a fragmented implementation. What were the factors that challenged actual implementation in the military mess halls?

In this presentation of why and how MFM is being introduced in the military I have described that the policy makers were not united in the policy process. This description has identified certain elements of conflicts. As I argued in section 2.1, this thesis focuses on the different relations where resistance and struggle appeared. Therefore, the next sections will examine the relations and sources of conflict in the policy making process and then in the kitchens. In the next section I identify and analyse the explanations of the different prioritisations among the policy makers. After that, I go on to analyse the chefs' experiences to understand the reasons for the limited changes made in the kitchens. Next, this will be approached through a power perspective, which I believe will illustrate some of the challenges with the implementation.

4.2 Decision makers and the policy process

In order to understand what factors challenged the implementation, this section will take a closer look at the policy process described above, based on the relations where struggle appeared; involving problem definition, recognition and solution. The formulation of the policy document is the first source of conflict. First, I will identify and analyse the factors that influenced the scale of the policy. This will be divided into two sections: understanding the struggles of the policy process, by looking at the perceptions of the problem; and identifying the contextual constraints to communicate the changes in meat consumption.

As we have seen, the initiators' background and values explained why MFM reached the agenda in the Armed Forces. The initiators in the Catering Management section, or those that Kingdon refers to as *policy entrepreneurs*, sensed and identified a problem. In response to this, they chose to advocate a solution, and invested their resources and time to promote it (Kingdon 2003). Although a high intake of meat was defined as a problem by the policy makers, the crucial step was that it also needed to be recognised as a problem that required action. As Kingdon notes, problem recognition is not enough, after all, not all problems are being paid attention too (Kingdon 2003). The way that the policy document was moderated indicates a struggle between the different perceptions of the initiative among the policy makers. I found that different perceptions and contextual aspects influenced the policy process.

Perceptions within the decision making process

In light of the decision makers modification of the nutritionists' original plan, there appeared to be different perceptions of the problem within FLO. First of all, the values of the policy makers influenced how the problem was defined. As the outline of the actors and process of the case demonstrated, the nutritionists' background, role and values were driving their motivation to change – not only soldiers' consumption patterns, but also the military's total food procurement towards a more sustainable path. The decision makers did however not share the same enthusiasm for the project. As one of them stated:

We do not have a clear goal to implement a meat-free day a week, not from our point of view. However, the Catering Management section should be allowed to operate with this goal, that they want to convince the managers and the whole military (I:D, 199).

This quote shows that the different sets of policy makers – initiators and decision makers – placed different meanings with the project. It also illustrates that the policy makers did not share the same goal of the MFM initiative. It can be argued that the disagreements between the central policy makers created a gap rather than a unified policy making. An important reason why a common goal was not agreed upon was the different perceptions of roles among the policy makers, and of the military itself. While the nutritionists in the Catering Management section are supposed to be experts in their field and develop initiatives that ensure the quality of their services, the directors of the Joint Capacities are responsible for several different military issues – not only food provision. Referring to the MFM initiative, one decision maker stated: “This is not about life or death” (I:D, 197). As an institution, the military deals with a range of issues and responsibilities. In comparison to war, terrorism and weapons, the issue of sustainable diets was considered trivial. Therefore, the policy makers’ responsibilities and different goal settings are interlinked.

The policy makers also had contrasting opinions of what the military’s responsibility was. For example, the decision makers did not necessarily think it was the military’s responsibility to address environmental sustainability. After all, the main purpose of the military is to protect the country. On the other side, the initiators saw it as their responsibility, as a public agency, to act as a responsible consumer and to communicate environmental concern to the employees, soldiers, as well as to the general public. In the same way that “food is culturally embedded, perceived and interpreted along socially defined dimensions” (Jacobsen in Lien and Nerlich 2004, 61), the policies and structures regulating consumption reflect the meaning that food is given in different contexts. Consequently, the policy makers’ different roles, backgrounds and perceptions of food, the environment and the military’s role in the society shaped their attitudes and prioritising of the MFM initiative. This explains why the perception of the problem’s urgency differed. As emphasized in the theory, this illustrates that problem recognition is “very much a socially constructed process (...)” (Howlett et al. 2009, 93). Given that the directors of Joint Capacities had the decision making power, it was their

understanding of the importance of the initiative that finally formed the policy document. Since the decision makers did not perceive the same urgency or importance of the MFM initiative, they reformulated the policy document into a *request*.

The conflict of interest and different perceptions of the military's responsibility among the policy makers are important. This explains why and how the initiative was not implemented as an instruction. These conflicts of perceptions and scale point to some of the barriers for the military to communicate reduced meat consumption, which I will address in the next section.

Contextual constraints

In addition to different perceptions, my research found that contextual aspects shaped the way the different actors justified and framed the initiative. While all of the policy makers pointed out that the health-benefit, rather than environmental sustainability, was most likely to appeal to the soldiers, some of them did not want to connect the initiative to environmental issues at all. For example, the decision makers in Joint Capacities seemed somewhat reluctant to address meat reduction as a sustainability initiative²¹. One of the decision makers stated: "Neither my boss or I want to use the environmental concern to support an order (...). The health argument is what we are relying on" (I:D, 198-197). This quote refers to a very important finding. Given that the decision makers had to approve the policy, they were also responsible for the consequences. As this quote illustrates, the decision makers did not want to frame and communicate the initiative as a solution to work against climate change. I found that this attitude was influenced by the decision makers' consideration of the contextual situation.

Sustainable meat consumption has, as we have seen, become a politicised topic in Norway. Thus, using the environment as an objective for implementing MFM may raise dilemmas for the military. One of the decision makers stated that he was concerned that the military may be seen as a political activist in this case. He argued that there is a fine line between acting as a responsible consumer, and to promote political arguments. Consequently, to introduce vegetarian food in the name of the environment and climate change could be viewed as extreme, and to state that they were tackling climate change

²¹ Nevertheless, the importance of sustainable diets was highlighted in the policy document to the chefs.

by eating a steak less every week was “not the role of the military” (I:D, 201). According to this informant, endorsing statements from NGOs and political parties is not appropriate behaviour for a neutral public institution. The informant’s response reflects that the issue has become delicate. Indeed, the decision makers were concerned that they would be regarded as radicals²². The informant stated that one of the challenges with the project was to be aware of the source of the arguments they were using (I:D, 201).

As mentioned, the media coverage and public debate on this issue in Norway is characterised by a lack of consensus (Austgulen 2014). The media has become a battlefield of conflicting expert claims, and, “in this situation, the politics of food is also a ‘politics of discourse’ in which the power is set to the public agenda, to frame the debate, and to silence opponents become a key resource” (Lien and Nerlich 2004, 10). Hence, the polarisation of the debate in Norway fostered confusion about how the military could sustain their role as a neutral public institution as they promote the MFM initiative. By forming and framing attitudes, as well as representing political stands, the media and NGOs represent a discursive power, which influenced the decision makers’ attitudes.

The policy makers’ view on what constitutes a sustainable consumption of meat responded to the divergence in the public debate, as discussed in section 2.2. The initiators stated that their biggest concern was to eat low in the food value chain²³ and look at the greater picture and life cycle of the products. This implied considering emissions and environmental effects of their food consumption. Decision makers, chefs and cooks did not share the same understanding of sustainable consumption. Among these informants, perceptions was rather linked to locally produced food and using Norwegian resources. For example, the word sustainability was often linked to economic and industrial sustainability – ensuring a viable national production. This illustrates how the confusing discourse fostered by the media and public debate influenced the policy makers’ opinions and further challenged the policy making

²² Vegetarianism was identified by most informants as a radical statement, typically identified with “hippies” and animal rights campaigns. This will be further discussed later.

²³ The different levels of the food value chain refer to the energy-intensiveness of the foodstuff. Cutting down on meat and replacing it with fish or vegetable food can help significantly to lower GHG emissions (Garnett 2011, Grønland 2015).

process. Due to these co-existing arguments in the public debate, the decision makers were reluctant to implement a full-scale MFM campaign as a climate initiative. This demonstrates that food itself has become a political object (Lien and Nerlich 2004, 2).

The lack of state policies on this issue, as well as the polarised debate between different NGOs and governmental institutions, has led to a confusing situation for the consumer, hence also public procurers (Austgulen 2014). Among the informants, addressing meat consumption was not automatically seen as an effective measure for tackling GHG emissions. The challenge of connecting individuals' consumption to environmental issues is an example of a contextual constraint to the implementation. As there are no other examples to learn from, the military is a pioneer in this case – being the first public institution to implement a meat reduction scheme in Norway. As an implication, one of their challenges was framing the initiative to meet these contextual constraints.

Howlett et al. argue that the discourse and problem definition are central elements in the policy implementation (Howlett et al. 2009). Therefore, in this case, the presence of different approaches to the problem may explain the conflict in the decision making process. This conflict also illustrates that the policy makers did not operate with the same goals and chose different strategies to reach these (Foucault 1982). Furthermore, contextual aspects such as the politicised debate on sustainable meat consumption prevented the decision makers from implementing a full-scale MFM campaign as was suggested by the Catering Management section.

These findings demonstrate that the struggle between positions and perceptions of the different policy makers challenged the policy making process. It explains the struggle of defining the solution to the problem, and furthermore why the MFM campaign was not implemented as an instruction. As shown in Figure 2, the organisation of roles and positions was characterised by a division of responsibilities. The priorities of the decision makers and nutritionists were shaped by their different roles and positions in the military organisation. Furthermore, their evaluation of contextual aspects was interconnected with their individual and professional values and understandings of responsibility. Although the same problem was acknowledged by the decision makers and the nutritionists, the strategy they wanted to take in order to solve it differed. This struggle shows that the policy makers were not united in the policy making process. In this way, the conflict of interest among the policy makers can explain the vagueness of

the implementation of MFM. Where the MFM campaign communicates a clear implementation approach, as it is based on a known international campaign, the chosen approach of requiring kitchens to “consume less meat” was rather unclear. In light of these findings, the next section analyse aspects of this approach that challenged the implementation in the kitchen.

4.3 Implementation in the kitchen

Despite the decision makers’ effort to ease the implementation, some of the chefs and cooks were unhappy about the initiative. It did however seem like the critique was mostly directed at the way the implementation came about, rather than a critique of the actual purpose of the initiative. This section will discuss the effects of miscommunication and confusion experienced by the next actors on the scale: the chefs and cooks.

Miscommunication between the scales

As I have pointed out, the successful initiative that was presented in the *Aftenposten* article in 2013 was not directly communicated to the chefs before the Catering Conference in February 2014. At the conference, the presentation of MFM given by the nutritionists raised a big debate. According to my informants, the discussion became quite heated. I got the impression that there was a 50/50 for and against division among the chefs. The chefs’ reactions may therefore illustrate another example of a conflict. This conflict seemed to have evolved partly due to how the initiative was communicated.

One chef told me that the first time he learned about the initiative was through the *Aftenposten* article. He ironically stated that “I randomly read that the military would implement one meat-free day, so I thought it was nice to get this information from the newspaper, that is very professional” (I:Q, 91). According to this informant, the MFM measure was not communicated to the staff in advance. The way the information was communicated did actually enforce a feeling of powerlessness for this chef which further fostered resistance. As Foucault notes, it is when power is met with resistance that it becomes visible (Foucault 1982). The flexibility of the initiative intended to

decentralise the decision making process to the individual kitchens. In its effort the power was actually placed with the chefs. However, this chefs' reactions illustrates that the top-down characteristic of the implementation still evoked resistance.

This might seem like a backwards approach for policy implementation. By communicating the initiative through media, the initiators chose an alternative to the more bureaucratic and internal policy implementation. Although this enforced the top-down aspect of the policy implementation as it was communicated through an external channel, it might also be understood as a proactive approach. Food policies in and of themselves are complex enough and are difficult to implement as they touch upon individuals' daily habits. This proves to be especially complicated in the military since its main purpose is protecting the country, and not ensuring sustainable food consumption. The way the initiative was presented through an external channel may then be a strategy to deal with these conflicting interests and might be seen as a way to ease the implementation.

As the MFM initiative was presented by a powerful broadsheet, it gave external validation and confirmation to the project. The nutritionists were aware of the challenges of introducing the project due to the fact that food is something everyone has a relationship with, which to a large extent is shaped by individual preferences, culture and habits (Lupton 1996). Both among the chefs and the soldiers, meat represented an important foodstuff. The recognition of the initiative given by the journalist in the *Aftenposten* article might then be seen as a way to seek external support and promotion for the initiative, to motivate and demonstrate to chefs and soldiers the benefits of MFM. This alternative approach may be an effort to avoid the conflict of interest that has been outlined above, and rather spread a set of positive associations with the initiative.

However, as this approach may motivate those that were not aware of the MFM campaign and the environmental issues related to meat production, it could also enforce the experience of a top-down implementation. Several informants told me that at the Catering Conference, many chefs had expressed that they felt excluded from the negotiation process. At this point the initiative was not formally implemented; however the presentation given in the newspaper a few months earlier presented the initiative as completed. As a consequence, the chefs had the impression that they had nothing to say

to this. The feeling of powerlessness then arose which in its turn fostered discontentment and resistance.

One chef argued that “If you really want to anchor it, you should talk to the right people, and not go through media. Now I feel like it is something someone wants to force down my throat” (I:Q, 91). The chef described the feeling of a project being imposed on him. Although the decision makers did not want to *instruct* the chefs to reduce meat consumption, the feeling of powerlessness was still demonstrated by this chef. In this sense, the initiative had an unfortunate introduction as it was broadcasted by the media before it was formally implemented. This critique was reflected in the chef’s quote: “I am criticising the implementation. I do not like this way of doing it. It should be anchored in the system, we should get information about it” (I:Q, 96). He also referred to the different campaigns that have been implemented, such as *Operasjon Grønn Bølge* and *Økologisk i Forsvaret*, and stated that there are continuously campaigns that restrict their work (which he thought was too much). One of the decision makers also argued that the chefs’ reluctance could be fostered by resentment towards authorities who were telling them how to do their jobs (I:D, 198); which was the very thing the decision makers tried to avoid by giving the kitchens autonomy to define their own approach.

The chef further argued that without gathering and teaming up with the grass roots movement, it was like defeating its own end:

Of course we are used to obeying orders: we do what we are told. But in order to get the commitment and anchor the project, you must look at what you want to make. (...) You need to get the knowledge out, because it is very easy to just continue doing what we have always been doing. (...) As long as it falls on good ground, and people want it, we will make it. We are here for our guests (I:Q, 97).

One of the initiators also reflected that the top-down implementation caused reactions:

It is very unfortunate that this has not been a grassroots movement: it is rather a top-down implementation. People react very differently to such commands and orders, so we should maybe have had a human rights approach to it. Maybe it is something in the military culture that you make decisions rather than building it up from the bottom (I:T, 182).

These quotes refer to the power issues of the implementation. The way the initiative was communicated took advantage of the strong position media has in shaping attitudes. It

also represents a way to avoid being associated with other powerful discourses such as political parties and NGOs. However, as the quotes above reflect: the approach did also, by channelling the information through an external platform, evoke feelings of powerlessness. As a consequence, the demonstration of power in the top-down implementation from central decision makers to subordinate units influenced the attitudes towards the MFM initiative. Due to the way miscommunication has formed the implementation process, feelings of powerlessness were evoked among the chefs. The experiences of powerlessness further shaped a resistance towards the initiative.

The power of confusion

In addition to the abovementioned communication deficit, there seemed to be problems pertaining to autonomy that led to confusion among the chefs. Their understanding of the initiative seemed to differ, especially in regards to the flexibility of the implementation. While the chef mentioned above saw problems with the top-down approach from FLO to the kitchens, the other chef that I talked to had a different perception about it. This informant demanded more direct pressure before he would implement the initiative. As he stated: “we are waiting for a harder kick in the leg, from FLO and the authorities”²⁴ (I:W, 151). This chef argued that:

To understand is to know, and when you know you can consider it. But if one half is pro, and the other half is against, are we then living in a democracy or should we get an order from someone? An order is unfortunately the best approach if you want to implement something. And the military is good at it (I:W, 155).

This quote also addresses the importance of understanding the problem the initiative was set to solve. The knowledge of the initiative, and also of the problem that is addressed through it was lacking among the chefs and cooks that I talked to. The chefs and cooks did not have much insight into the connection between the environment and meat production. Some of them had heard about the health concerns related to the high intake of red meat, but mostly they were not familiar with the environmental concerns. As a consequence, reducing meat consumption was not something they regarded as a

²⁴ This informant also tells me they are planning four vegetarian dinners, for each of the four teams of cooks to participate. However, when I later contacted the camp to see what they had achieved, this had not been done, and the project was shelved.

climate measure. This implied that the actual implementation of this project was handed over to a group of cooks that were not familiar with the rationale behind the measure.

Moreover, many of the cooks that I talked to had heard about MFM as an international campaign. However, only a few of them knew about the ongoing initiative to reduce meat consumption in the mess halls. The cooks often told me that they had first learned about it in connection to the interview they were scheduling with me. Even though this had been presented to the chefs of the kitchens at the Catering Conference, it had not been communicated directly to the different kitchens and cooks. Therefore, it seemed like this information had not yet reached the cooks working on the floor – in many ways the actual implementers of the initiative. The numerous actors and scales involved in this initiative created a complex case for an implementation and the miscommunication between scales caused confusion. The flexible approach that was chosen further challenged this.

The quote above also refers to the use of direct power and addresses the need of an instruction to implement MFM. In the same way that the subject itself is hard to grasp, the flexibility of the initiative caused confusion. Among the cooks that I talked to, and the participants in the FFI study, a majority was not certain about the purpose or the implications of the MFM initiative (Melnes 2015). Whether the initiative was an instruction or a request was a recurring theme. Hence, the unwillingness of the decision makers to adopt the original MFM initiative, and their emphasis on individual kitchen's autonomy and flexibility resulted in confusion. The experienced confusion and the lack of knowledge and information are important aspects that challenged the implementation of MFM.

4.4 Key reactions and experiences

In addition to the levels of knowledge and the reactions to the implementation procedure, experiences with cooking and eating vegetarian food affected the informants' point of view and opinions. In collaboration with my research project, Camp 1 served vegetarian dinners three Thursdays in a row prior to my visit. When I raised questions about the success of these meals, the answers I got were very mixed. As expected, the preferences and taste among people in the Armed Forces are probably

as varied as in the general population²⁵. However, the chefs and cooks had some comments on the preparation and result of these dishes.

Examples from Camp 1

A vegetarian lasagne was one of the dishes that were served as a part of this project. The cooks told me that they liked the lasagne, but that they would have made it differently the next time around. The lessons learned were for example that the lasagne apparently should have been cooked longer. In addition, one chef argued that he would have used Quorn, a meat substitute, and also removed the word “vegetarian” from the menu. Then, he stated, only a few people would even notice that there were no meat in the dish (I:Y, 79). Several cooks argued that tricking the soldiers into eating the vegetarian dishes would be an efficient way to prevent them from doing a turnaround when they arrive at the mess hall²⁶ (I:X, I:Y). However, this was also problematized as a moral dilemma. The cooks did however have some experiences with this as they have presented the salmon lasagne as only “lasagne”.

This dilemma refers to the conflict between tricking the soldiers into eating less meat, or facilitating a conscious change in behaviour. While the first option most likely is easier to implement, it reduces the potential for external or ripple effect. Furthermore, moral questions such as the paternalistic aspect²⁷ of this method were discussed. As I have mentioned, the initiators wanted to use the MFM campaign as it could provide information and knowledge about sustainability issues in regards to meat consumption. However, my findings demonstrate that the MFM initiative was not a pressing issue for the decision makers. The values and perceptions of the initiators was neither anchored in the institution nor was it a case that the decision makers prioritised. The chosen

²⁵ As I have pointed out, due to their demographic (age and gender), the soldiers are most likely particularly high intake consumers of meat. However, the variance I am referring to here has more of an individualistic approach, as the soldiers expressed what foods they preferred (e.g. spicy / mild, rice / pasta).

²⁶ Most of the military camps have alternatives to the mess hall. Many soldiers explained to me that when the mess hall served dishes they were not that fond of, e.g. boiled cod, they would rather buy their meal elsewhere, e.g. in the welfare canteen on the camp where hamburgers are served, or at the closest fast food outlet. In one camp the soldiers told me that the nearby pizza restaurant provides a special pizza-discount for soldiers, with free delivery.

²⁷ This refers to the discussion of how much the state (and in this case the military) should intervene with individuals' eating practices.

policy was flexible and did not specify whether the goal was to trick the soldiers, or educate them.

Another side of the confusion related to the implementation was seen in the preparation of the vegetarian food. During the preparation of the vegetarian lasagne, one of the cooks wanted to add beef broth to the sauce to flavour it. One of his colleagues had to stop him, and explain that they should not add animal broth to a vegetarian dish. This informant also explained how the dish was made almost without spices, and said that “it should be prepared as a meat lasagne, but without the meat, but some of the cooks did not understand that” (I:Z, 84). From this we can draw that the lack of knowledge and experience with preparing tasty and nutritious vegetarian food needs to be addressed in order to ensure the effective implementation of the initiative. The cook had the impression that many colleagues were not familiar with preparing vegetarian food, and that they automatically thought it would be something abnormal, prepared without the normal ingredients such as pepper, salt and spices. There was an assumption that *vegetarian* means boring or less tasty – food made with restrictions.

Altogether, the cooks that I talked to in Camp 1 were positive about the initiative. They stated that after having served three vegetarian dishes, they wanted to continue, but instead of one day every week, it would be every second week. It seemed like the implementation of the project in Camp 1 was successful, taking into consideration its novelty. The cooks said that more practice in cooking vegetarian food and learning more about it was important to improve the project. However, it is worth noting that by spending some time in the kitchen between interviews, I got the impression that the cooks that I had planned interviews with were generally more positive towards the project than their colleagues. This could be due to the fact that the chefs at each camp had set up the interviews. Other than that, it also tended to be the younger cooks that were signed up for the interviews. Several informants pointed out the fact that the younger cooks were generally more positive towards the initiative. One cook said that especially kitchens where the cooks were older were not willing to test this new initiative. The informant continued: “They have always done it in a certain way, and thus want to continue their normal routines. In this kitchen the cooks are rather young, so we like trying new things” (I:X, 75). Similarly, the decision makers in FLO experienced the same tendency; that the younger cooks were significantly more positive

towards the initiative than their older colleagues (I:D, 198, I:T). Hence, the young age of my informants can explain the positive responses.

Furthermore, this camp implemented this project as a pilot in connection to my research and my direct contact with the kitchen might have influenced the process. The particularity of this implementation situation could explain why the cooks were positive to continue with vegetarian meals and had a wish to improve the practices and dishes. For example, as the request came from a curious student, and not the boss, the angle was different. The pilot project gave the chefs more ownership of the project. While the MFM initiative was characterised as a top-down implementation, this specific project yielded grassroots engagement. The power perspective will be discussed in the next section.

When discussing the potential external effect of a MFM implementation in the military, the cooks emphasised the central position the Armed Forces has in the Norwegian society. As one of them stated, “There are many people that look up to the military. I hear it when I tell people where I work. Before, they said that the military serves tinned spam²⁸, but a lot of things have changed, and the food is a lot better now” (I:X, 76). Similarly, another one said that if the military tells you it’s good for you – for example vegetarian and organic food – they have power to sell the story. This is one side of the power issues in this project. As a solid institution in the Norwegian society, the military does have a strong voice. For the initiators this offered a possibility to reach further with the sustainability message, while for the decision makers it rather evoked a concern for their role in supporting politicised arguments. This again demonstrates the conflict of interest among the policy makers and issues they raised.

Portraying the military as an environmentally friendly institution clearly raises several dilemmas. One chef summed it up when I asked about the military’s potential to inspire or lead the way:

You see, when they drive around in the woods with tanks, it’s not exactly environmentally friendly fuel they run on, (...), and the military aircrafts and the noise they make, then they can talk about the environment and pollution. But of course, we want to get better, get in a better light. They’ve been trying to clean up

²⁸ While not completely comparable, as spam is spreadable ham, the Norwegian equivalent is known as “dead man on a tin” (død mann på boks), and mainly consists meat, fat and peas, which can be stored for as long as twenty years.

after themselves after artillery ranges, which is positive because we are environmental culprits when you think about the bullets and gunpowder. So I think it is positive that the military is trying to improve (I:Q, 93).

The cooks in Camp 1 seemed eager to continue this project. They did point to several challenges, such as knowledge and education, but in general they were positive to reduce the meat consumption and serve vegetarian food. However the chefs and cooks noted that it would be difficult to convince the soldiers. The assumption that the soldiers were negative towards reducing their meat consumption was mentioned by several cooks. One cook gave an explanation for why the soldiers were so sceptical to reduce meat consumption in the name of climate change: Many soldiers had argued that ensuring sustainable consumption should be channelled to other purchases than food, such as reducing the emissions from the military vehicles. The cook explained this as a disconnection to the food production and consumption: “They see the dirt, but they have no insight into what we do in the kitchen. It seems like they think the food just drops into our laps. They have no clue about what’s going on in the kitchen” (I:X, 77). This point will be discussed more thoroughly in Chapter 6.

4.5 Power relations in the policy process

Power is undoubtedly a central issue in this policy process. Different aspects of power seemed to recur throughout the policy process and implementation. Whether it was agenda-setting power, the lack of power, the feeling of powerlessness, the power of confusion, or the will or unwillingness to use power (or instructions), it has shaped perceptions at all levels in the process.

First of all, the hierarchical institutional structure of the military organisation gave formal decision power to the directors. Second, power was also found with the nutritionists as they managed to bring MFM to the formal agenda of FLO. This might be understood as the power of knowledge as the nutritionists were the experts in this case. Consequently, the power of knowledge gave them a voice to address and define problems related to the soldiers’ food consumption. Even though the nutritionists’ recommendations were not completely integrated into the final policy decision, they succeeded in pushing it to the implementation stage. However, whether the problem required action was for the decision makers to decide, who had power to define the

urgency and choose the solution to the problem. Hence, by understanding this case through a top-down implementation approach power was located at the top of the hierarchy and the initiative was implemented through lower levels of the scale.

The process described above illustrates a static top-down understanding of the process, where decision makers and experts shaped and implemented the policy to reduce soldiers' meat consumption. This case does however acquire a broader approach in order to identify the multiple power structures at play. In accordance with Foucault's understanding of power, this case demonstrated that power was not something someone possessed – nor was it tied to structural or hierarchical scales. Rather, it existed and was expressed through the relations between the actors (Foucault 1982). This was reflected in the way that chefs, cooks and soldiers also framed and shaped the policy process.

As I have discussed, many chefs showed resistance towards the MFM initiative during the Catering Conference. The reformulation of the policy document, making it a request rather than an instruction, indicates that the chefs' attitudes were listened to. By taking the chefs' attitudes into consideration, the decision makers acknowledged the power from below. Foucault argues that institutions only exist through the support from the structures at lower levels, and use this to argue for the floating characteristics of power (Foucault and Gordon 1980). In this case, the decision makers realised that they needed the chefs' support for the initiative in order to succeed and therefore made a reformulation that gave more flexibility to the individual kitchens to locally define the initiative. The resistance demonstrated by the chefs and the way they were listened to is an example of how power was expressed at several levels of the scale, not only as a hierarchical process. Chefs' attitudes at the conference were an influential factor for the softening of the policy document – which demonstrates the chefs' power to influence the case.

As we have seen, a more democratic approach was chosen to yield more autonomy to the individual kitchens. This might be understood as a way to frame the initiative and to encourage bottom up ownership. This way of using formal power – to avoid micromanagement and give the individual kitchen's power to shape the approach themselves – is a form of delegating power. The approach was justified by what they perceived to be the demotivating effect an order would have had. Therefore, the

delegation of power to the individual kitchens has a symbolic role in the way it is an attempt to minimise the top-down structure of the initiative.

Even so, the initiative still met resistance in the individual kitchens. This resistance may be explained by the chefs' experiences of powerlessness. Despite the effort to sustain the autonomy of the chefs, the MFM was still a top-down initiative. The project was not anchored at lower levels of the hierarchy – in fact many cooks had not even heard of it, and they were often unfamiliar with the environmental concerns of meat production. The lack of knowledge was therefore an important component as it evoked feelings of powerlessness and led to confusion. Again, this also demonstrates the power of knowledge. The initiators were the experts of the field and managed to push the initiative forward. However, this knowledge was not transferred to the rest of the actors. Therefore, this case demonstrates the power of knowledge in two different ways. First, knowledge is power in the sense that it provided expert validation of the initiative. The nutritionists' expert knowledge gave credibility and legitimised the introduction of MFM in the military. Second, the lack of transference of this knowledge had power to challenge the initiative. This illustrates that knowledge is a central component of the power perspective and that the application of knowledge can be seen as an effect of power (Foucault 1982, 212).

Although effort was made by the decision makers to change the initiative into a bottom-up project, this case is still an example of a top-down implementation that is met with resistance. Foucault argues that power only becomes visible when it is met with resistance (Foucault 1982). In this case, the expression of power was identified through three events: the article in *Aftenposten*, the Conference, and the policy document. Top-down characteristics were found in all these means of communication. This can therefore explain why the chefs expressed feelings of powerlessness. The power of the decision makers became visible as the chefs disagreed with their communication approach and their unawareness of the environmental issues related to meat consumption. As a consequence, the chefs felt like this was something being imposed on them. According to my informants, the attitudes expressed at the Conference reflected this powerlessness. The chefs apparently felt that the practices in the kitchens were governed in detail by decision makers in the military organisation. Although the

initiative was not formally implemented at this point, the structural characteristics of the communication signalled the top-down characteristics of the initiative.

Hierarchical institutional characteristics could make an implementation feasible through the use of formal decision power. However, strong institutional characteristics may also challenge such implementations. For example, it can be argued that the MFM policy did not match the institutional characteristics, and culture of the military. Reducing meat consumption was not something demanded from chefs or soldiers, and very few were aware of its purpose. The military communicates similar values as those connected to meat, and therefore reducing the consumption of meat did not “match” the cultural values. This aspect will be discussed more in detail in Chapter 6.

The media’s role in the policy process reveals another form of power. External validation for the MFM initiative was provided through the *Aftenposten* article. The power of the media to shape attitudes should not be neglected. However, the fact that the initiative was presented in the media before it was anchored in the system can also explain the feelings of powerlessness and resistance among chefs. The result seemed to be that many chefs were negative towards the initiative even before it started, because they felt overlooked.

Finally, power was also expressed at the lowest level of the actor-scale. The assumed discontentment among soldiers caused reluctance among chefs and decision makers to fully implement the MFM initiative. In this way, decision power was transmitted to the soldiers. The chefs and decision makers’ were concerned that the soldiers would avoid the mess hall and rather eat fast food. Consequently, the fact that the decision makers modified the policy document, and that chefs have not yet implemented MFM demonstrates that they relied upon the soldiers attitudes. This shows how the actors at higher levels acknowledged the soldiers consumer power, and that the feedback of consumption prevented the implementation of MFM.

This analysis demonstrates that power exists in social relations and through the practices of different sets of actors. Power is not static or a possession but exists and is made visible through the chefs’ resistance and the soldiers’ assumed resistance. This corresponds with Foucault’s understanding of power relationships as interwoven with other kinds of relations (Foucault and Gordon 1980). One example of this is the way the

chefs – who sensed feelings of powerlessness and were located lower in the formal hierarchical structure – actually shaped the policy. Instead of only looking at the formal characteristics of a policy implementation this approach has included the disempowered experiences of power. By doing that, the power analysis has shown that several actors exercised power.

Therefore, the expression of power is complex and not limited to the formally institutionalised hierarchy. While the decision makers had the formal power, they were influenced and relied upon the opinions that existed on lower levels. The power is therefore a relation; it exists between the actors and even in the military it is not purely a formally top-down structure. Furthermore, the analysis demonstrates that an implementation of MFM could not be achieved through formalised power alone. The power was also seen in more informal mechanisms, for example in how the initiative was pushed through the media, and in the modification of the policy document based on attitudes among actors on lower levels. This analysis demonstrates that power and the different actors' experiences of power influenced the policy process and the scale of the initiative.

4.6 Summarising remarks

Throughout this chapter, I described and analysed the overarching feature of the FLO: the administration and decision makers. I looked at the process of implementing MFM and examined the impacts of power dynamics and structure within the system. I pointed out some of the barriers and challenges in communicating sustainable meat consumption by findings presented throughout the chapter. The multitude of roles and various levels of power in the military have caused confusion about what the problem, solution and goal of the initiative actually were. In addition, the unclear implementation strategy – involving different sets of actors such as nutritionist experts, decision makers, the media and NGOs – has led to a fragmentation. Many chefs were not on board with the project, and statements given by the majority of my informants demonstrated a lack of information about the project and lack of knowledge about the issues it addressed. These obstacles caused feelings of powerlessness and confusion. Furthermore, the policy implementation did not communicate a discourse that the chefs and cooks could relate to.

This examination of the effort to implement MFM in the Norwegian Armed Forces demonstrates a few conflicts and struggles of strategy. The policy makers did not agree upon a common strategy and rationale for *why* the meat consumption should be reduced. This was seen in the conflict of whether or not to use the environmental benefit as an argument. In addition, there were mixed attitudes towards the importance of this initiative in the military as an institution. This was exemplified with conflicting statements like “this is not about life and death” (I:D) versus “this initiative can communicate sustainable consumption” (I:T). Regardless of the definition or perception of sustainable food consumption, and recognition of the problems related to intensive meat consumption, the issue of responsibility was a continuous concern for the decision makers.

In addition to the conflicting recognitions of the importance of the initiative, the decision makers did not agree on what constituted the best strategy for the implementation. This was illustrated by the discussion on whether to instruct or request the reduction in meat consumption. As this analysis demonstrates, the initiative was developed by a small number of very committed individuals. Given that the MFM initiative was developed in the central management in FLO and did not well up from the public, it represents a top-down policy initiative. It seems like the power structures identified in this chapter have had a central effect on the policy process. Feelings of powerlessness caused by a top-down implementation that was not anchored in the individual kitchens produced negative attitudes from the start. While decision makers pointed to the disapproval from the chefs, the chefs in their turn pointed to the soldiers’ negative attitudes; and as one chef said “we are here for our guests”. As we have seen, the chefs and decision makers ascribed power to the consumers, in this case, the soldiers.

In fact, the assumption that the soldiers were reluctant to support the initiative often underpinned arguments against it. In this way, the policy makers, cooks and chefs acknowledged the soldiers’ consumer power. This is another face of the power coin. Where one would think the military is a hierarchical top-down implementer, this case has demonstrated multiple power relationships. As the assumed reluctance among the soldiers was used as an argument to refuse the implementation, they represented the decision power. As a consequence, it was the power of the soldiers’ assumed attitudes

that shaped the fragmented implementation. The receivers of the initiative were suddenly in the driver's seat. In this way, the problematic circle of sustainable consumption was continued. And is there something to these assumptions about the soldiers' negative attitudes? The next chapter will provide an examination of the soldiers' attitudes based on the quantitative data, before the different explanatory factors for their attitudes are discussed in the following chapter.

5 Soldiers' Attitudes: Survey Results

After having examined the initiative itself and the actors on the higher levels of the scale, the two next chapters focus on the consumers – the soldiers. As discussed in Chapter 4, the different actors in the implementation process were concerned about the soldiers' opinions. Chefs and decision makers assigned certain attitudes to the soldiers, assuming they would be critical towards reducing their meat consumption. Both the conversations I had with these actors, and the data from the Norwegian Defence Research (Forsvarets Forskningsinstitutt, FFI), show that the assumptions about the soldiers' negative attitudes were used to criticise the initiative (Melnes 2015). The chefs and cooks worried that the soldiers' negative attitudes towards meat-free food would make them avoid the mess hall and instead eat fast food from the welfare canteen at the camp. As discussed, the soldiers are thus indirectly given the decision making power, or a consumer power. However, no overview or insight to the soldiers' attitudes towards reducing meat consumption exists. Is vegetarian food a new demand among food-conscious soldiers, or are they as negative as the chefs assumed?

In this chapter I will present the findings from the survey analysis²⁹. First of all, the sample is identified and its representativeness is discussed. Then, I present the findings through four different categories: first, to provide an overview of the case, the respondents' insights and knowledge of the initiative and topic is presented; second, I provide a demonstration of the self-reported attitudes towards meat consumption and sustainable food consumption; third, I look at whether men and women answer differently to the attitudes questions; and finally, the attitudes of those with “pro-environmental” values are compared to the rest of the respondents' attitudes. Throughout the chapter, the findings and possible explanations are discussed. Moreover, the findings from the quantitative research is further analysed in relation to the qualitative findings in Chapter 6.

²⁹ The findings will be presented in tables and figures. Detailed tables are found in Appendix B.

5.1 The sample

Of the 9000 surveys that were distributed, 2848 were completed within my deadline. However, 47 answers had to be excluded from the analysis, as the respondents were from an officer school, and thus were not conscripts. This gives a response rate of 31%, which is considered within the normal standards (Johannessen et al. 2010). 90% of the respondents reported that they were between the ages of 18 to 22. Also, over 90% of the respondents stated that they belonged to the camp in which the survey was conducted.

Out of the 2801 respondents, 71% ($n = 1994$) were men and 20% ($n = 554$) were women. However, 9% ($n = 253$) did not report their gender³⁰. The high amount of non-response on the gender question was very unfortunate, but an explanation could be that the background questions were at the end of the questionnaire, and these respondents did not have time to complete it thoroughly. Table 2 gives an overview of the sample and response rate from the different military branches.

Table 2 Identifying the sample
Number of respondents from the different military branches and gender:

Military Branch	Number of respondents		Men		Women		Missing	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
The AirForce	224	8 %	146	7 %	60	11 %	18	7 %
The Navy	935	33 %	664	33 %	233	42 %	38	15 %
The Army	1409	50 %	1000	50 %	224	40 %	185	73 %
Other	233	8 %	184	9 %	37	7 %	12	5 %
Total	2801	100	1994	100	554	100	253	100

Even though the sample is a homogenous group, it has some biases. This study uses a census to study a population. That implies that the questionnaire was distributed to the whole population, in this case all conscripts. There are advantages and disadvantages when doing a census. With a census study one avoids sampling errors, however it may be difficult to obtain data from all units within the available time (Bryman 2008). This challenge the representativeness of the data, and the information might not be used to draw conclusions about the whole population (Grønmo 2007). One bias lies in the inequality of response rates between the camps and military branches. While the response rate for some of the camps in this study was up to 100%, others did not reply

³⁰ Therefore, when discussing the representativeness and for the gender analysis, these respondents were excluded.

in time for my analysis. The response rate from the different military branches was distributed as follows: Air Force 22%, Navy 49%, Army 25% and Other 42%.

When it comes to gender, the representativeness was also weak. Table 3 demonstrates an estimated number of enrolled conscripts compared to the number of respondents based on gender. 22% of the respondents were women, compared to 14% of the total conscripts that are women (Køber 2015). There are accordingly some biases of the sample due to the high non-response (Bryman 2008, 180). It is nevertheless an interesting finding that a higher percentage of the women responded to the questionnaire. One could ask whether this has to do with more interest in food-related topics and a feeling of responsibility to answer the questionnaire.

Table 3 Representative: gender*

Military Branch	Inscribed Conscripts**		Respondents	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
The Air Force	77 %	23 %	71 %	29 %
The Navy	83 %	17 %	70 %	26 %
The Army	90 %	10 %	82 %	18 %
Total	86 %	14 %	78 %	22 %

*Comparing the % gender division in the military branches with the % gender division of my respondents. 253 cases are missing, representing 9% of the sample ($p < 0,05$).

** The numbers are the average based on four cohorts (1992, 1993, 1994 and 1995) who were present at the military services as of August 2014 (Køber 2015)

In the following part of this chapter, the respondents' insights and attitudes will be displayed.

5.2 Insights and Knowledge

As the objective of this thesis is to understand the soldiers' attitudes towards the meat reduction initiative, it is essential to provide a descriptive overview of the soldiers' insights and knowledge of the project. Figure 3 presents the percentages of how the respondents replied to four relevant questions.

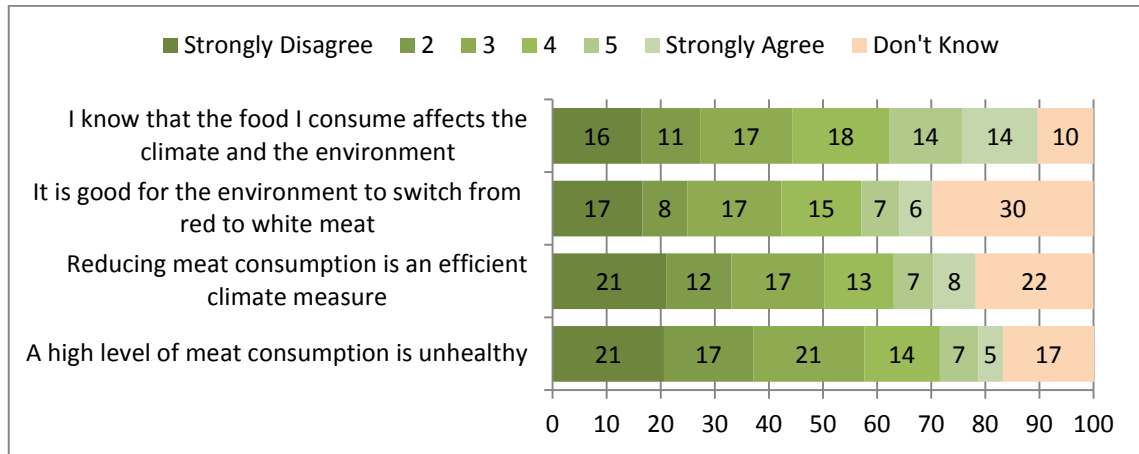


Figure 3 Insights and knowledge

Judging by the way the respondents self-reported their perceptions of this topic, it seems like the understanding of the connection between food consumption and the environment was blurred or not evident to many of the respondents. 16% answered that they ‘strongly disagree’ with the claim that they know that the food they eat affects the environment, while 14% ‘strongly agreed’ to this. Here, the answers were quite equally distributed among the response categories, which indicate that there was no clear pattern in the respondents’ attitudes towards this claim.

For the next claim, the concentration of the responses is spread between ‘strongly disagree’ and ‘neutral’. In response to the question about the environmental impact of switching from red to white meat, 32% reported ‘neutral’ attitudes. It is also worth noting that 30% of the respondents said that they ‘don’t know’. These findings indicate that the soldiers lacked interest or knowledge about the issue, or that they did not understand the question. In both cases, it suggests a lack of insight into the connection between meat consumption and the environment.

In response to the question about whether or not the soldiers saw reducing meat consumption as an effective measure to combat climate change, the largest concentration of responses was on ‘disagree’, with 33%. In addition, 22% of the respondents said that they ‘don’t know’. The same trend is seen in the responses for the fourth claim, which were also concentrated between ‘strongly agree’ and ‘neutral’. Here, 35% of the respondents reported that they ‘disagree’ that a high level of meat consumption was unhealthy. These numbers indicate the soldiers’ lack of awareness of

the connection between food consumption and environmental issues. The focus group interviews will provide more detailed information on this theory.

When it comes to the understandings and knowledge of the current meat reduction initiative, the patterns were quite clear. In the survey, 76% of the respondents replied that they had not heard about the Armed Forces' initiative to reduce meat consumption. Furthermore, it seems like the soldiers were not used to eating vegetarian food. Figure 4 shows that 53% of the men and 31% of the women responded that they never chose vegetarian dishes in the mess hall for lunch or dinner. The number of respondents that replied that they rarely chose vegetarian food was also high.

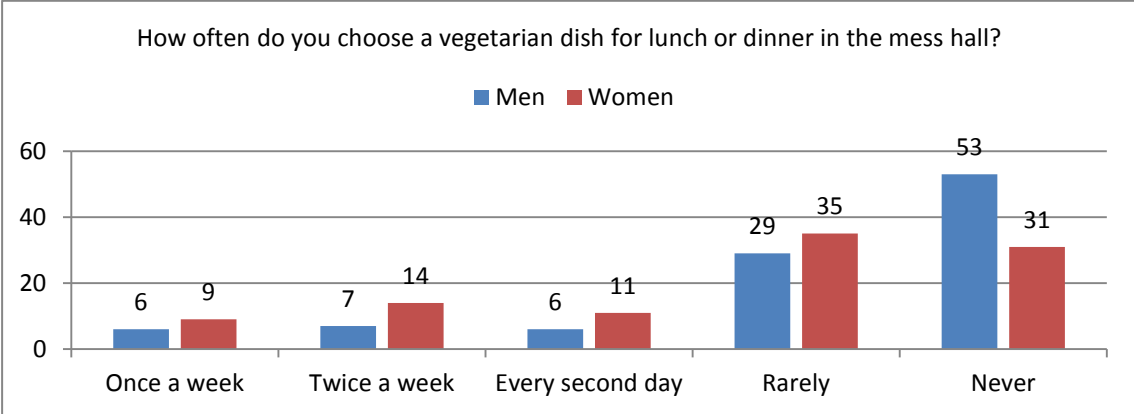


Figure 4 Frequency vegetarian consumption

5.3 Attitudes

Numerous questions in the survey addressed the respondents' attitudes and opinions towards eating meat and vegetarian food. In addition, several questions were directed at mapping the respondents' attitudes towards related topics such as environmental protection, animal welfare and health issues. Figure 5 presents a general overview of the soldiers' self-reported attitudes towards a range of questions relevant for this thesis.

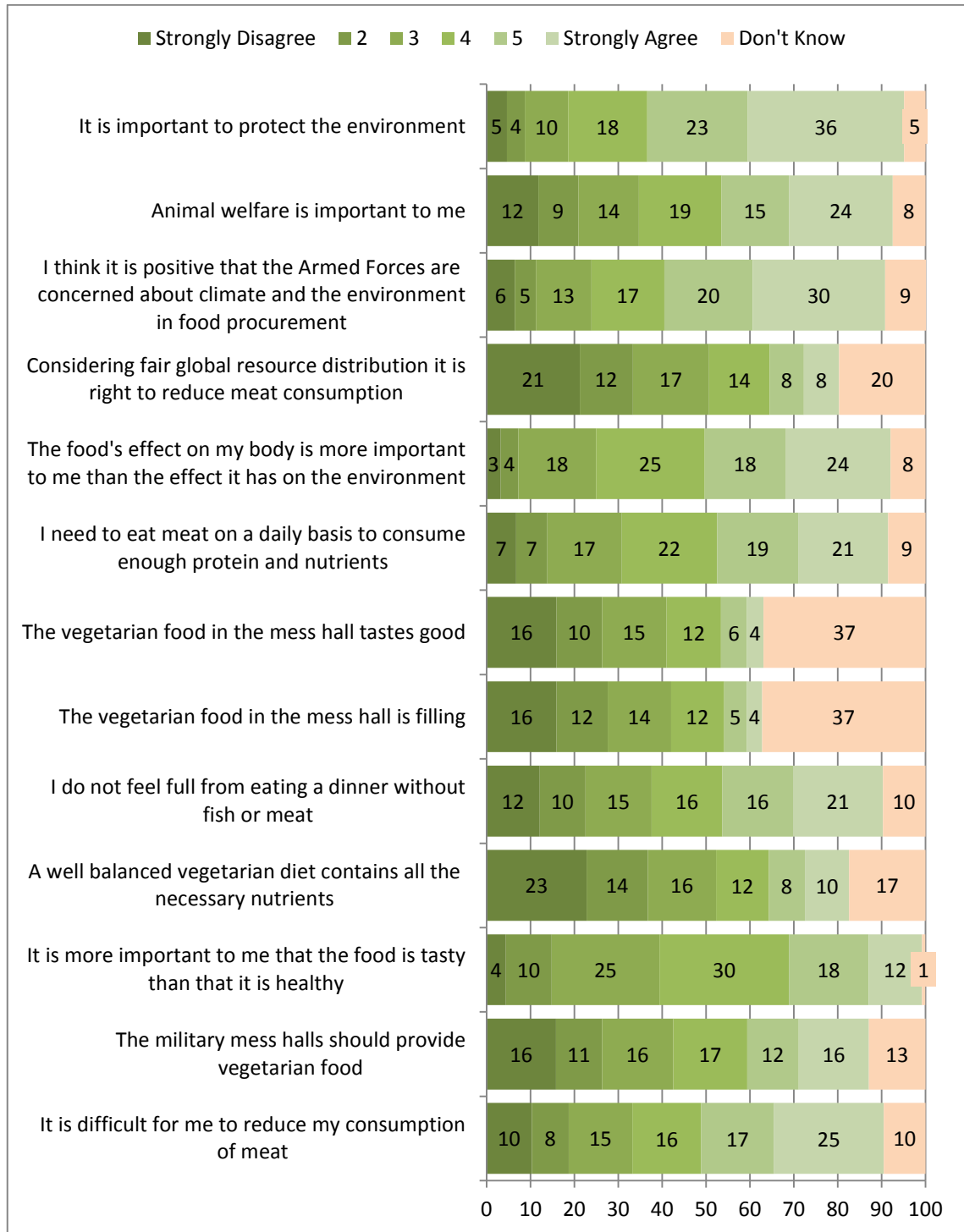


Figure 5 Overview attitudes

As the figure shows, the majority of the respondents – as much as 59%, reported that they saw environmental protection as important. In addition, 39% stated that animal welfare was important. These numbers indicate that many of the soldiers showed concern for nature and animals. Furthermore, 50% of the respondents ‘agree’ that it was positive that the Armed Forces were concerned about climate and the environment in

food procurement. However, compared to the way they responded to the rest of the questions, the findings reveal some inconsistencies. One third of the respondents reported that they did not agree that meat consumption should be reduced considering fair global resource distribution. In regards to this question it is worth noting that 20% of the respondents stated that they ‘don’t know’.

Almost half of the respondents ‘strongly agree’ or ‘agree’ that the food’s effect on their body was more important to them than its effect on the environment. Moreover, similar results are seen for the claim about the need for meat in order to ensure sufficient levels of protein and nutrients. These results indicate the soldiers’ strong emphasis and concern for personal health. The percentage of respondents that chose the ‘don’t know’ category was also quite low for these questions. Hence, it looks like the majority of the soldiers placed emphasis on ensuring a healthy and nutritious diet.

For the two questions regarding the vegetarian food in the mess hall, the responses were almost identical. Almost one fourth of the respondents ‘disagrees’ with the claim that the vegetarian food served in the mess hall tasted good and/or was filling. Considering the low number of respondents that stated that they had tasted vegetarian food (as demonstrated in Figure 4), it was not a surprise that 37% of the respondents replied that they ‘don’t know’ for both of these questions. The focus group conversations may explain why the respondents’ attitudes were concentrated on the negative side of the axis. About 10% of the respondents did however think that the vegetarian food was tasty and filling and a large number were ‘neutral’.

37% of the respondents reported that they did not feel full from eating a dinner without fish or meat. Similarly, 37% answered that they ‘strongly disagree’ or ‘disagree’ with the claim that a well-balanced vegetarian diet contained all the necessary nutrients. The high number of respondents that ‘disagree’ with this claim is quite interesting when we take a closer look at how the question was phrased. “A well-balanced vegetarian diet” should mean exactly what it purports to indicate. That is, a well-balanced diet. Assuming of course that “well-balanced” means meeting nutritional needs. In this sense, the question was leading. However, the respondents did not confirm to the leading question. The soldiers’ responses suggest that they had other associations with the word “vegetarian”. It also indicates a lack of insight and understanding about vegetarian food. This was also demonstrated by the 17% of the respondents who answered that they

‘don’t know’ if a well-balanced vegetarian diet contained all the necessary nutrients. However, the high amounts of ‘don’t know’ for this question also suggest that the question was complicated and might have been misunderstood. It requires a great deal of knowledge into a technical field to decide whether or not a diet is well-balanced. Nevertheless, these findings suggest that a large concentration of soldiers did not see vegetarian food as sufficiently nutritious.

For some of the questions, the results indicate ambivalence where no clear attitude dominates. Over 50% of the respondents gave a ‘neutral’ answer to the claim about the prioritization of taste over health concerns when eating. This indicates that both were important, and that for most soldiers, the importance of health issues did not surpass taste. However, it is worth noting that a third of the respondents agreed with this claim, which illustrates that the tendency to emphasise taste was more frequent than health concerns.

Furthermore, there was no distinct pattern in the soldiers’ attitudes towards whether or not the mess hall should provide vegetarian food. The responses were almost equally distributed across the scale. However, 42% of the respondents stated that they think it was difficult to reduce their meat consumption. This was also addressed during focus group interviews, and will be further discussed in Chapter 6. As the quantitative analysis demonstrates, there are certain questions that indicate inconsistency in the respondents’ attitudes towards meat consumption and environmental issues. This is seen in the emphasis on environmental protection and similarly resistance towards the idea of reducing meat consumption. The focus group interviews might however provide better explanations of these tendencies.

5.4 Gender

There has been considerable research in the area of food and gender, which have found differences in the way men and women think about and relate to food (Holm and Møhl 2000, Kubberød et al. 2002a, Roos and Wandel 2004, Bergheim and Stenberg 2014). Bergheim and Stenberg found that female soldiers preferred healthier food than their male companions (Bergheim and Stenberg 2014, 36). Therefore, one could assume that there is a difference in the way the male and female soldiers respond to a questionnaire

about their attitudes towards reducing meat consumption and eating vegetarian food. The findings from the statistical gender study are presented in this section, and will be further discussed in connection to the qualitative findings in Chapter 6. First, Figure 6 shows that 47% of the men stated that if their mess hall introduced a vegetarian day each week, they would reduce their visits to the mess that day. However, 55% of the women answered that a meat-free day per week would not affect their eating routines. This indicates a difference in men and women’s attitudes towards meat-free meals.

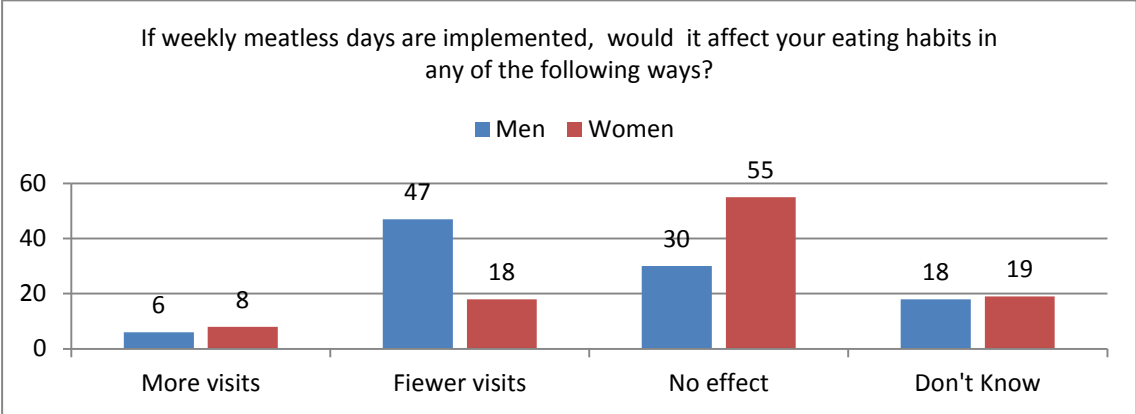


Figure 6 Popularity of a potential vegetarian day

Furthermore, Figure 7 and Figure 8 present a measure³¹ of the soldiers’ negative and positive attitudes towards the subject (questions correspond to Table 4), and illustrate the difference in attitudes among men and women.

The figures below show that the male soldiers were to a larger extent more negative towards reducing meat consumption and eating vegetarian food. The claims presented here cover a range of issues relevant to the topic of this thesis, and thus provide an overview of the difference in attitudes. For example, the female soldiers report more positive attitudes when it comes to protecting the environment and animal welfare. Although many male soldiers report that animal welfare is unimportant to them, protecting the environment seems to be important.

³¹ I have combined “1-2”, which I interpreted as *negative*, “3-4” as *neutral*, and “5-6” which represented *positive*. In order to illustrate the differences in attitudes, only the negative and positive answers are included in the figures.
 *Some of the questions had to be turned around, e.g. “It is difficult for me to reduce my consumption of meat” was changed to “It is *not* difficult...” as to illustrate positive and negative attitudes towards reducing meat consumption.

Table 4 Questions corresponding to Figure 7 and Figure 8

A	Reducing meat consumption is an effective climate measure
B	I think it is positive that the Armed Forces are concerned about climate and the environment in food procurement
C	Considering fair global resource distribution it is right to reduce meat consumption
D	Animal welfare is important to me
E	It is important to protect the environment
F	The food's effect on my body is <i>not</i> more important to me than the effect it has on the environment*
G	I <i>do not</i> need to eat meat on a daily basis to consume enough protein and nutrients*
H	A well balanced vegetarian diet contains all the necessary nutrients
I	The military mess halls should provide vegetarian food
J	I feel full from eating a dinner without fish or meat*
K	It is <i>not</i> difficult for me to reduce my consumption of meat*

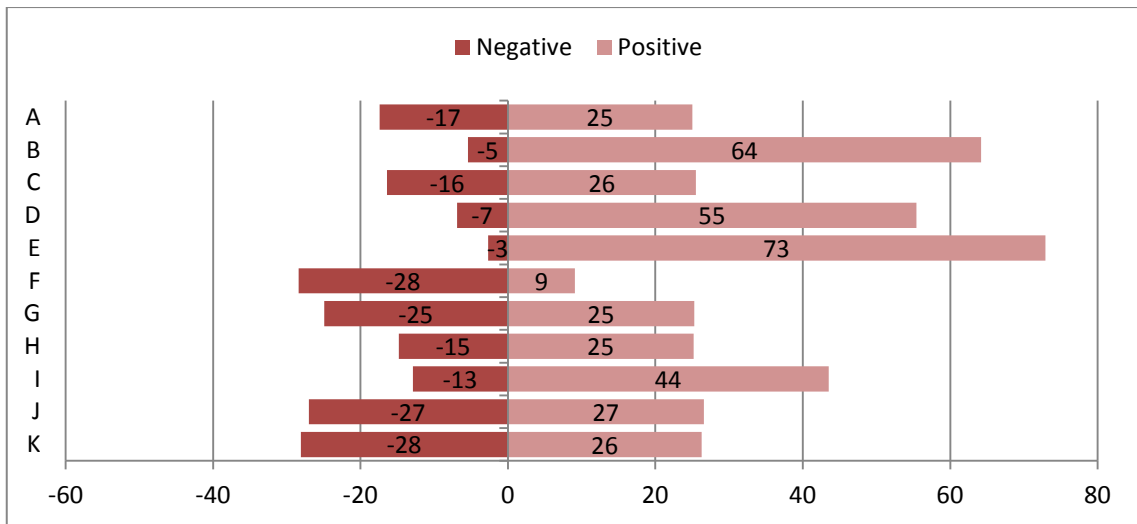


Figure 7 Women's attitudes

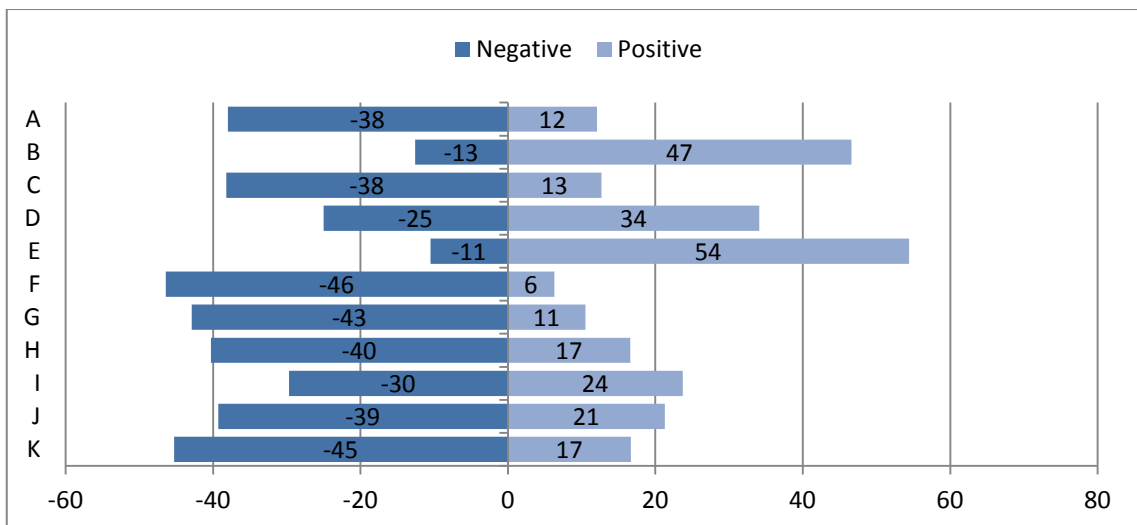


Figure 8 Men's attitudes

The most noteworthy difference between the two groups is seen in the statements that directly refer to meat consumption. 38% of the men, versus 16% of the women stated that they 'disagree' with the need to reduce meat consumption because of concerns to global distribution. Furthermore, more men than women stated that they need to eat meat on a daily basis to consume enough protein and nutrients. Also, men seemed to find it harder to reduce meat consumption, demonstrated by the 45% that reported that this would be difficult. The figure indicates that the women are more neutral towards these issues, compared to the men who seem to be more negative.

In order to state that there is a statistical difference between how men and women responded to claims about their attitudes towards reducing meat consumption, I ran an independent sample t-test. The t-test measures if there are significant differences between how the various groups responded on average, in this case men and women. The table found in Appendix B displays the difference in the mean for how men and women reported attitudes, and all claims are significant ($p = ,000$). Therefore, it can be concluded that there are significant differences in the way men and women answered.

5.5 Values

Attitudes towards reducing meat consumption or eating vegetarian food could be linked to peoples' values. As Campbell-Arvai et al. state: "The values held by an individual are thought to be an important motivating force in the decision to engage (or not to engage) in pro-environmental behaviours" (2014, 454). With this in mind, I wanted to study whether the respondents that stated that environmental protection was important were also more positive to reducing meat consumption, compared to those who did not find this important. Two groups were identified based on attitudes towards the importance of environmental protection. The hypothesis is that the participants who reported that they 'strongly agree' that environmental protection is important and by doing that displayed pro-environmental beliefs (group 1) reported different attitudes, compared to those that chose categories from the scale 'strongly disagree' to 'agree' (group 2).

In total, 38% ($n = 870$) of the respondents stated that they ‘strongly agree’ that it is important to protect the environment³². Giving the respondents a value for environmental concern based on this single question might not uncover the whole picture, however it might provide some interesting insights into how the respondents that self-reported pro-environmental values answered to questions regarding meat consumption.

The table in Appendix B displays the results from the crosstab analysis that compare the responses of these two groups. As expected, there is a noteworthy difference between how the groups answered the question about animal welfare. Among the group with pro-environmental values, 69% ‘agree’ that animal welfare is important to them. In the question about whether it is positive that the military has environmental concerns about food procurement, 74% of the respondents in group 1 ‘agreed’. Among the respondents in group 2, the positive responses on these two questions are respectively 24% and 40%. Hence, the group of respondents that reported pro-environmental values displayed more positive attitudes.

For the question, “The mess hall should provide vegetarian food”, there is a notable difference between the two groups. 45% of those that placed emphasis on protecting the environment ‘agree’ with this claim. In comparison, only 19% of group 2 stated that they ‘agree’. In response to the question about whether reducing meat consumption is an efficient climate measure, 29% of group 1 said that they ‘agree’, whilst only 8% in group 2 said the same.

According to the independent sample t-test, all these questions demonstrate a significant difference in the average attitudes between the two groups ($p < 0,05$). As Figure 9 illustrates, there seems to be a difference between the two groups and how they see reducing meat consumption and eating vegetarian food. However, both the crosstab and the independent t-test showed that there were a few questions where the differences in how the two groups responded were not that big. This applies to the more personal questions. When it comes to the claim about health effects of the food being more important than the environmental effects, the differences between the two groups are

³² This analysis compares the responses given from this group ($n = 870$), coded as “1”, with the rest of the respondents ($n = 1453$), coded as “2”.

not that big. The response to the question about the need for meat for nutrition every day does not demonstrate very big differences in the attitudes between the two groups either. Furthermore, there is not a big difference in the attitudes towards the difficulty of reducing meat consumption. These findings reflect an inconsistency corresponding with what was discussed earlier in this chapter. The results demonstrate that the degree of environmental values influence respondents' attitudes towards the subject. However, they also indicate that these values have less impact when it comes to shaping attitudes towards individual consumption practices. In the case of individual practices, *values* do not impact the soldiers' attitudes.

Table 5 Questions corresponding to Figure 9

A	Reducing meat consumption is an effective climate measure
B	I think it is positive that the Armed Forces are concerned about climate and the environment in food procurement
C	Considering fair global resource distribution it is right to reduce meat consumption
D	Animal welfare is important to me
E	The food's effect on my body is more important to me than the effect it has on the environment
F	I need to eat meat on a daily basis to consume enough protein and nutrients
G	A well balanced vegetarian diet contains all the necessary nutrients
H	The military mess halls should provide vegetarian food
I	I do not feel full from eating a dinner without fish or meat
J	It is difficult for me to reduce my consumption of meat

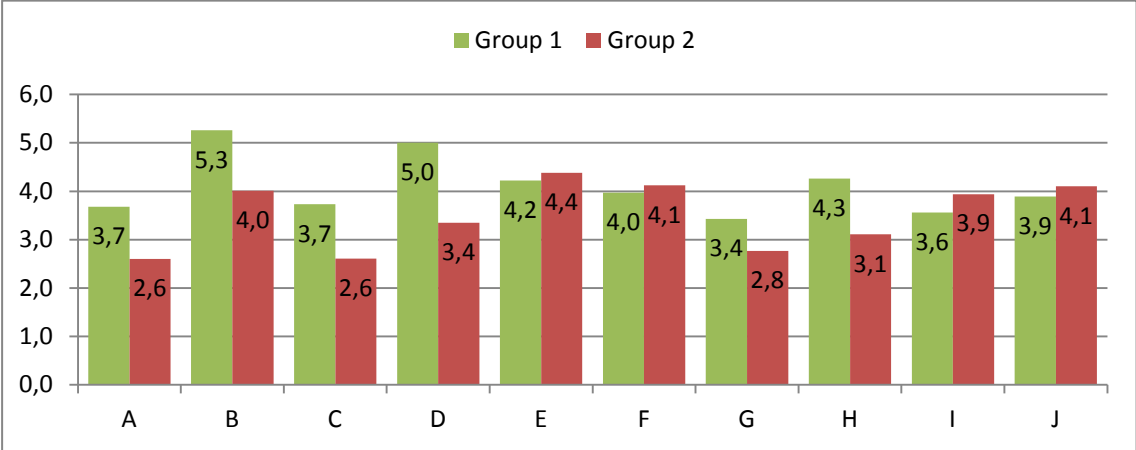


Figure 9 Comparing means – Values
Group 1 = pro-environmental values, Group 2 = the rest of the respondents.

The “value-action” gap is a familiar phenomenon in consumer research and refers to the gap between how people intend to behave, and their actual behaviour (Austgulen 2014). The findings from this survey demonstrate that environmental values conflict with perceptions about personal needs. Although many soldiers reported pro-environmental values, these did not shape their attitudes. Positive attitudes do not necessarily result in the desired behaviour intention (Vermeir and Verbeke 2006). This value-action gap will be further discussed in the following chapter. As Stoknes notes, more often, behaviour and practice rather change attitudes (Stoknes 2015). Consequently, looking at whether exposure to vegetarian food affects soldiers’ attitudes may give important insights, and further research on this should be encouraged.

5.6 Summarising remarks

The findings presented in this chapter suggest an inconsistency in the respondent’s attitudes. As displayed in Figure 5, most respondents agreed that it is positive that the military includes environmental concerns in their food procurement. However, large numbers of respondents put an emphasis on the need for meat to meet nutritional needs and ensure a feeling of fullness. As a consequence, it seems like they do not think, or understand, the interconnectedness of environmental issues and food production and consumption. The focus groups may provide a deeper insight into this theory.

6 Understanding Soldiers' Underlying Attitudes

This chapter will not only present the findings from qualitative focus group interviews with soldiers, but also integrate discussion and analysis throughout in order to provide an understanding of the soldiers' underlying attitudes. As I have shown in the preceding chapter, the survey respondents reported attitudes that indicated their reluctance to reduce meat consumption. The findings from the quantitative research indicate an inconsistency in the soldiers' attitudes. The majority of the respondents saw environmental protection and animal welfare as important issues, and were supportive of the military's environmental considerations in food procurement. However, they reported negative attitudes towards reducing meat consumption and eating vegetarian food. Is the same inconsistency found in the qualitative research? What are the soldiers' underlying attitudes and how can they be explained?

In order to shed a light on these issues, the first section of this chapter will look at the food practices and consumption in the military. By examining how the soldiers think about food and in particular, meat consumption, this section seeks to gain a deeper understanding of the meaning the soldiers give to meat and meat eating. The insights may provide a base for uncovering and understanding their attitudes towards the meat reduction initiative. This will, in turn, be further analysed in the subsequent sections, where meat is analysed through its association with protein, a masculine food, comfort and righteousness.

6.1 Eating habits and the social context

As I pointed out in section 2.1, this thesis – and the MFM initiative – is not challenging meat consumption per se. Rather, the question of interest is why we eat so much. As I assume that parts of the answer lies in our culture and socially constructed norms, this section will examine the context in which the soldiers eat. Whereas the quantitative data deriving from the survey uncovered the soldiers' self-reported attitudes, it did not provide any explanations for why the soldiers report their attitudes as they do. The interviews I conducted in the two military camps may provide greater understanding of

the objectives or origins of these attitudes. The MFM initiative was introduced in the particular institution – the Armed Forces – where everyday activities are quite restricted and different from the life outside. Therefore, to begin, I describe the practice of eating in the military mess hall.

Eating in the mess hall

The way the soldiers talked about food and eating must be understood through the context that they found themselves in. The soldiers I interviewed were living in camps that either provided free meals or had a system of pre-registering and paying for the food³³. Moreover, the extent to which they made consumption decisions was limited to whether they chose to eat in the mess hall, and if so, what they decided to put on their plate. The majority of the soldiers that I interviewed ate most of their meals in the mess hall as it was practical, time-saving, and either free or relatively cheap. Eating in the military mess hall means eating at specific times every day, and many of the soldiers described it as a routine that fitted well into their tight schedules. In addition, it implied a restricted element of choice, as the menu and the food are prepared and readymade. One soldier commented on how this had affected the way she related to food:

Before joining the military, I was more concerned about what I ate: I focused on eating enough proteins for every meal, to get an overview of the carbohydrates and protein... But this year, I've just eaten what was served, because I don't want to spend a lot of money on food. So I might have a more relaxed attitude towards it now, but at the same time I look forward to be able to make my own food and choose what to eat (I:2,1, 108).

Mirroring the statement above, many of the soldiers said that they have become less conscious about what types of foods they eat because their choice options were more limited in the military. This was especially seen in Camp 2 where the soldiers were conscripts. When the soldiers talked about the meaning of food in their daily routines, they often referred to it as a way of ensuring a fully equipped and prepared body. In this sense, eating was presented as a way to fuel up. One soldier stated that “I always eat until I get really full, almost until I feel sick, that is in a way the goal with a meal”

³³ In Camp 1 the soldiers are students at an Officer School. The informants were between the ages of 20 to 27. They have to pay 100 NOK per day (4 meals) to eat in the mess hall, and have to pre-register their visit in a recently introduced payment system. In Camp 2 the soldiers are conscripts enrolled in mandatory military service. The informants were between the ages of 18 to 22. Free meals are provided in this camp.

(I:1,4, 51). This quote reflects how food and eating has come to symbolise fuel in the soldiers' lives. The soldiers eating habits are shaped by the need to efficiently fuel up. The relationship they have with food seems to be governed by the limited time and a need to be prepared for the next task.

In general, the soldiers are used to Norwegian cuisine, with meat or fish as the main component of the dinner. In Norway, "traditional" food typically refers to meat or fish like meatballs or cod served with potatoes, sauce, and vegetables such as peas, kale or carrots. Over the last decades, Norwegian food culture has been influenced by globalisation, introducing Norwegians to pizza, spaghetti bolognese and more recently, tacos, curry and sushi. Today, typical family weekend meals are pizza or tacos. Naturally, these changes have also influenced the military kitchen menu. As I was told by the cooks, they have to "keep up with the times" and serve the food that the new generations of soldiers prefer. Consequently, one chef noted, offal and black pudding is no longer on the menu. Nevertheless, the chefs and decision makers underlined that the military mess should play a role in passing on the traditional dishes. This demonstrates the military's focus on sustaining and communicating cultural norms in the military mess halls.

The statement above describes how eating in the military kitchen has limited the soldier's awareness of what food she eats as it has become a routine. When eating practices are incorporated in a set of daily routines, the habit-forming aspects are enforced. Hence, the attitudes towards the MFM initiative may partly be explained by scepticism towards change and novelty. As eating the regular dishes in the mess hall has become a habit, new initiatives may be questioned simply because of the unfamiliarity connected to them. Since the military has a focus on sustaining food traditions, the conflicting notions of novelty and tradition in food is worth noting. Moreover, the soldiers' lack of experience with vegetarian food will be discussed later in this chapter.

These insights suggest that eating in the military has a strong habitual element. Later in this chapter I discuss why this element is so strong and how it shapes attitudes. It is important to note that soldiers are users of a catering service. Therefore, they do not need to shop for food, nor prepare it. This may insinuate an alienated relation to food. A deeper insight into what and how the soldiers relate to meat and sustainable food consumption will contribute to mapping the factors that create and form their attitudes.

In the next section, the soldier's knowledge of sustainable food consumption and production will be outlined. This is the foundation of an analysis that tries to understand the attitudes towards reducing meat consumption. What do they know to be, or view as, sustainable food? Also, what do they do with this information?

6.2 Food consumption and the environment

Before inquiring about the soldiers' opinions towards the initiative, I wanted to gain a deeper insight into how they related to food and meat. What the soldiers understand as sustainable diets and consumption of meat, are insights I believe can be connected to their attitudes and opinions towards the meat reduction initiative.

In section 5.2, Figure 3 presented the respondents' insights and knowledge of the connection between food consumption and the environment. The results indicated that many soldiers were not aware that reducing meat consumption is an efficient climate measure. Likewise, in focus group interviews most of the soldiers were not able to describe the connection between food consumption and the environment. While some of the soldiers showed great understanding of food production systems, especially the ones that grew up in rural areas, a large number of soldiers had not reflected upon where their food came from. During the focus group conversations, I found that the soldiers did not connect food choices to environmental considerations. The same tendency has been found in similar studies, for example in a study of food choices among US students (Campbell-Arvai et al. 2014). In addition, sustainable food was not something many of the soldiers were able to define, nor exemplify.

Rather, the soldiers associated food with nutrition and fuel. If individuals do not associate meat consumption with environmental issues, it is unlikely that pro-environmental values will be drawn on in food consumption decisions. Even with this information at hand, food decisions may be dominated by situational factors (e.g. hunger and time pressure). Therefore, more abstract factors such as environmental concern may have a weaker influence. As a consequence, short-term benefits such as "taste or to satisfy a habit" may have a stronger influence on these decisions. The choices that we face that have "long-term benefits for our own health or the health of our environment may not always have obvious immediate appeal or desirability"

(Campbell-Arvai et al. 2014, 457). The alienated relationship to food preparation might further challenge the likelihood that soldiers take environmental concerns into consideration when it comes to eating.

As I asked about what they considered to be sustainable foods or a sustainable consumption of food, there was often only a single soldier in each focus group that had something to comment on this. Some linked it to the concept of sustainable development, and thus managed to make a definition, while others associated sustainable foods with foods that give you a long lasting feeling of energy and satiation. It was also defined as locally produced food and organic food. Furthermore, the connection between food and sustainability was by some linked to biodiversity and the risk of species threatened with extinction. The variation of the soldiers' responses illustrates the complexity of this field. The soldiers' mixed understandings of what constitutes sustainable consumption might be influenced by the confusion fostered by the conflicting interests in the public debate, as discussed in section 2.2. This also explains why none of the soldiers mentioned reduction or meat consumption in relation to sustainable food consumption.

When I asked the soldiers what they saw as conscious food consumption and food awareness³⁴, they always referred to issues related to health and nutrition. In the literature and public debate *conscious consumption* refers to the practice of considering social, ethical, moral and political issues in consumption choices. The topic of consumer power is increasingly central in relation to food consumption as we see consumers demanding food safety and food security, in addition to fair conditions for workers and sustainable production (Stolle et al. 2005). However, the soldier's understanding of conscious consumption differed from this understanding. To the soldiers, being a responsible and reflexive consumer meant eating and buying healthy and nutritious foods. Only a few soldiers mentioned ethical or sustainable consumption as a way to act as a responsible consumer.

I also wanted to discuss other ways of stating and defining conscious consumption. This was rarely brought up for discussion by the soldiers themselves, so I had to ask concrete

³⁴ In Norwegian, ethical, moral and political consumption are combined in the concept of conscious consumption, *bevisst forbruk*, which directly translates to "aware consumption".

questions about whether one could be an “aware consumer” in other ways than in relation to personal health and wellbeing. This often led to a silent minute, before usually one of the soldiers in the focus group broke the ice and stated that there are probably other ways in which you can act as a conscious consumer, but that s/he had not really thought about it. Like this soldier stated:

No, I don't think about it at all. Personally, I don't care if the food I eat pollutes or not, as I just said, I eat the food that provides nutrition, tastes good and is varied, and I have never at any point thought about that as an issue for what I can't or shouldn't eat (I:1,1, 12).

This quote indicates the soldier's lack of knowledge and insight (or interest) into food issues that exceed information on nutrition. However, throughout the conversation, most of the soldiers revealed a sense of concern towards the food they eat. The way attitudes were moderated throughout interviews will be discussed later. Nonetheless, as the quote above demonstrates – the social, ethical and moral issues related to food consumption were not considerations soldiers connected to food consumption.

Similar to what the survey data illustrated, only a few of the soldiers in the focus group interviews had tasted vegetarian food, or were used to eating vegetarian dishes at home. Vegetarian food and vegetarians were often referred to as something or someone “different”. Most of the soldiers said that they respected people that for some reason choose not to eat meat; however some of them also referred to this as a “socially challenging diet”³⁵. One soldier stated that:

I think that in general, when you hear that the food is vegetarian, (...) or what I associate with vegetarians, which may be because many don't have a relation to it, but I associate it with, it is a bit bad, but these environmentalists saving the planet, these hippies, but I don't know any vegetarians myself, but if you're at a dinner party and someone is, I think, 'weirdo' (I:1,4, 56).

This typical view of the vegetarian as a hippie and weirdo was reflected by many of the soldiers. Vegetarianism was often referred to as animal protection movements, anti-fur demonstrations and the practice of moralising about the killing of animals. Most soldiers stated that they associate vegetarian food with being different, boring, tasteless and not nourishing. However, a few informants also demonstrated a more moderate

³⁵ This was defined as being a difficult guest at dinner parties and was compared to people that have strict low-carb or gluten-free diets.

image of vegetarian food, like this soldier: “There is no doubt that people, and the ‘man in the street’ know that vegetarian food probably is beneficial, but it doesn’t taste any good and you don’t get the same nutrients” (I:1,1, 13). Another soldier stated that:

I don’t think I am a huge fan of a dish when the word ‘vegetarian’ is noted. I feel like it’s not a real dish, it’s just a diffused dish. There are many things that are vegetarian that are very tasty and good that you don’t think about as vegetarian. I don’t think it is necessary to mark it... (I: 2,3, 120).

The quotes demonstrate the soldiers negative associations with vegetarian food. The scepticism towards MFM is not so surprising when we consider that the soldiers are not familiar with meat-free meals. According to some of their concerns, a meat-free meal might be a plate with potatoes, peas and sauce – with an empty space where the meat is missing. For many soldiers, eating meat-free food implies eating the side orders without the main dish (I: 1,4, 58). If we take into consideration the soldiers’ very limited experience with vegetarian food, these quotes demonstrate their prejudices. The knowledge and insight into the subject seemed to shape their attitudes, and as they did not really know what MFMs would imply, their first reaction was to reject the initiative.

Mirroring the findings from the survey, a big majority of the soldiers were not familiar with the military’s MFM campaign, however, a few had read about it from the newspaper. Although, in Camp 1 the situation was different as they had tried three vegetarian Thursdays in relation to my study. Except from the information they had about my project, and FIVHs posters they had noticed on the walls in the mess hall³⁶, they had not heard about the current MFM campaign. As I had to explain early during the focus group interviews that the military aimed to reduce their meat consumption, many soldiers were confused, and referred to the importance of meat in the diet.

This instant reaction is comprehensible considering how the soldiers defined their food consumption. As expected, the soldiers confirmed that they eat a lot of meat. Most of the soldiers stated that they wanted to eat meat every day, preferably for every meal. While they often chose to eat from the vegetable salad bar for lunch, most of the soldiers said that they add meat to the plate but from the cold cuts. Some also preferred fish such as salmon or tuna for lunch; however a majority wished to add meat to the

³⁶ See Appendix G

salad. One soldier stated that he prefers “a lot of meat” for dinner, but for other meals he might mix with other foodstuffs. Several soldiers, especially in Camp 1, said that a proper dinner contains 400-500g of meat. These responses reflect the soldiers’ discourse of the important role of meat, and also explain their instant negative association with MFM.

The ambiguity of meat consumption

As mentioned, Fiddes raises the question about why we eat so *much* meat, while not really questioning *why* we eat it at all. This approach seems fitting in this case as well, since none of the soldiers stated that they had any concerns with eating animals. However, when the discussions touched upon the fact that they were eating animals, the soldiers demonstrated a modification of this statement. Apparently, they did not want to think about what they eat. Killing animals, and eating meat per se, was thus not the issue at stake in interviews. The soldiers concerns in this regards, if any, were related to animal welfare. As long as the animals were treated well and had not been suffering, there was no question about eating animals.

This thesis does not question humans’ right to kill animals for food. Rather it seeks to understand why the soldiers show reluctance towards reducing their own meat consumption. As noted earlier, the alienated relation to food might enforce the appetite for meat. However, while Fiddes and Adams argued that greater insight into how meat is produced today would make us all vegetarians, Parry identifies an opposite tendency. Although acknowledging the declining reputation of meat as several food crises³⁷ unfolded during the 1980s and 90s, Parry identifies a meat nostalgia which reinforces meat as an important foodstuff (Parry 2009). While Fiddes and Adams argued that the revelation of meat as a risky food would upset consumers and lead to increasing meat avoidance, we have – since these scandals – seen a rise in consumption levels. Hence, Parry argues that the reaction to industrial food crisis rather is an effort to reconnect to the natural world, by eating grass-fed and more “authentically” produced meat. Furthermore, from this point of view, “vegetarianism becomes nothing more than a sentimental urban malaise” (Parry 2009, 251) and is represented as being “as irrational and as unsustainable as non-eating” (Borrell in Parry 2009, 253).

³⁷ For example the Bovine Spongiform Encephalopathy (BSE).

It is worth noting that although the recent food crisis such as the BSE, E-coli and the “horse meat” crisis did get much attention in Norway, the impact was small compared to other European countries. While this has led to distrust of producers and government regulations in other European countries, the level of trust in the food sector is still strong in Norway. Kjærnes et al. demonstrate that concern for meat consumption in Norway seems to change in line with such crisis, but usually has not had a permanent effect (Kjærnes et al. 2010). Hence, when I inquired about whether the soldiers saw any potential concerns with meat consumption, food safety or food poisoning was never mentioned. However, the soldiers did express an appetite and awareness of consuming *Norwegian* meat, which was considered safe as it must follow governmental regulations.

In several focus groups, industrial meat production was brought up and contrasted with hunting and eating wild animals. Most soldiers stated that they preferred, and were more confident with eating wild animals. This type of meat was associated with better taste and “naturalness” than factory farmed meat. Moreover, the soldiers pointed to the advantage of knowing that the animal had lived a long and happy life in the wild. Consequently, meat from wild animals was considered superior to meat from the supermarket. This was also reflected in a study among Norwegian consumers. Here meat consumption was justified when the animal had enjoyed “freedom” before it was slaughtered (Guzmán and Kjærnes 1998).

In many situations, the soldiers demonstrated a disconnection to the food they eat. However, during the focus group discussions, the approach changed. When discussing and actually reflecting on meat consumption, more mixed associations aroused. These discussions were often reflecting the binary oppositions connected to meat, such as healthy and unhealthy, good and bad, alive and dead. The soldiers’ interaction over the subject seemed to evoke more conscious thoughts around what they ate and where the food came from. Hence, the dissociated relationship to the food was challenged as the soldiers suddenly reflected upon the meaning of food and meat. This corresponds with the descriptions given by, among others, Fiddes and Adams, about the dissociated relation to the animal, as discussed earlier.

However, most of the soldiers did not reflect the feelings of disgust that one would assume according to previous studies of associations with meat (Guzmán and Kjærnes

1998, Adams 1990, Fiddes 1991). Rather than contesting the consumption of animals, the soldiers' reflections about meat eating are better understood through Parry's arguments. His argument of the new nostalgia for meat implies that the ambiguity of meat consumption lies in the twofold symbolism of "consuming nature" while at the same time reconnecting with the natural world. As will be discussed in detail later in this chapter, eating meat might be understood through the meaning the masculine ideal upholds: as a means to manifest human supremacy over nature – and as a consequence maintain the distinction between humans and animals. Nevertheless, this distinction is, at the same time, being blurred as "you are what you eat", and by eating muscles and blood, these powers are transmitted to humans. In this new notion of meat, eating animals is seen a "potent marker of prestige" (Parry 2009, 245). This nostalgia for meat is demonstrated by the soldiers' definition of wild meat as the "real" meat, as noted above. The "naturalness" of eating meat, and especially from wild animals, gives meaning to meat eating.

Consequently, the issue of interest in this thesis is not whether or not we should eat meat. Rather, this thesis identifies the challenges that arouse with an initiative that aim to reduce the consumption of meat. So why do we see this reluctance to reducing meat consumption? Where does the strong *need* for meat derive from – and why do the soldiers need so much meat? During my research, after having conducted quite a few interviews, I started noticing some similarities in the way the soldiers talked about meat. The next sections of this chapter identify categories of how meat was defined that provide answer to the abovementioned questions. Understanding the meaning soldiers give to meat will be the foundation needed to answer what their underlying attitudes towards reducing meat consumption are, and how they can be explained.

6.3 Meat as Protein

For most of the soldiers, the relationship to food was dominated by a health-oriented approach. While most of the soldiers did not reflect upon the environmental or social consequences of their food choices – ethical consumption – they were to a great degree conscious of nutritional factors. Within this frame, protein was given a central position. When discussing the soldiers' current eating habits, they identified their clear priorities: food was defined as nutrition, fuel, building blocks and a physiological necessity. This

emphasis on covering nutritional needs may be understood as a way to prepare for unforeseen and physically challenging tasks, which is a part of being in the military.

This was reflected by one soldier:

We try to build a robust military, and with the work load and all the exercise that we have, we always try to be at our physical best. How can I get rid of the fat and build as much muscles as possible? So the focus that I have now is: how can I eat the least to ensure the most energy possible so that I will not build these fat deposits (I:1,1, 4).

This soldier's response reflects the view of food as building blocks. Likewise, eating was reduced to an act necessary to boost energy. This demonstrates that the military context influenced the meaning of the meal as a means to ensure physical strength. In light of this, the foods' nutritional value became important. A large majority stated that they were aware of the nutritional value and health benefits of the food they choose. The nutritional value of the food was often referred to as the most important concern when choosing what to put on the plate. As discussed in the preceding section, conscious consumption meant to eat healthy and be aware of nutritional needs.

One focus group in Camp 2 concluded that this endless concern for nutrition and protein could be explained by the huge focus on the body and appearance among younger generations today. As they stated themselves, "we are the fitness generation" referring to the extensive requirements from body image ideals of being slim, fit, muscular and beautiful. As a consequence, they argued that they have a dominant focus on diet and nutrition. The body image pressure and physical demands of their generation might be one of the explanations to why so much focus was put on the nutritional value of the food they consume.

Within this relationship to food, special attention was given to ensuring a sufficient intake of protein. When asked about what represents a well-balanced diet, the soldiers highlighted the need for a good source of protein. Very often this was the first thing being mentioned: "To me, ensuring enough protein is maybe my biggest concern when eating" (I:1,1, 4). Also another soldier felt similar:

After I joined the military, and started doing more sports and exercise, I started to think more about what was in the food, (...) when I go to the military kitchen, I try to divide it: so I am not having too many potatoes, not that many

carbohydrates, I need more protein, protein is a priority, and then I try to balance it (I:1,4, 50).

This quote illustrates that great importance was given to protein. Considering the high amount of protein found in meat, its role becomes elevated in the hierarchy of food prioritisation for the soldiers, thus reinforcing the importance of meat. Hence, the importance of protein was used to justify the need for meat. Fiddes refers to this tendency as “The Protein Myth” in which meat is reduced to protein (Fiddes 1991, 178). According to the soldiers’ point of view, in order to stay healthy, deal with busy schedules and build muscles, meat had to be on the plate – and in rather substantial amounts. To them, meat was the supreme source of protein. Indeed, most of the soldiers emphasised that animal protein was the most *efficient* on this matter. As soldiers seek to efficiently boost energy and build muscles, consuming meat becomes an essential means. Correspondingly, one soldier emphasised that the food should be efficient and productive: “You build more muscles on protein than on carbohydrates” (I:1,2, 20). This illustrates how the need for meat for protein influenced the soldiers’ attitudes towards reducing meat consumption.

The way meat was associated with proteins, and proteins were associated with nutrition and building muscles creates a discourse for the soldier’s need for meat. The soldiers are expected to be strong and healthy, and within this discourse consequently need to consume meat. In this view, meat was a crucial provider of protein and energy and was seen as indispensable to a soldier’s diet. This was also demonstrated by how the soldiers stated that they needed meat to manage physically challenging work. As they do have busy schedules, including heavy field exercises and different forms of training, their need for efficient energetic food should not be neglected. However, as we have seen, the MFM initiative was also trying to address the health concerns of a high intake of meat.

When confronted with questions about the health concerns of meat consumption, such as obesity, diabetes and cancer, the soldiers seemed unaffected. In their opinion, they were in supreme physical shape, lived active lives and were thus not in risk of these illnesses. Furthermore, when I mentioned the recommendation from health authorities on limiting the consumption of red meat to 500g a week, many soldiers were surprised. Most of the soldiers were familiar with the health concerns, and advice to limit the consumption of red meat, however they were surprised with how little was

recommended. Nevertheless, most focus groups ended up concluding that this advice was directed at the whole population, and that soldiers – because of their excellent physical shape and training – were not really targeted by this recommendation. Despite the soldiers’ emphasis on a healthy diet, the MFM initiative’s health argument did not touch them. This was due to the dominating “protein myth” which influenced their negative attitudes towards reducing meat consumption.

As mentioned, some of the soldiers understood sustainable food as that which gives you a long-lasting feeling of energy and perseverance. This interpretation represents another way of emphasising the utility and nutrient provision characteristics of food. In this sense, food should sustain the soldiers’ bodies. Given the heavy texture of meat, it represents a significant means to ensure the long-lasting feeling of satiation. This reflects why meat was seen as such an essential component of the meal.

The soldiers’ attitudes towards vegetarian food reflected the meanings that they gave to meat within the nutrition cluster. The soldiers in Camp 1 that had tried the vegetarian dishes mainly raised concern about the nutritional content of these meals. In the next section, the soldiers’ experiences with vegetarian meals in Camp 1 are outlined.

Experiences with vegetarian food

This study has an element of experimental design in the qualitative interviews as one of the camps that I visited arranged one vegetarian day per week for three weeks before my visit to the camp. In that sense, the two camps can be compared in relation to how the exposure to vegetarian food affected the soldiers’ attitudes. Although this study is not a comparative analysis and does not provide an in-depth comparison of these two camps, there are some interesting differences that should be mentioned.

As discussed in Chapter 4, the cooks from Camp 1 that had implemented three meat-free days were generally positive about the idea of continuing the project. However, the soldiers that were presented with the vegetarian dishes seemed more sceptical to the MFM initiative than the soldiers from Camp 2. First of all, the soldiers in Camp 1 were unhappy with the quality of the dishes that were served. Many thought the food was tasteless and boring. However, their biggest concern was related to the nutritional value of the meat-free alternatives. The soldiers worried that they would not cover their

nutritional needs with a vegetarian meal. One soldier stated that: “When you eat vegetarian food, you will not get sufficient amounts of protein” (I:1,3, 44). The negative attitudes may hence be understood by the fact that the foodstuff they consider the most nutritious and rich in proteins was removed from the dish.

The soldiers in Camp 1 told me that they have had some training in what their diet should consist of and stated that the meat-free meals that had been served did not contain sufficient amounts of protein. The soldiers’ experience with the dishes was shaped by the concern for missing out on important nutrients. This concern for “missing” an important source of protein was however contested by the nutritionists in the military. One of the nutritionists in the Catering Management section stated that the soldiers have a higher need for protein than someone who is not physically active, however the nutritionist also stated that they already consume way more than they actually need (I:T, 180). “When you look at what they eat, it takes a lot before they lack protein. If you eat a few sandwiches with cheese and drink a glass of milk after a workout it’s actually enough. So it’s all in their head that they think they need more than they actually do” (I:T, 180).

For the soldiers in Camp 1, eating a meal without the most important source of protein raised concern and even anger. The frustration that they expressed was also connected to how the initiative was communicated at the camp. The posters by FIVH that was put up in the mess hall in order to communicate the rationale for implementing a meat-free day did not really appeal to the soldiers. These quotes express the soldiers’ feelings about the pilot project:

It may be stigmatising to say that vegetarian food is tasteless after only having tried it three times. I believe it can be very tasty if properly made. So for me it’s too early to state that I don’t like vegetarian food, but as my colleague just said, when you meet a vegetarian they preach to you about how good it is. The same thing goes for those posters in the mess hall, ‘being a vegetarian is *so good* because GHG emissions are reduced’ (I:1,3, 44, emphasis added).

I think the posters are misleading as they state that a cow produces certain amounts of CO₂ compared to a carrot that emits this much CO₂, but how much nutrients, or building blocks, does the carrot contain compared to a pig or a cow? (I:1,1, 4).

Give me a vegetarian dish, compare it with a meal with meat and display the nutritional content, instead of putting up FIVH posters about emissions because

that doesn't give me any information about how much nutrients I consume. Or that the cows fart GHGs, it doesn't give me anything (I: 1,1, 7).

These statements demonstrate the soldiers' priorities. They clearly illustrate the emphasis on the nutritional value of the food. As a consequence, the posters that focused on the environmental impact of meat production did not appeal to the soldiers. The environmental impact of the soldiers' food consumption was not a concern that shaped their everyday practices. Therefore, the message of the posters was experienced as propaganda rather than useful information and motivation. These insights may explain the soldiers' negative attitudes towards the pilot test. As the quotes reflect, information about methane production by the emission of gases by cattle was not considered as a serious argument. Several soldiers stated that they felt the posters underestimated them by expressing the messages in a childish way. The discontent that arose from what they saw as moralising and childish propaganda influenced their attitudes towards the initiative in a negative way.

In the same way that the soldiers were concerned that the vegetarian food would not provide sufficient amounts of nutrients, they argued that it did not provide a filling feeling. One soldier continued this argument, and referred to his experience of eating a vegetarian dinner the previous day: "I played soccer after dinner yesterday, and I was very hungry after having eaten the vegetarian dish" (I:1,3, 44). The concern about not feeling full was strong for many of the soldiers in Camp 1. The soldiers in Camp 2 did not have much experience with eating vegetarian food, and their concerns differed somewhat. In Camp 2 they were more worried about the quality of the vegetarian dishes, such as taste and texture. However, soldiers in this camp also argued that when eating meat they got a long lasting feeling of being full and satiated. They worried that vegetarian food would not give them the same feeling of being full, in addition to the mentioned concerns about missing important proteins and vitamins.

I found that the soldiers in Camp 1 were more negative, or actively contesting the initiative than the soldiers in Camp 2. This may be due to the fact that they felt that this pilot project came very suddenly and they were not familiar with the arguments that were used. Not knowing of the initiative nor the issues it raised, the soldiers did not understand what the benefits of the initiative could be. This uncertainty influenced their attitudes. It is also worth noting that if the soldiers did not like the food that was served,

it could affect their attitudes more negatively. The cooks themselves pointed out several things that could have been improved with the dishes. The difference in attitudes between the two camps may be due to these experiences. The mixed responses may also be explained by the different contexts of the two camps. Camp 1 is an officer school while Camp 2 hosts conscripts. The fact that the officer school's physical requirements are higher can explain why the soldiers enrolled here were more concerned about missing nutrients and protein.

As we have seen, the health and nutritional aspects of food was given central attention by the soldiers. Meat was presented as the starring role of the meal, and an indispensable component of the dinner. As the soldiers stressed the need to ensure a healthy diet, accessing the right form of fuel seemed to be essential to their wellbeing. Due to its nutritional benefits, meat was given a central position in their dietary preferences. However, the importance of meat seemed to surpass the nutritional value. In the following section I will analyse the way meat was connected to power and identity.

6.4 Meat as Masculine Food

As illustrated by the figures in section 5.4, there was a difference in the way the male and female soldiers responded to the attitude questions. The men reported more negative attitudes towards reducing meat consumption and eating meat-free food compared to the women. These differences can be understood through a gender-lens, based on the range of research that classifies meat as a man's food. The search for heavy and filling food seemed more significant for the male respondents. The concentration of the men's responses was spread between the negative categories, and most often with the largest number at 'strongly disagree'. The females demonstrated more neutral or positive attitudes in response to the questions in the survey. This finding indicates that there is a connection between attitudes and gender.

The differences found in the qualitative analysis correspond with findings from research on food and gender. Historically, meat has symbolised strength, power, and virility. As Fiddes notes, "The macho steak is perhaps the most visible manifestation of an idea that permeates the entire western food system: that meat (and especially red meat) is a

quintessentially masculine food” (Fiddes 1991, 146). Fiddes and Adams are among the scholars that have discussed the way in which meat is seen as a gendered foodstuff. Fiddes argues that the role of meat in modern western societies concerns our relationship with nature. According to Fiddes, we perceive meat as environmental control, that is, the practice of eating meat is seen as a statement of human power, and man’s “muscle” over the natural world (Fiddes 1991, 65). According to this view, meat has a role in the construction of masculinity itself in patriarchal societies in the modern west (Fiddes 1991, 151). This is linked to the traditional view of masculine power and the man as the hunter. The feminist writer and activist Carol J. Adams links feminism and vegetarianism by arguing that meat is the symbol of male dominance. In her book *The Sexual Politics of Meat* she discusses the tendency to associate meat with male identification, while vegetables and plants are viewed as woman’s food (Adams 1990, 27).

Negative feelings associated with meat are strongest among women, according to different studies (Kubberød et al. 2002b, 54, Lavik 2008, Rothgerber 2013). A few focus groups raised discussions about meat and killing animals, where the women to some extent showed more ambivalence towards the issue than men. Some of the female soldiers expressed a feeling of guilt as they admitted that they did not really think it was wrong to kill and eat animals. Apparently, they felt that they should feel worse about it than they actually did. Furthermore, there were a few female soldiers that during focus groups questioned the men’s endless need for meat. Similar to what Kubberød et al. found, some women stated that eating huge portions of meat made them feel heavy and gave them stomach aches (Kubberød et al. 2002a). In contrast, the majority of the men wanted as much meat as they could have. These findings reflect results from other gender analysis.

The gendered division of food is typically represented in associating sweet and light foods with women, and heavy foods with men. Hank Rothgerber presents empirical findings that indicate that food preferences and associations are gendered. He argues that the male strategies to justify meat consumption are related to masculinity. The male associations are characterised by pro-meat attitudes, denial of animal suffering, believing that animals are lower in hierarchy than humans and that it is a human right to eat animals, in addition to religious and health justifications for eating animals

(Rothgerber 2013). His central argument is that men and women think about and justify meat consumption in different ways (Rothgerber 2013, 365). These differences are, according to Rothgerber, directly related to masculinity. While women tend to use indirect strategies such as “look-the-other-way” to maintain the practice of eating meat, men rather use direct justifications such as being comfortable about eating meat and denial of animal suffering (Rothgerber 2013, 366).

In a Norwegian context, these tendencies are reflected in several studies of attitudes towards meat consumption (Kubberød et al. 2002b, Kubberød et al. 2002a). Kubberød et al. (2002a) distinguishes food preferences and attitudes among men and women as disgust and distaste. The females in their study tended to express disgust when they were asked about their associations with meat. This was related to both emotional and personal factors, such as referring to animals, body parts, blood etc., and how meat is classified as a “heavy” and fattening food. The men however focused on “good” and “bad” taste, and furthermore argued that consuming meat is natural, humans have always been eating meat, that it is essential for a healthy diet, and so on (Kubberød et al. 2002b).

However, as I started to analyse and categorise soldiers’ statements during focus group interviews, I found interesting differences from the quantitative study. The difference in attitudes between men and women found in the quantitative data was not reflected in the interviews. Based on the qualitative interviews, there was not a clear distinction between the opinions of the male and female soldiers. In general, the soldiers put a lot of emphasis on the need to build muscles and absorb as much energy as possible. Instead of indicating that men and women have different relations to food, this may rather be a demonstration of how masculine *values* and a masculine rhetoric are significant in the military. One soldier stated that “the fact is that the military is dominated by men, and men are often into meat. We like meat and because of all the physical pressure you might want a heavier meal” (I:2,3, 119). This reflects how consuming meat was seen as a power statement, formed by masculine values.

The two methods used in this research found different results when the data was approached with a gender-lens. This could be explained by the focus group situation. One possible explanation is masculine dominance and culture in the military, and thus also in the focus groups. This begs the question: where the female soldiers simply

adopting the masculine values during interviews, or at least not contesting them as much as they did in the survey questionnaire? Moreover, did the female soldiers want to demonstrate that they are equally competent soldiers as the men? The fact that many female soldiers in focus group interviews stated that they felt guilty for not questioning the moral aspects of meat eating might indicate that they felt like they were expected to have these attitudes.

Rather than demonstrating great differences in the attitudes of men and women, I found that the meaning the soldiers – in general – gave to meat and meat consumption was related to masculinity and masculine identity. In this understanding, the gender lens does not fully explain the soldiers' attitudes. Rather, it is the domination of masculine values in the military as an institution that seems to shape these attitudes. For example, the soldiers employed an evolutionist argument, stating that humans have always eaten animal flesh, and therefore have the right to continue this practice. As one soldier stated: "We are born with eating meat, and we have done it since we were monkeys, so it is completely normal" (I:1.2, 19). A similar argument was used by several of the focus groups to justify their right to eat meat. Also, the masculine justification methods presented by Rothgerber, are found in the soldiers' statements as they do not question humans' rights to eat meat (Rothgerber 2013). This also implied stating human power over animals. As Fiddes notes, this way of justifying meat consumption is a way of demonstrating power (Fiddes 1991).

Furthermore, the soldiers tended to highlight the physical characteristics of beef, the tenderness and texture of a piece of meat. When I asked about what kind of meat they preferred, a huge majority stated that beef steak, and "pure" meat was their first choice. The explanation given was that tendons, fat and bones were to be avoided, and that the taste was better. One soldier claimed that "it is a feeling of mental wellbeing, when you can think about the fact that it is pure and delicious meat" (I:2,5, 128). This representation of meat is noted by Parry in his discussion of the nostalgia of meat. Parry argues that the nostalgic 'fetishization' of meat is the symbolisation of the 'naturalness' of meat: meat is the real thing (Parry 2009, 243). Moreover, these notions of the physical characteristics of meat reflect the male associations with meat as discussed by Rothgerber (2013) and Kubberød et al. (2002a).

The military is characteristically an institution built on masculine values. Adams highlights how, during the Second World War, the British governments' rationing policies reserved the right to meat for "the epitome of the masculine man: the soldier" (Adams 1990, 32). During the war, the meat consumption in the British military was about two and a half times that of the average civilian. Meat was accordingly the male prerogative, assuming that by consuming the muscles of strong animals, soldiers will become strong (Adams 1990, 33). Even cookbooks for civilians differed from those of the soldiers, focusing respectively on complex carbohydrates and variation of meat dishes. Adams further notes:

A discussion of nutrition during wartime contained this aside: it was one thing, they acknowledged, to demonstrate that there were many viable alternatives to meat, 'but it is another to convince a man who enjoys his beefsteak' (Hunscher and Huyck (1944, 414) in Adams 1990, 33).

These "cultural stereotypes" are being employed and reinforced by food advertising for meat. Through TV-commercials we're exposed to presentations of meat as a man's food. Vittersø and Rosenberg demonstrate in their analysis of meat in food advertising in Norway that very often, men are the meat experts in the meat ads. Only in one of the ads looked at in their study, the meat expert was a female. The ads play on a traditional gender stereotype, and connects the man, the butcher, and the meat (Vittersø and Rosenberg 2014, 39). Also the fast food industry and grocery chains are building on these stereotypes with ads that often focus on meat, barbeque and lifestyle (Vittersø and Rosenberg 2014, 53).

The importance of meat consumption as a symbol of power and virility may thus be interlinked with the masculine identity and rhetoric dominating the military. When discussing *why people eat what they do*, Caplan refers to Bourdieu's concept of distinction. Bourdieu's argument is that as our consumption habits reflect who we are. Consumption also becomes a practice in which we preserve difference with other individuals or social groups (Capland 1996). As Locher et al. notes: "Food and eating play an increasingly central role in individuals' lives. We rely upon objects, and particularly food objects, to define who we are both as individuals and as groups (...)" (2005, 275). In light of this, we can understand the soldiers' emphasis of meat's centrality in their diets as a way to confirm their power and masculine identity. I found that soldiers tended to justify their extensive meat consumption by reference to

masculine ideas. There is a clear similarity of the themes communicated by the military and meat. This relates to strength, security, defence and power. These deeply seeded ideas of meat and of the military reflect the centrality of masculinity. As a consequence, reducing meat consumption clashed with soldiers' identification with masculine power. Consequently, the way the soldiers militated against vegetarian food might be understood as a lack of identification with this diet. The soldiers did not identify with vegetarians or vegetarian food, which was rather associated with something radical, tasteless and non-nutritious. Hence, the cultural perceptions and identifications with food based on military and masculine values challenged the reputation of meat-free food and influenced the attitudes towards reducing meat consumption.

6.5 Meat as Comfort Food

During the analysis of my data, a recurring theme was the view of food as comfort and reward. In every focus group discussion, the need for motivational, tasty and filling food was emphasised. Several of the soldiers told me that they were sceptical towards the meat reduction initiative as they were afraid a vegetarian meal would not offer the same comforting feeling as the filling, textured meat. Considering the soldiers' emphasis on the need for meat, it seemed to represent the ultimate comfort food. This section discusses how notions of comfort relate to the attitudes towards MFM.

Comfort food is often referred to in advertising, magazines and television. As consumers, we are presented to foods that appeal to our emotions and longings for comfort. The celebrity chef Jamie Oliver has for example a separate TV-show and recipes focusing on comfort foods, preparing dishes such as burgers, stews and juicy foods. Food has the ability to comfort: a warm and nice meal may appeal to both our physical, psychological and emotional needs. Oxford English Dictionary added comfort food to its list in 1997 where it is defined as "food that comforts or affords solace; hence, any food (freq. with a high sugar or carbohydrate content) that is associated with childhood or with home cooking" (Oxford English Dictionary 2015a). A more general definition is provided by Wansink et al. (2003): comfort foods are "foods whose consumption evokes a psychologically comfortable and pleasurable state for a person" (Wansink et al. 2003, 739). Accordingly, comfort food may refer to a range of different foodstuff, and is saturated with social and cultural meanings.

Locher et al. (2005) classifies four categories of comfort food: nostalgic foods, indulgence foods, convenience foods, and physical comfort foods. Their study of what meanings undergraduate students gave to comfort food reveals that the students consumed comfort foods when they needed “an extra boost to get them through some task”. The experience of pleasure and feeling comforted by foods was also triggering perceptions of indulgence. In a similar way to the students in the study of Locher et al., the soldiers I talked to expressed a reliance on indulgence foods for comfort. In that sense, meat is not only a provider of nutrition and power, it also comforts. Corresponding to their findings, the soldiers ignored concerns about health and nutrition (Locher et al. 2005, 284). Even if soldiers took notice of the health concerns of eating large amounts of meat, they used meat to provide comfort as a reward or motivation for getting through tough field exercises.

In addition, the soldiers described the meaning of food in their daily life as *welfare*. With a busy schedule and physically hard days, “food breaks” worked to encourage and motivate perseverance. A warm meal during a military practice, or after long hours outside in the cold, was presented as both motivation and reward. This was often brought up as a reason why the soldiers did not want meat-free food in the mess hall. First of all, for many soldiers, the meals were the highlights of the day. Consequently, the soldiers were sceptical to reducing the meat consumption as they were concerned that it would decrease the quality of the food and be less appetising. Second, the soldiers saw meat as the main component of the meal, and removing it would result in an insufficient and unsatisfactory meal. As a consequence, most of the soldiers were afraid that the meat reduction initiative would reduce the quality of their most important welfare offer.

The soldiers also linked the consumption of meat to physical comfort. “Physical comfort foods are those that offer comfort either through their physical attributes or through the physical changes they bring about in the consumer” (Locher et al. 2005, 287). After long hours of training or running in the forest, a warm and easily eaten meal was associated with comfort. Several participants identified warm and filling foods as the most comforting foods after military rehearsals. The soldiers also expressed the sense of fullness specifically when eating meat. In this sense, defining meat as a

comfort food was enforcing the importance of meat in the soldiers' diet, and consequently influenced how they felt about the MFM initiative.

In a study of food preferences, Wansink et al. (2003) found that the comfort food preferences differed across gender and age. Furthermore, they argue that "one's personal identification with a food might contribute to the development of comfort food preferences" (Wansink et al. 2003, 754). These arguments also seem fitting to the characteristic food preferences among the soldiers. While food and eating in general was portrayed as the highlight of the day, meat was specifically emphasised in this context. Meat was not only nutritionally valuable to the soldiers but also evoked feelings associated with the comfort of eating, enjoyment, and reward. In alignment with the findings of Locher et al. (2005) and Wansink et al. (2003), the male soldiers were more likely to talk about hot foods and meat as their comfort foods. However, as noted in section 6.4, these "masculine values" were identified among the majority of the soldiers in the focus groups, regardless of gender. This indicates the construction of meat as the ultimate comfort food in the military.

As mentioned, the feeling of comfort that may derive from eating appeals to our emotions, our brains and our stomachs. The bodily experience of eating meat has already been discussed in section 6.3, as the feeling of getting nutrition and protein was addressed by the soldiers. In addition, the soldiers emphasised the sensory and bodily condition of consuming filling food and warm dishes. Eating meat gave them a filling feeling, preparing them for upcoming challenges. When presented to vegetarian dishes, the soldiers in Camp 1 said that they missed this comforting feeling of being full. Furthermore, they showed concern for how the lack of the comfortable bodily experience would reduce their energy levels and motivation during field exercises. Elaborating on that theme, one male soldier argued that the meals work as a motivation, and that this effect is challenged if he has to eat three portions to achieve the filling feeling (I:1,2). The prioritisation of the bodily experience with eating was also demonstrated by the majority of the soldiers. They claimed that feeling full after a meal was more important than following a healthy diet (I:1,2). This soldier further elaborated on this issue:

First of all, I don't think, but this is very individual, but I don't think it is a proper meal. I also feel like every time there is something without meat, I have to eat

much more to get the same filling feeling, and in addition I get hungry much faster which implies that I need to eat extra food to get the filling feeling and sustain the energy throughout the evening. [Me: And what is missing, what is hindering this filling feeling?] I don't know if it is the vitamins or if it is the piece of meat itself, or the stomach that needs something to actually work with. It is impossible to say, but I notice a big difference in my body (I:1,2, 26).

The bodily experience of attaining a long lasting feeling of fullness was essential to the soldiers. As they stated themselves: to fuel up was one of their biggest concerns when it came to eating. Wallenborn and Wilhite (2014) draw on theories by Pierre Bourdieu and Marcel Mauss when they advocate the importance of “bringing body back to consumption” (2014, 56). They argue that experience, rather than reflexivity, in addition to several other factors such as culture and habits, drive our consumption patterns. This was also demonstrated in the case of the soldier's “need” for meat every day. This illustrates that their bodily experiences and experiential knowledge was informing their attitudes. The fullness they felt after a meal with meat was apparently not comparable with the feeling they had after the vegetarian dinners in Camp 1. The filling feeling provided by meat and the effect this had on their comfort influenced their scepticism towards reducing meat consumption. This is significant to this case concerning how comfort or welfare is commonly understood in the military.

Locher et al. (2005) further note that food “is much more than merely nourishment for the body; it also nourishes the mind and soul” (Locher et al. 2005, 289). Comfort food may help to alleviate feelings of sadness, or homesickness, and are for example used to motivate soldiers at war in a foreign country (Locher et al. 2005). As Warde note: “We should eat healthy; but not if it makes us sad. Implicitly hedonistic consumption is justified in terms of what the mind and body need: since the body doesn't need unhealthy food, it must be the mind that is in need” (Warde 1997, 79). The soldiers' expressions demonstrate this need for the food that provides comfort. Much of the findings presented above indicate the important role meat has for soldiers' ideas of comfort.

The importance of meat as a comfort food, and its associations with indulgence or pleasure shaped the soldiers' attitudes towards the meat reduction programme. To some extent, the soldiers explained a feeling of being overlooked or not being appreciated, as the project involved the reduction of their favourite and “most comforting” foodstuff.

As the next section examines, this was also linked to their justification of continuing the high intake of meat. They are, after all, soldiers training to fight “for the sake of their king and country”.

6.6 Alienation and righteousness

The way the soldiers talked about food revealed an alienated relation to it. As noted in section 6.2 and by the quantitative findings, the soldiers seem to lack insight into the production sides of food. Knowledge of food seemed to be constrained to its nutritional value. During focus group interviews, a majority of the soldiers stated that they do not reflect upon where the food they eat comes from, or how it was produced. The same was found as they talked about meat. As we have seen, meat was defined as an indispensable and nutritious ingredient.

Much research on modern food consumption discusses the alienation and dissociation between food production and food consumption. Among others, Fiddes argues that the industrialisation of meat production has led to a dissociation of the food from the animal (Adams 1990, 67, Fiddes 1991, 97, Lupton 1996, 119). Moreover, the packaging, presentation and language we use for the meat contributes to the alienation. As Fiddes note, we don't eat cow, we eat beef, and we do not really want to think too directly about what we are eating (Fiddes 1991, 97).

In an analysis of the presentation of meat in a Norwegian cookbook, comparing the different editions of *Gyldendals Store Kokebok* (Gyldendal's Comprehensive Cookbook) between 1955 and 2002, Bjørkdahl and Syse argue that the animal is made invisible for the consumer. When comparing the various editions, they found that many of the images in the most recent editions were more disconnected from the animal body, and that the meat was mainly treated as another ingredient. The presence of photos of animals in the 1955 edition had either disappeared or been replaced by drawings in the 2002 edition. Bjørkdahl and Syse argue that the animal has vanished. They discuss how the industrialisation of food production and modernism have led to a conceptual distance to the animal: “we make meat a mystery” (Bjørkdahl and Syse 2013, 223). Likewise, consumers are presented with rows of “filets” of meat in the supermarkets, a product totally disconnected from the animal.

These theories explain the soldiers' alienated relation to food and meat, as it is physically and visually distanced. However, in addition to this removal of the animal in western societies, the soldiers have a second barrier between the production and the consumption. The soldiers "arrive to a set table" as the Norwegian expression goes³⁸, and one can argue that they are further distanced from the animal as they do not even participate in the preparation of the food. The dissociation, as well as the material distance to food production *and* preparation, results in a complex relationship to the food they eat. This can explain the inconsistency in the way the soldiers talked about and related to food; the value-action gap. Attitudes on reducing meat consumption were not automatically corresponding or connected to their general values and moral principles. As discussed in section 6.2, the soldiers do not connect environmental concern to meat consumption. This is not surprising considering that meat was seen as another ingredient. The alienated relation to food, and meat, thus works as a barrier to communicate sustainable meat consumption to soldiers. They lack connection to the food they consume. This unawareness may explain the reluctance to reduce meat consumption simply because they do not see the purpose.

Kari Marie Nordgaard has studied the public response to environmental issues and global warming. She argues that it is not lack of information or concern that causes the lack of action and societal change towards a more sustainable way of living. Rather, she frames the inaction as a way of "living in denial" (Nordgaard 2011). While the "information deficit" to some extent might explain the soldiers' lack of action or willingness to change, the picture was more complex than this. None of the soldiers stated that they were climate sceptics or unfamiliar with global warming. Furthermore, a few had also heard about the supposedly climatic threat of "cows farting". Indeed, the inaction cannot be due to a lack of concern as the soldiers report pro-environmental values. This soldier's statement reflects the complexity underlying these contradicting attitudes: "It is a very demanding production, to produce one kilo of beef, and in addition the animal itself emits a lot of methane gas which is problematic for the climate. However, I eat beef with a good consciousness in spite of this" (I:1,4, 54). How

³⁸ The Norwegian expression is "Å komme til dekket bord" which symbolises that you achieve or get something without needing to make any effort.

then can we explain these attitudes which indicate a gap between the soldiers' values, knowledge and attitudes?

As noted, the alienated relationship to food discussed above is a plausible explanation. While the soldiers show concern for the environment, and even think it is important that the military show responsibility in their different operations, they are sceptical to reducing their meat consumption. This contradiction between knowledge, values and attitudes is not that surprising considering that the soldiers fail to connect this knowledge to everyday life practices. As Nordgaard states, this might illustrate a “social organisation of denial (...) in which the public on a collective level actively resists available information” (Nordgaard 2011, 12). Furthermore, Nordgaard argues that the awareness of environmental degradation and our role in it evolves into a “psychic numbing”. The soldiers in my research also expressed feelings that can be characterised as denial. One soldier said that:

There is a numbness related to this, because you know a great deal about different deficits in the society, and in the end you end up thinking: if I have to think about all these things, and I'm not saying that this is the right way to think, but I think that maybe it's common to think that if I think about these things, my life will be terrible, so I can't do it. Then I couldn't drink Coca Cola or buy clothes at Hennes & Mauriz, and in this sense, vegetarian food doesn't become that important (I:1,5, 64).

The inaction, or in this case negative attitudes towards change, might thus be explained by the numbness caused by the overwhelming characteristics of environmental issues. However, this is also connected to the social construction of attitudes and values. The disconnection between abstract information and everyday life is interlinked with culture and power. Nordgaard argues that society teaches us what to pay attention to, hence there are social rules for focusing attention (Nordgaard 2011). The values and insights into environmental issues are not connected to everyday life and as a consequence, do not transform into social action. As noted by Charlie Davison: “Knowledge is translated into behaviour only if it becomes incorporated into the ideas and attitudes that underpin everyday life” (in Capland 1996, 220). As we have seen, in the military, sustainable food consumption was not a common concern. It is important to note that the military's main purpose is something completely different. Hence, soldiers argued for the triviality of meat consumption in comparison to war and protecting the country.

Soldiers' moral right to eat meat

Moreover, this leads us to the central question here: how do the soldiers justify their extensive need for meat? Especially in Camp 1, where the soldiers were studying to be officers, their right to eat meat was emphasised. According to their statements, as soldiers, they were not the first group that should reduce their meat consumption. This right and need for meat was defended by the importance of their physical wellbeing as well as their important role in the society. The biological need for meat and protein is not defined in this thesis. However, as the soldiers stated, they are interested in building muscles and therefore protein is an important component to their diet. For some of the soldiers, their training routines and lifestyles can be compared to those of professional athletes. Consequently, they do need to eat certain amounts of protein to ensure a well-balanced diet.

Similar to the rationing that was done during wartime, the soldiers felt that if meat consumption needs to be reduced, effort should be put to ensure reduction in other institutions before the military. Hence, the “real” food is for the powerful (Adams 1990). This conversation between two soldiers in one of the focus groups demonstrates the complexity of this issue:

Soldier 1: What it boils down to is this: do the politicians and the Norwegian population want that we stay focused on our tasks and what we are supposed to do, or do they want us to focus on our tasks *and* ethics... Do they want us to keep 80% focused on our mission and 20% on..., let's say helping the society? I think, or I mean that in our profession we have to stay 100% focused on our mission, because it is so demanding for us as individuals. Although it is a country that goes to war, I am all by myself when I go out in the field with my gun and bullets flying over my head.

Soldier 2: Still, I think we should demonstrate good ethics, attitudes and good moral.

Soldier 1: Of course.

Soldier 2:that is a part of being in the military (I:1,1, 14, emphasis added).

Another focus group also touched upon these moral questions – and ended up concluding with this statement: “I have to say that I am more concerned about ensuring enough food for myself, it overshadows the thought about making ethical right decisions. Dietary choices are more important than ethical choices” (I:1,1, 10). The importance of ensuring a well-balanced diet and covering nutritional needs was seen as more important than questions on moral responsibility:

I'm a bit selfish, I need to eat the food that I need, when you have a demanding job you need to eat a lot of food, and the way I see it, a need for protein rich food. If not, you won't be able to do your job, which is demanding in itself. I eat what I need, to function (I:1,4, 53).

Justifying the action or practice of eating meat thus represents a form of righteousness. Righteousness is defined as “the state or quality of being righteous or just (...)” and may also imply a way of making an action justifiable (Oxford English Dictionary 2015b). Often applied in religious contexts, the term refers to the justification or effort to make an action right. Referring to the responsibilities and sacrifices they have made by joining the military, the soldiers find justifications for their right to continue to consume high amounts of meat. Accordingly, this was their way of morally defending their actions – and thus also a way to achieve righteousness. While the soldiers seemed to recognise that there were a few concerns when it comes to meat eating (at least after discussing the issue in focus groups), they used their thoughts to resolve the unpleasant reactions. Consequently, what they did was justifying the action instead of changing behaviour. According to Stoknes, this is a common strategy when it comes to dealing with vague and distant issues such as climate change (Stoknes 2015).

Consequently, the way the soldiers justified their consumption habits and extensive need for meat was connected to their right to do so as soldiers. It seemed like they acknowledged the challenges and problems with unsustainable consumption, but they did not think that it applied to them. Hence, the soldiers right to and need for nutritious, powerful and comforting food surpassed the environmental concerns. The meaning and representation of meat was therefore a significant barrier for the implementation of a meat reduction initiative in the military.

6.7 Perception constraints

In Chapter 4 I argued that the policy makers, chefs and cooks assumed that soldiers were negative towards reducing their meat consumption one day per week, and that this was used as an argument for continuing business as usual. Consequently, even before the measure was implemented, the soldiers were indirectly delegated decision power. The topics discussed in this chapter demonstrate how several factors contributed to establish strong perceptions about the indispensable role of meat among soldiers. By looking at this through the soldiers' justifications and reflections – how they gave meat

meaning – I have pointed to several possible explanations to this continuous status of meat. Meat communicated protein, power and comfort to the soldiers. These notions were significant to the soldiers' masculine identification and the common values in the military.

Eating meat was consistent with the soldier's personal identification. To the strong, traditional, macho male, a steak represents exactly that. Hence, the way aspects of meat were consistent with soldiers' identification may explain why they were more or less unwilling to cut on meat (Wansink 2000). Food did play a huge role in the soldiers' lives in that it worked to define who they were as a group and as individuals. As Lupton notes, cultural and social norms shape our food preferences and explain why we support some foodstuff but argue against others (Lupton 1996). Both the military and meat communicate similar themes such as power and strength. By identifying the role of meat we can to a greater extent understand why the soldiers' first reaction was to reject the initiative. Even though the survey demonstrated many negative attitudes towards the initiative, the focus group conversations provided some modifications. It seemed like talking about food and meat consumption made the soldiers reflect upon an issue they normally took for granted.

7 Discussion

The purpose throughout this thesis has been to investigate why and how Meat-Free Monday (MFM) was brought to the tables in the Norwegian Armed Forces, and to examine the various attitudes towards it, in order to identify the factors that have challenged its implementation. The stated goal of implementing MFM in all mess halls by the end of 2014 was not reached and according to my informants, a new goal has not yet been set. By mapping the challenges that the actors came across, this thesis has identified several factors that can explain the lack of actual implementation in the individual kitchens. This investigation has been done through a twofold approach and by mixing methods. First, it included a qualitative examination of the actors behind the implementation, and their motivations and perceptions of the project. Second, it examined the soldiers' attitudes towards reducing meat consumption, first through quantitative findings and finally by uncovering underlying attitudes by qualitative focus group interviews. The data, findings and analysis has been presented throughout three chapters organised by actors and scale³⁹. Throughout the thesis, several dilemmas and barriers have been observed which I believe can contribute to a better understanding of the challenges of implementing MFM and reducing meat consumption in military mess halls.

The question guiding this work was: what are the factors that have challenged the implementation of Meat-Free Monday in the Norwegian Armed Forces? To support my main question, I asked two sub-questions, the findings of which I will go through in the following.

- i. Why and how is Meat-Free Monday being introduced in the military?

The examination of the MFM project reveals that the initiative came from a small number of very engaged nutritionists in the Catering Management section of FLO. Their ability to push a scheme for reducing meat consumption on the agenda in the military is explained by their personal motivation and the power of expert knowledge. The initiators shared a common set of values and goals of the initiative. This analysis does however demonstrate that these values were not shared with the decision makers, or

³⁹ See Figure 1, page 34.

with the chefs or cooks. Although the problem this initiative aims to address was recognised, the priorities among the actors in “the scenes”, the policy makers, were opposing. As a consequence, the original idea of implementing the international campaign, MFM, was modified.

This modification was demonstrated in the way the initiative was implemented as a *request* rather than an *instruction* which indicates reluctance to use direct power. Hence, the analysis of the agenda-setting and policy making process reveals that power structures and roles were important determinants for the lack of resources provided to the MFM project. Considering the clear hierarchical structure of the military one would assume that implementations are smoothly introduced in the military. However, clear institutional characteristics may also challenge the introduction of “new” policies, depending on whether the policies match the norms and social rules of the institution. The findings from Chapter 4 indicate that the MFM initiative did not reflect common norms and values in the military culture. Therefore, it seemed like the initiators felt isolated in their effort to push MFM forward. The decision makers did not consider the environmental and health related problems sufficiently pressing to act on it. As a consequence, the initiative was not allocated resources and it was not implemented as an instruction. The analysis also uncovered that the disagreement on the rationale for the implementation was central to the way the project was implemented and communicated. The different priorities and understandings of responsibility among the policy makers thus lead to a fragmented implementation.

As a consequence, the actual implementers of the initiative, the chefs and cooks, were not fully informed about the implementation nor did they have insight into the reasons behind it. Moreover, many chefs were reluctant even before they were included in the project, as they felt overrun in the process. The top-down characteristic of the implementation evoked feelings of powerlessness and reluctance among chefs. Although effort was made to avoid a top-down implementation, such as giving flexibility to the individual kitchens to define their own approach to reduce meat consumption, chefs demonstrated feelings of powerlessness and resistance. The dilemmas encountered along the way were thus connected to the chosen implementation strategy, power relations and structural issues.

This thesis has identified confusion at several stages of the policy process. First, the goal setting was unclear. While the stated goal of implementing MFM within 2014 was quoted in the *Aftenposten* article, this goal was not adopted by the decision makers. The quite vague statement of the policy document that requested the chefs to reduce the consumption of meat, distributed eight months later, was seemingly not taken seriously by the chefs. Hence, only a small minority of the mess halls has tried to reduce their meat consumption. The very motivated initiators did not have enough resources to inform and communicate the purpose of reducing meat consumption and as a consequence it fell on stony ground. The interviews with chefs and cooks demonstrate that the initiative was not anchored at this level. The confusion, caused by the unclear and flexible implementation strategy, influenced the perceptions and opinions about the initiative.

In addition, a form of confusion was seen in connection to the topic the initiative raises. The intricacy of the link between climate change and meat consumption posed challenges. First, “understanding global warming requires a complex grasp of scientific knowledge” (Nordaard 2011, 1). The lack of consensus on what constitutes a sustainable consumption of meat seems to confuse the informants. In addition, the topic itself is distant to most people, and is not seen in relation to everyday life practices of individuals. More precisely, climate change is not connected to daily practices in general, or meat consumption in particular. This is also found in consumer research among Norwegians, where environmental awareness is not correlated to cutting meat consumption (Lavik 2008). The presentation of the interviews demonstrates that it was more or less only the nutritionists that were aware of the potentially large environmental benefits of reducing meat consumption. Hence, unawareness and the lack of knowledge of the issue create confusion related to the purpose and the effect of the MFM initiative.

The analysis of the policy process thus found several factors that challenged the MFM initiative. These were structural issues related to power use, perceptions, knowledge, miscommunication and contextual aspects. The reluctance to implement MFM, both among decision makers and chefs is also related to the feedback of consumption. This is demonstrated in the way the chefs and decision makers tended to point to the soldiers and their food preferences when they refused to implement the measure. The importance given to the soldiers’ assumed negative opinions seems to challenge the

implementation. This analysis uncovers how power is assigned to the soldiers. Whilst formally located on the bottom of the actor-scale, the soldiers, or the assumed attitudes of the consumers, seems to have the power to slow down the process of the initiative. The importance of the soldiers' attitudes is demonstrated by this quote by one of the chefs: "We are here for our guests" (I:Q, 97). This leads to the final sub-question guiding this thesis which addresses the attitudes of the final actors on the scale, the consumers, in this case; soldiers.

- ii. What are the various attitudes towards reducing meat consumption among soldiers and how can they be explained?

The soldiers were mostly reluctant to reduce their meat consumption. The quantitative analysis shows that the respondents lack insight into the connection between food consumption and environmental issues. In addition, they report that they are unfamiliar with the military's initiative to reduce meat consumption. The gender and values variables are connected to attitudes, and the differences are statistically significant. This indicates that male and female soldiers have different attitudes towards meat consumption and MFM – and that women tend to be more positive. This is an important finding as the recently implemented mandatory military service for women will increase the number of female soldiers (Forsvaret 2014b). This could presumably challenge the dominance of masculine values. An issue that deserves the attention of future research is to what extent the increased share of female soldiers in the Norwegian military will affect the attitudes towards the MFM initiative. The difference between those that self-reported pro-environmental values is however less divergent for the questions that refer to individual consumption and consequences of reducing meat consumption. The analysis indicates that the inconsistency in the respondents' attitudes and values is connected to the knowledge gap, which also influences their attitudes towards reducing meat consumption.

However, the qualitative analysis demonstrates that the information deficit does not completely explain the soldiers' attitudes. Based on the focus group interviews it is clear that social and cultural factors shape the soldiers' underlying attitudes. The need for meat is justified by its association with nutritional needs (protein), muscular power and notions of comfort. The notion of meat as protein refers to the soldiers' emphasis on the nutritional value of food. Meat is seen as the ultimate source of protein and thus

justifies the soldiers' biological need for meat. As soldiers are expected to be strong, powerful and healthy, eating muscles to build muscles seems to be an underlying attitude. The notion of meat as masculine food, or power, deals with a similar value – and the themes are communicated by both the military and by meat. Power, strength, defense and tradition are strong characteristics and aspects of soldier identity and military culture that are integrated in the soldiers' need to consume meat. The notion of meat as comfort explains the soldiers' physical and psychological need for meat. After long hours outside or physically challenging tasks, the meals improve their comfort. Food, and especially meat, thus represents a motivational factor and reward.

The abovementioned findings identify the meaning soldiers give to meat. The examination of the soldiers' associations with meat illustrates that these are socially constructed. The military culture upholds certain values and norms that enforce the need for meat. These are also interconnected with the lack of insight into food related issues, such as general knowledge about where the food comes from and specifically insight into the environmental concern of meat production. The importance of meat in the diet, demonstrated by these characteristics of meat, explains why the soldiers are reluctant to reduce their own meat consumption.

Moreover, the dissonance or confused relation to animals, and food in general, reaffirms the soldiers' lack of insight into the issue. As we have seen, sustainable meat consumption is a neglected topic in Norwegian public debate, and eating large amounts of meat is promoted by strong interests in school education and advertisements – despite the health concerns and public advice to limit consumption to 500g per week (The Norwegian Directorate of Health 2014a). As a consequence, the issue of how much meat one needs and should eat is not a common concern for the soldiers. The confusion thus has the power to enforce the appetite for meat. The soldiers frame meat as an inexhaustible resource, or ingredient.

The soldiers' attitudes were also influenced by perceptions of the right to eat meat. The military is a particular institution to reduce meat consumption in the way that they communicate the same values: power and strength. According to the soldiers, they have made sacrifices to join the military and are training to protect the country. Within this frame, meat becomes an important symbol and is given great value – that exceeds the nutritional effects of meat consumption. Therefore, the soldiers are skeptical to reduce

meat consumption and feel that the responsibility to cut meat consumption should be taken in other institutions before the military. Considering the value given to meat, addressing reduction in the military actually challenges one of their most important welfare offers.

This thesis also illustrates some interesting effects of the methodological approach. During the focus group interviews the soldiers were encouraged to discuss topics such as their relation to food, and their perceptions about the connection between food, the environment and sustainability. Consequently, the conversation about the everyday practice of eating made them reflect upon issues usually taken for granted. This stimulated more reflexive thoughts and as a result the attitudes were moderated throughout the conversations. My observation was that this was mostly due to the discussion they developed as a group, commenting on each other's statements and deliberating on the different topics. Although many of the soldiers started the conversation with a strong reluctance towards reducing meat consumption and eating vegetarian food, most of them ended by stating that as long as the food tastes good, gives a filling feeling, and meets nutritional needs – they are fine with meat-free meals. This finding demonstrates the importance of the soldiers' understanding the reasoning behind the initiative. When evoking reflexive thought on the topic – soldiers are not that reluctant after all.

The analysis of the soldiers' attitudes reveals that cultural norms and socially constructed needs and perceptions influenced their attitudes towards eating meat and the MFM initiative. For example, the analysis shows that the domination of masculine values in the military plays a central role in shaping the soldiers' attitudes. Changing diets implies touching upon social rules and habits. By using a mixture of concepts I discovered that power issues, culture and knowledge influenced the attitudes and perceptions of all actors of the scale, and thus also the outcome of the MFM initiative. Consequently, in order for the initiative to succeed, the implementers need to face and overcome these socially constructed barriers. However, it is worth noting that as I have not experienced the same levels of physical activities that soldiers do, I am biased when suggesting a reduction of meat consumption based on environmental concerns and not taking into account the psychological need for meat that soldiers have.

My findings also generate some implications for future implementations of dietary change schemes. First of all, in order to ensure a holistic implementation, actors at different levels of the institution should be included far earlier in the process. Knowledge and information seem to be important factors in explaining the discontentment, resistance and confusion that arouse. In addition, there is a need to understand and work with attitudes. The negative load of the perceptions and connotations to meat-free food needs to be addressed. The norms that govern the food preferences need to be challenged and individuals' need to be convinced that meat-free meals can provide the sufficient energy. In the case of the Norwegian Armed Forces, focusing on the environmental concerns of meat production might not be the right approach, because the soldiers emphasise nutritious and healthy food. A better understanding of the soldiers' relationship to food also provides an insight into why the need for meat is so strong. These insights need to be acknowledged and incorporated in the military's future communication and implementation of sustainable food campaigns or when motivating dietary change.

8 Conclusion

FAO, UNEP and the IPCC promote dietary change as an important part of the solutions needed to avoid dangerous climate change. A recent report from Bioforsk states that a significant reduction of GHG emissions from Norwegian food production requires changes in food consumption towards more environmentally friendly food. Hence, shifting consumption from red to white meat, and from meat to vegetables is vital for sustainable development (Grønlund 2015). As ensuring sustainable consumption levels of meat is essential in order to reduce emissions, it is important to understand how individuals and institutions perceive their role and ability to do so. This thesis set out to investigate the implementation of an initiative aimed to improve the sustainability of the military's food consumption. The Meat-Free Monday (MFM) project is an initiative to reduce the military's total meat consumption.

To be clear, the military's MFM initiative is not aimed at promoting vegetarianism to the soldiers, or to remove meat completely from their diets. Rather, the aim is to reduce the overall consumption of meat. In Norway, meat consumption has increased by 40% in thirty years, and data from a recent national survey states that consumers between the ages of 18 to 29 – in which the soldiers belong – have a meat consumption that exceeds the recommendations from the health authorities (Totland et al. 2012). Hence, the reduction of consumption levels needs to be addressed for both environmental and health reasons. Meat will likely retain its central position in the soldiers' diets; however the high consumption levels should be addressed. Most probably, the soldiers already consume more meat than required for nutritional needs to be met. Consequently, this thesis' objective is to understand the attitudes towards reducing consumption levels of meat.

Since the political and economic incentives of the agricultural sector are strong in Norway, a public debate of meat consumption has to a large extent been neglected. The environmental organisation the Future in Our Hands (FIVH) is the strongest actor addressing reduced consumption levels in Norway, and runs the national MFM campaign. Although the issue of sustainable meat consumption has not been addressed clearly in Norway, *law nr.69* on public procurement signals an effort to put environmental responsibility on the agenda. The Armed Forces has interpreted this in a

broader manner, and have launched the MFM campaign as a measure to improve and promote sustainable diets in the mess halls.

Throughout this thesis, I have explored the Meat-Free Monday (MFM) initiative through a combination of contextual frameworks by using multiple methods. The aim of the thesis was to examine the factors that have challenged the introduction of the initiative. By a twofold approach, studying the policy process and the soldiers' underlying attitudes, this thesis has presented several factors that challenged the implementation of MFM. These were structural and contextual aspects of the policy process, such as a top-down implementation that evoked feelings of powerlessness and resistance. Moreover, meat's cultural associations with protein, muscular power and comfort gave it a central position in the soldiers' diets that exceeded their nutritional needs. Deficient communication and insight into the problem among actors at all levels of the scale are interconnected with these associations with meat.

As noted throughout this thesis, there are similarities between the values associated with the military and meat. This initiative is potentially very influential because of the actor involved; the Armed Forces – as a governmental agency and an institution that communicates power and strength. If the project is continued it has huge potential to communicate sustainable consumption of meat. Not only do they have the potential to teach young soldiers, who are about to form their own food consumption habits, about sustainable diets and the connection between food consumption and environmental issues. The initiative can also promote this message to a bigger audience. This is especially important in Norway where meat consumption levels are high. MFM can be replicated in institutions, but also motivate individuals to cut meat consumption. In this sense, the military can have a strong voice; if the military can do it, everyone can! This can make sustainable meat consumption no longer considered radical, feminine or hippie. Hence, it is both informative and educating – as the nutritionists in the military vouch that cutting meat consumption is safe even for physically active soldiers in need for protein – and inspiring – as it can communicate a new narrative for meat reduction.

Bibliography

- Aall, Carlo, and Georg Høyer. 2007. "En drøfting av statlige virkemidler for å styrke det lokale miljøvernarbeidet. En utredning laget på oppdrag fra Miljøverndepartementet." Vestlandsforskning. Accessed 28.05.2015. <http://www.vestforsk.no/filearchive/statlige-virkemidler-for-lokalt-miljovernarbeid.pdf>.
- Adams, Carol. 1990. *The Sexual Politics of Meat*. Oxford, UK: Polity Press.
- Aftenposten. 2013a. "Holmås foreslår kjøttfrie mandager på Stortinget." *Ekern, Yngve, Aftenposten*, 20.11.2013. Accessed 13.04.2015. <http://www.aftenposten.no/nyheter/iriks/Holmas-foreslar-kjottfrie-mandager-pa-Stortinget-7377154.html>.
- Aftenposten. 2013b. "Ikke bestått. Reklame på timeplanen." *Ekern, Yngve, Aftenposten*, 12.04.2013. Accessed 20.01.2015. <http://www.aftenposten.no/meninger/kommentarer/Ikke-bestatt-7171352.html>.
- Aftenposten. 2013c. "Kjøttbransjen sponser norske skolekjøkken." *Valvik, Marita E., Langberg, Øystein Kløvstad, Aftenposten*, 12.04.2013. Accessed 20.01.2015. <http://www.aftenposten.no/okonomi/Kjottbransjen-sponser-norske-skolekjokken-7171517.html>.
- Aftenposten. 2013d. "Veggismat - det er kanonføde." *Ekern, Yngve, Aftenposten*, 18.11.2013. Accessed 12.12.2014. <http://www.aftenposten.no/nyheter/Veggismat-Det-er-kanonfode-7374984.html>.
- Aftenposten. 2014. "Dyretagedien bare du og jeg kan hindre." *Ekern, Yngve, Aftenposten*, 24.01.2014. Accessed 23.02.2015. <http://www.aftenposten.no/meninger/Dyretagedien-bare-du-og-jeg-kan-hindre-7444158.html>.
- Arvola, Sandra, and Hanna Liedgren. 2014. "En vegetarisk dag i veckan." *Kostvetarprogrammet* Uppsats i kostvetenskap: Umeå Universitet. Accessed 05.05.2015. <http://www.diva-portal.se/smash/get/diva2:711966/FULLTEXT01.pdf>.
- Austgulen, Marthe Hårvik. 2012. "Nordmenns holdninger til klimaendringer, medier og politikk." (Prosjektnotat nr. 4 - 2012). Oslo: Statens Institutt for Forbruksforskning (SIFO). Accessed 09.02.2015. http://www.sifo.no/files/file78213_rapport_climate_crossroads_web.pdf.
- Austgulen, Marthe Hårvik. 2014. "Environmentally Sustainable Meat Consumption: An Analysis of the Norwegian Public Debate." *Journal of Consumer Policy* 37 (1):45-66. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s10603-013-9246-9>.
- Bellika, Siri Karlsen. 2013. "Beef and sustainability: an investigation of attitudes towards beef consumption among Norwegian consumers." *Fagrappport (Statens institutt for forbruksforskning : trykt utg.)* 5. Oslo: National Institute for Consumer Research (SIFO). Accessed 28.05.2015. http://www.sifo.no/files/file79345_fagrappport_5-2013_web.pdf.
- Bergheim, Lena Lie, and Pål H. Stenberg. 2014. "Kosthold i Forsvaret. Uten mat og drikke skapes helter ikke!" *Norsk Tidsskrift for Ernæring* (01/14):36-38. Accessed 05.02.2015. http://www.ntfe.no/images/last_magazine/pdf/2014-nr-1.pdf.

- Bertrand, Jane T., Judith E. Brown, and Victoria M. Ward. 1992. "Techniques for Analysing Focus Group Data." *Evaluation Review* 16 (2):198-209. Accessed 09.01.2015. <http://erx.sagepub.com/content/16/2/198>.
- Bjørkdahl, Kristian, and Karen Lykke Syse. 2013. "Death and Meateriality." In *Taming time, timing death. Social technologies and ritual*, edited by Dorthe Refslund Christensen and Rane Willerslev, 213-230. Ashgate.
- Bryman, Alan. 2008. *Social Research Methods*. Third edition ed. New York: Oxford University Press Inc.
- Campbell-Arvai, Victoria, Joseph Arvai, and Linda Kalof. 2014. "Motivating Sustainable Food Choices: The Role of Nudges, Value Orientation, and Information Provision." *Environment and Behaviour* 46 (4):453-475. Accessed 30.03.2015. <http://eab.sagepub.com/content/early/2012/12/11/0013916512469099.full.pdf+html>.
- Capland, Pat. 1996. "Why Do People Eat What They Do? Approaches to Food and Diet from a Social Science Perspective." *Clinical Child Psychology and Psychiatry, SAGE Publications* 1 (2):213-227. Accessed 24.02.2015. <http://ccp.sagepub.com/content/1/2/213.full.pdf+html>.
- Daugbjerg, Carsten, and Anders Branth Pedersen. 2004. "New Policy Ideas and Old Policy Networks: Implementing Green Taxation in Scandinavia." *Journal of Public Policy* 24 (02):219-249. Accessed 27.04.2015. <http://dx.doi.org/DOI:10.1017/S0143814X0400011X>.
- de Boer, Joop, Hanna Schösler, and Harry Aiking. 2014. "'Meatless days' or 'less but better'?" Exploring strategies to adapt Western meat consumption to health and sustainability challenges." *Appetite* 76 (0):120-128. Accessed 27.04.2015. <http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0195666314000907>.
- Della Porta, Donatella, and Michael Keating. 2008. *Approaches and Methodologies in the Social Sciences, A Pluralist Perspective*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Difi. 2012a. "Anbefalte krav og kriterier for miljøvennlige og sosialt ansvarlige anskaffelser av mat- og drikkevarer i offentlig sektor." Oslo: Direktoratet for forvaltning og IKT (Difi). Accessed 17.12.2014. http://www.anskaffelser.no/sites/anskaffelser/files/Mat%20-%20krav%20og%20kriterier%20v1_0.pdf.
- Difi. 2012b. "Bakgrunnsrapport om Økologisk mat og tilhørende miljøhensyn ved offentlige anskaffelser av mat og serveringstjenester." Oslo: Direktoratet for forvaltning og IKT (Difi). Accessed 16.12.2014. <http://www.anskaffelser.no/sites/anskaffelser/files/Bakgrunnsrapport%20-%20Mat%20og%20servering.pdf>.
- Difi. 2015. "Offentlige anskaffelser." Direktoratet for forvaltning og IKT (Difi) Accessed 25.04.2015. <http://www.difi.no/veiledning/offentlige-anskaffelser>.
- FAO. 2013. "Major cuts of greenhouse gas emissions from livestock within reach." Food and Agriculture Organization of the United States Accessed 25.11.2014. <http://www.fao.org/news/story/en/item/197608/icode/>.
- Fiddes, Nick. 1991. *Meat: a natural symbol*. London: Routledge.
- Field, Andy. 2009. *Discovering statistics using SPSS : (and sex and drugs and rock 'n' roll)*. 3rd ed. ed. Los Angeles: SAGE.
- FIVH. 2014. "Om oss og hva vi arbeider for." Framtiden i Våre Hender, Last Modified 22.10.2014 Accessed 09.02.2015. <http://www.framtiden.no/201003032076/om-oss/hva-vi-gjor/hva-gjor-framtiden-i-vare-hender.html>.

- Forsvaret. 2014a. "Felleskapasiteter." Forsvaret, Last Modified 14.01.2015 Accessed 28.01.2015. <http://forsvaret.no/fakta/organisasjon/Forsvarets-logistikkorganisasjon/Felleskapasiteter>.
- Forsvaret. 2014b. "Female conscription in Norway." Norwegian Armed Forces Media Centre, Last Modified 27.10.2014 Accessed 26.03.2015. <http://mil.no/organisation/news/Pages/Female-conscription-in-Norway.aspx>.
- Forsvaret. 2014c. "Forsvarets kjerneverdier." Forsvaret, Last Modified 14.11.2014 Accessed 10.02.2015. <http://forsvaret.no/faktabokser/faktaboks-ram>.
- Forsvaret. 2015. "Verneplikt." Forsvaret Accessed 25.02.2015. <http://forsvaret.no/karriere/forstegangstjeneste/kva-er-verneplikt>.
- Foucault, Michel. 1982. "The Subject and Power. Afterword by Michel Foucault." In *Michel Foucault : beyond structuralism and hermeneutics*, edited by Hubert L. Dreyfus and Paul Rabinow, 208-226. Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press.
- Foucault, Michel, and Colin Gordon. 1980. *Power/knowledge : selected interviews and other writings 1972-1977*. Brighton: Harvester Press.
- Fuchs, Doris A., and Sylvia Lorek. 2005. "Sustainable Consumption Governance: A History of Promises and Failures." *Journal of Consumer Policy* 28:261-288. Accessed 19.10.2014. <http://link.springer.com/article/10.1007%2Fs10603-005-8490-z>.
- Garnett, Tara. 2011. "Where are the best opportunities for reducing greenhouse gas emissions in the food system (including the food chain)?" *Food Policy* 36:S23-S32. Accessed 25.11.2014. <http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0306919210001132>.
- Gerber, P. J., H. Steinfeld, B. Henderson, A. Mottet, C. Opio, J. Dijkman, A. Falcucci, and G. Tempio. 2013. "Tackling climate change through livestock - A global assessment of emissions and mitigation opportunities." Rome: Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO): FAO. Accessed 02.11.2014. <http://www.fao.org/3/a-i3437e/index.html>.
- Grønlund, Arne. 2015. "Vurdering av klimatiltak i jordbruket." *Bioforsk Rapport*:19: Bioforsk (Unpublished work).
- Grønmo, Sigmund. 2007. *Samfunnsvitenskapelige metoder*. Bergen: Fagbokforlaget Vigmostad & Bjørke AS.
- Guzmán, Maria A., and Unni Kjærnes. 1998. "Menneske og dyr. En kvalitativ studie av holdninger til kjøtt." (Arbeidsrapport nr. 6 - 1998). Oslo: Statens Institutt for Forbruksforskning (SIFO). Accessed 12.11.2014. http://www.sifo.no/files/file48384_arbeidsrapport_1998-6_web.pdf.
- Hindess, Barry. 1996. *Discourses of power: from Hobbes to Foucault*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd.
- Hobson, Kersty. 2003. "Thinking Habits into Action: The role of knowledge and process in questioning household consumption practices." *Local Environment* 8 (1):95-112. Accessed 07.04.2015. <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/13549830306673>.
- Holm, L., and M. Møhl. 2000. "The role of meat in everyday food culture: an analysis of an interview study in Copenhagen." *Appetite* 34 (3):277-283. Accessed 18.02.2015. <http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0195666300903246>.

- Howlett, Micael, M. Ramesh, and Anthony Perl. 2009. *Studying Public Policy, Policy Cycles & Policy Subsystems*. 3rd edition ed. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- IPCC. 2014. "Climate Change 2014: Mitigation of Climate Change. Contribution of Working Group III to the Fifth Assessment, Report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change." Cambridge, United Kingdom and New York, NY, USA: Cambridge University Press. Accessed 15.01.2015. <http://www.ipcc.ch/report/ar5/wg3/>.
- Johannessen, Asbjørn. 2009. *Introduksjon til SPSS : versjon 17*. 4. utg. ed. Oslo: Abstrakt forl.
- Johannessen, Asbjørn, Line Christoffersen, and Per Arne Tuft. 2010. *Introduksjon til samfunnsvitenskapelig metode*. 4. utg. ed. Oslo: Abstrakt.
- Kathle, Jessica. 2014. "Landbruk uten soya fra Brasil." Norsk Landbrukssamvirke, Last Modified 30.04.2014 Accessed 10.05.2015. <http://www.landbruk.no/Nyheter/Nyhetsartikler/Fra-jord-til-bord/Landbruk-uten-soya-fra-Brasil>.
- Keeley, James, and Ian Scoones. 1999. "Understanding Environmental Policy Processes: A Review." (IDS Working Paper 89). Brighton: IDS: Environment Group, Institute of Development Studies: University of Sussex. Accessed 23.03.2015. <http://mobile.opendocs.ids.ac.uk/opendocs/bitstream/handle/123456789/3410/wp89.pdf?sequence=1>.
- Kingdon, John W. 2003. *Agendas, alternatives, and public policies*. 2nd ed. Boston: Little, Brown and Co.
- Kjærnes, Unni. 2012. "Ethics and Action: A Relational Perspective on Consumer Choice in the European Politics of Food." *Journal of Agricultural and Environmental Ethics* 25 (2):145-162. Accessed 24.04.2015. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s10806-011-9315-5>.
- Kjærnes, Unni, Svein Ole Borgen, Anita Borch, and Randi Lavik. 2010. "Tillit til kjøtt - endringer og utfordringer i det norske markedet." (Oppdragsrapport nr. 14 - 2010). Oslo: Statens Institutt for Forbruksforskning (SIFO). Accessed 24.04.2015. http://www.sifo.no/files/file77267_oppdagsrapport_14-2010_web.pdf.
- Kristiansen, Bjørn. 1999. "Lise Lachmann og maktens relasjoner. En analyse basert på et skifte, Conradine Dunkers erindringer og Tøyen hovedgård." Master's thesis, Institutt for kulturstudier, Universitetet i Oslo.
- Kubberød, Elin, Øydis Ueland, Marit Rødbotten, Frank Westad, and Einar Risvik. 2002a. "Gender specific preferences and attitudes towards meat." *Food Quality and Preference* (13):285-294. Accessed 16.01.2015. <http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0950329302000411>.
- Kubberød, Elin, Øydis Ueland, Åsne Tronstad, and Einar Risvik. 2002b. "Attitudes towards meat and meat-eating among adolescents in Norway: a qualitative study." *Appetite* 38 (1):53-62. Accessed 16.01.2015. <http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0195666302904587>.
- Kvale, Steinar, Svend Brinkmann, Tone Margaret Anderssen, and Johan Rygge. 2009. *Det kvalitative forskningsintervju*. 2. utg. ed, *InterView[s] learning the craft of qualitative research interviewing*. Oslo: Gyldendal akademisk.
- Køber, Petter Kristian. 2015. "Kvinneandel i førstegangstjenesten." *Velger Forsvaret de rette ungdommene? - en analyse av seleksjon, gjennomføring og frafall i*

- førstegangstjenesten (Preliminary data)*: Forsvarets Forskningsinstitutt (FFI). Accessed 21.04.2015. <http://www.ffi.no/no/Rapporter/14-02174.pdf>.
- Lafferty, William M., Jørgen Knudsen, and Olav Mosvold Larsen. 2007. "Pursuing Sustainable Development in Norway: the Challenge of Living Up To Brundtland at Home." *European Environment* 17:177-188. <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1002/eet.451/pdf>.
- Langhelle, Oluf. 2000. "Norway: Reluctancy Carrying the Torch." In *Implementing sustainable development: strategies and initiatives in high consumption societies*, edited by William M. Lafferty and James Meadowcroft. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Lavik, Randi. 2008. "10 år - endring og stabilitet i forbruk og holdninger til kjøtt. 1997 - 2007." (Oppdragsrapport nr. 2 - 2008). Oslo: Statens Institutt for Forbruksforskning (SIFO). Accessed 24.01.2015. http://www.sifo.no/files/file73957_oppdagsrapport_2008-2-web.pdf.
- Lien, Marianne Elisabeth, and Birgitte Nerlich. 2004. *The Politics of Food*. Oxford, UK: Berg.
- Locher, Julie L., William C. Yoels, Donna Maurer, and Jillian van Ells. 2005. "Comfort Foods: An Exploratory Journey Into The Social and Emotional Significance of Food." *Food and Foodways* 13 (4):273-297. Accessed 07.04.2015. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/07409710500334509>.
- Lupton, Deborah. 1996. *Food, the Body and the Self*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd.
- Melnes, Marte. 2015. "Resultat spørreundersøkelse kjøttfri mandag i Forsvaret. Spørsmål til kjøkkensjefer ved messer som har deltatt i FLOs messeundersøkelse 2014/2015." Forsvarets Forskningsinstitutt (FFI): Forsvarets Forskningsinstitutt (FFI). Accessed 18.04.2015.
- MFM. 2012. "How MFM helps." Accessed 11.05.2015. <http://www.meatfreemondays.com/how-mfm-helps/>.
- Miller, Jeff, and Jonathan Deutsch. 2009. *Food studies. An Introduction to Research Methods*. Oxford, UK, New York, USA: Berg.
- Ministry of Agriculture and Food. 2009. "Økonomisk, agronomisk - økologisk! Handlingsplan for å nå målet om 15 pst økologisk produksjon og forbruk i 2020." Oslo: Landbruks- og matdepartementet. Accessed 17.11.2014. https://www.regjeringen.no/globalassets/upload/lmd/vedlegg/brosjurer_veiledere_rapporter/handlingsplan_økologisk_200109.pdf.
- Ministry of Agriculture and Food Norway. 2009. "Klimautfordringene - landbruket en del av løsningen." Oslo: Ministry of Agriculture and Food Norway. Accessed 04.02.2015. <https://www.regjeringen.no/nb/aktuelt/klimautfordringene--landbruket-en-viktig/id564200/>.
- Ministry of Agriculture and Food Norway. 2010. "Økologisk på menyen i Forsvaret." Ministry of Food and Agriculture Norway, Last Modified 11.11.2010 Accessed 16.12.2014. <https://www.regjeringen.no/nb/aktuelt/økologisk-pa-menyen-i-forsvaret/id623976/>.
- Ministry of Defence Norway. 2009. "Revidert handlingsplan for forsvarssektoren for perioden 2009-2012. Holdninger, etikk og ledelse." Forsvarsdepartementet. Accessed 13.03.2015. <http://www.forsvarsbygg.no/Global/Forsvarsbygg%20og%20samfunnet/Etikk%20i%20Forsvarsbygg/Handlingsplan%20holdninger,%20etikk%20og%20ledelse.pdf>.

- Ministry of Environment Norway. 2007a. "Norsk klimapolitikk." Oslo: Ministry of Environment Norway. Accessed 04.02.2015. <https://www.regjeringen.no/nb/dokumenter/Stmeld-nr-34-2006-2007-/id473411/>.
- Ministry of Environment Norway. 2007b. "Regjeringens miljøpolitikk og rikets miljøtilstand." Oslo: Ministry of Environment Norway. Accessed 04.02.2015. <https://www.regjeringen.no/nb/dokumenter/Stmeld-nr-26-2006-2007-/id465279/>.
- Ministry of Environment Norway, Ministry of Children and Equality Norway, and Ministry of Government Administration and Reform Norway. 2007. "Environmental and Social Responsibility in Public Procurement (Sustainable Public Procurement)." The Norwegian Action Plan 2007 - 2010. Oslo: Ministry of Environment Norway, Ministry of Children and Equality Norway, Ministry of Government Administration and Reform Norway. Accessed 02.11.2014. http://www.regjeringen.no/nb/dep/md/dok/rapporter_planer/planer/2007/T-1467-Miljo--og-samfunnsansvar-i-offent.html?id=473352.
- MLM. 2015. "Meatless Monday goes global." Accessed 11.05.2015. <http://www.meatlessmonday.com/the-global-movement/>.
- Morgan, David L. 1998. *The focus group guidebook*. Thousand Oaks, Calif: Sage.
- Moses, Jonathon W., and Torbjørn L. Knutsen. 2007. *Ways of Knowing: Competing Methodologies in Social and Political Research*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Nealon, Jeffrey T., and Susan Searls Giroux. 2012. *The theory toolbox : critical concepts for the humanities, arts and social sciences*. 2nd ed. ed, *Culture and politics series*. Lanham, Md: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Nordaard, Kari Marie. 2011. "Introduction." In *Living in Denial: Climate Change, Emotions, and Everyday Life*, 1-12. Cambridge, Mass. And London, The MIT Press.
- Oxford English Dictionary. 2015a. "English definition of "comfort food", draft additions 1997." Accessed 08.04.2015. <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/36890?redirectedFrom=comfort+food#eid8985487>.
- Oxford English Dictionary. 2015b. "Righteousness." Last Modified OED Third Edition, June 2010 Accessed 09.04.2015. <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/165878>.
- Parry, Jovian. 2009. "Oryx and Crake and the New Nostalgia for Meat." *Society and Animals* 17 (3):241-256. Accessed 10.04.2015. <http://booksandjournals.brillonline.com/content/journals/10.1163/156853009x445406>.
- Poteete, Amy R., Marco A. Janssen, and Elinor Ostrom. 2010. "Overcoming Methodological Challenges." *Working Together: Collective Action, the Commons, and Multiple Methods in Practice*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Accessed 27.04.2015. <http://press.princeton.edu/chapters/s9209.pdf>.
- Rasmussen, Ingeborg. 1997. "Bærekraftig produksjon og forbruk." In *Rio +5, Norges oppfølging av FN-konferansen om miljø og utvikling*, edited by William M. Lafferty, Oluf S. Langhelle, Pål Mugaas and Mari Holmboe Ruge, 106-135. Tano Aschehoug.
- Roos, Gun, and Margareta Wandel. 2004. "Menn og mat. Menn, yrkedsgruppe og helselivsstil: En kvalitativ studie." Oslo: Statens Institutt for Forbruksforskning (SIFO). Accessed 12.02.2015. http://www.sifo.no/files/file48566_prosjektnotat_2004-01web.pdf.

- Rothgerber, Hank. 2013. "Real Men Don't Eat (Vegetable) Quiche: Masculinity and the Justification of Meat Consumption." *Psychology of Men & Masculinity* 14 (4):363-375. Accessed 15.04.2015. https://foodethics.univie.ac.at/fileadmin/user_upload/p_foodethik/Rothgerber_Hank_2012_Real_Men_Dont_Eat_-_Vegetable-Quiche_Masculinity_and_the_Justification_of_Meat_Consumption.pdf.
- Ruud, Tor Arne, Hans T. Wittussen, Bjørn-Ole Juul-Hansen, Jan Ole Mellby, Erlend Røhnebæk, Laila Aass, Lars Johan Rustad, Åse Marit F. Anderssen, and Ola Nafstad. 2013. "Økt storfeproduksjon i Norge - rapport fra ekspertgruppen." Accessed 19.01.2015. https://www.regjeringen.no/globalassets/upload/lmd/vedlegg/brosjurer_veiledere_rapporter/kjoettgruppens_rapport_feb_2013.pdf.
- Sabaté, Joan, and Sam Soret. 2014. "Sustainability of plant-based diets: back to the future." *American Society for Nutrition*:1S-7S. Accessed 12.11.2014. <http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed/24898222>.
- Sabatier, Paul A. 2007. *Theories of the policy process*. 2nd ed. ed. Boulder, Colo: Westview Press.
- Sabatier, Paul, and Daniel Mazmanian. 1980. "The Implementation of Public Policy: A Framework of Analysis." *Policy Studies Journal* 8 (4):538-560. Accessed 19.02.2015. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1541-0072.1980.tb01266.x>.
- Scheyvens, Regina, and Donovan Storey. 2003. *Development Fieldwork, A Practical Guide*. London: Sage.
- Seip, Hans Martin, and Ivar Gaasland. 2014. "Skader drøvtyggerne klimaet?". Cicero, Senter for klimaforskning, Last Modified 09.07.2014 Accessed 18.12.2014. <http://www.cicero.uio.no/webnews/index.aspx?id=12043>.
- Stoknes, Per Espen. 2015. *What we think about when we try not to think about global warming: toward a new psychology of climate action*: Chelsea Green Publishing.
- Stolle, Dietlind, Marc Hooghe, and Michelle Micheletti. 2005. "Politics in the Supermarket: Political Consumerism as a Form of Political Participation." *International Political Science Review* 26 (3):245-269. Accessed 19.04.2015. <http://ips.sagepub.com/content/26/3/245.full.pdf+html>.
- Strøm-Erichsen, Anne-Grete. 2013. "Utdelingen av Forsvarsdepartementets miljøvernpris, 13. mai." Regjeringen, Last Modified 13.05.2013 Accessed 23.02.2015. <https://www.regjeringen.no/nb/aktuelt/utdelingen-av-forsvarsdepartementets-mil/id727006/>.
- Syse, Karen Lykke. 2010. "Expert Systems, Local Knowledge and Power in Argyll, Scotland." *Landscape Research* 35:4:469-484. Accessed 24.03.2015. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/01426397.2010.486855>.
- Sørum, Helene. 2012. "Økologisk mat i Forsvaret - holdninger til økologisk mat og landbruk blant brukerne av Forsvarets messer." *Mat, ernæring og helse* Masteroppgave. Oslo: Høgskolen i Oslo og Akershus. Accessed 09.03.2015. https://oda.hio.no/jspui/bitstream/10642/1338/2/soerum_maeh_2012pdf.pdf.
- The Norwegian Directorate of Health. 2014a. "Anbefalinger om kosthold, ernæring og fysisk aktivitet." Oslo: The Norwegian Directorate of Health. Accessed 15.03.2015. <http://helsedirektoratet.no/folkehelse/ernering/kostholdsrad/Sider/default.aspx>.
- The Norwegian Directorate of Health. 2014b. "Utviklingen i norsk kosthold 2014." Oslo: The Norwegian Directorate of Health. Accessed

- 15.03.2015. <https://helsedirektoratet.no/Lists/Publikasjoner/Attachments/802/Utviklingen-i-norsk-kosthold-2014-IS-2255.pdf>.
- The Norwegian Directorate of Health. 2015. "Kostråd fra Helsedirektoratet." Helsedirektoratet, Last Modified 24.04.2015 Accessed 29.04.2015. <https://helsedirektoratet.no/folkehelse/kosthold-og-ertering/kostrad-fra-helsedirektoratet>.
- Thøgersen, John. 2005. "How May Consumer Policy Empower Consumers for Sustainable Lifestyles?" *Journal of Consumer Policy* 28:143-178. doi: 10.1007/s10603-005-2982-8.
- Totland, Torunn Holm, Benedicte Kjerpeseth Melnæs, Ninna Lundberg-Hallen, Kaja Marie Helland-Kigen, Nicolai Andre Lund-Blix, Jannicke Borch Myhre, Anne Marte Wetting Johansen, Elin Bjørge Løken, and Lene Frost Andersen. 2012. "Norkost 3. En landsomfattende kostholdsundersøkelse blant menn og kvinner i Norge i alderen 18-70 år, 2010-11." Helsedirektoratet: Avdeling for nasjonalt folkehelsearbeid: Universitetet i Oslo Helsedirektoratet, Mattilsynet. Accessed 12.10.2014. <https://helsedirektoratet.no/Lists/Publikasjoner/Attachments/301/Norkost-3-en-landsovmfattende-kostholdsundersokelse-blant-menn-og-kvinner-i-norge-i-alderen-18-70-ar-2010-11-IS-2000.pdf>.
- Uglem, Solveig. 2012. "Predictors and change in dietary behaviours among young men: an intervention in the military." Oslo: Faculty of Medicine, University of Oslo. Accessed 02.03.2015. <https://www.duo.uio.no/handle/10852/34676>.
- UNEP. 2012. "Growing greenhouse gas emissions due to meat production." [Report]. UNEP Global Environmental Alert Service (GEAS) Bulletin, Last Modified October 2012 Accessed 11.12.2014. http://na.unep.net/geas/getUNEPPageWithArticleIDScript.php?article_id=92.
- Vermeir, Iris, and Wim Verbeke. 2006. "Sustainable Food Consumption: Exploring the Consumer "Attitude - Behavioral Intention" Gap." *Journal of Agricultural and Environmental Ethics* 19:169-194. Accessed 24.03.2015. http://www.researchgate.net/profile/Wim_Verbeke2/publication/226354722_Sustainable_Food_Consumption_Exploring_the_Consumer_Attitude_Behavioral_Intention_Gap/links/02e7e52777df661605000000.pdf.
- Vittersø, Gunnar, and Thea Grav Rosenberg. 2014. "Kjøtt og reklame. En studie av annonsering og reklame for kjøtt i det norske matmarkedet." Oslo: Statens Institutt for Forbruksforskning (SIFO): SIFO. Accessed 24.04.2015. http://www.sifo.no/files/file79841_oppdagsrapport_4-2014_web.pdf.
- Wallenborn, Grégoire, and Harold Wilhite. 2014. "Rethinking embodied knowledge and household consumption." *Energy Research & Social Science* 1 (0):56-64. Accessed 10.04.2015. <http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S2214629614000231>.
- Wansink, Brian. 2000. "The Taste of Comfort: Food for thought on how Americans eat to feel better." *Advertising Age*, Last Modified 01.07.2000 Accessed 08.04.2015. <http://adage.com/article/american-demographics/taste-comfort-food-thought-americans-eat-feel/43135/>.
- Wansink, Brian, Matthew M. Cheney, and Nina Chan. 2003. "Exploring comfort food preferences across age and gender." *Physiology & Behavior* 79 (4-5):739-747. Accessed

23.04.2015. <http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0031938403002038>.

Warde, Alan. 1997. *Consumption, food and taste : culinary antinomies and commodity culture*. London: SAGE.

Wilhite, Harold. 2008. *Consumption and the Transformation of Everyday Life: A View from South India*. Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

World Commission on Environment and Development. 1987. "Towards Sustainable Development." In *Our Common Future*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Appendices

Table of contents

- Appendix A: Survey questionnaire 1
- Appendix B: Tables..... 10
- Appendix C: Interview guide I, II & III. 15
 - I. Interview guide: Soldiers 15
 - II. Interview guide: Chefs and cooks 18
 - III. Interview guide: Policy makers 20
- Appendix D: Overview informants 22
- Appendix E: Letter of informed consent 23
- Appendix F: Policy document to military mess halls 25
- Appendix G: FIVH posters 28

Appendix A: Survey questionnaire

Copy of the survey questionnaire, 8 pages.

SI DIN MENING OM SPISEMESSEN DIN!

Forsvaret legger stor vekt på at maten vi serverer skal ha god smak og et fristende utseende, samtidig som kostholdet skal være ernæringsmessig riktig.

Gjennom denne spørreundersøkelsen ønsker forsvarsledelsen å få tilbakemeldinger fra vernepliktige på hvordan menytilbudet i Forsvaret oppleves og om målene for forpleining nås.

Svarene er svært viktige for oss. Vi håper derfor du tar deg tid til å fylle ut skjemaet! Ved å fylle ut skjemaet, samtykker du i at opplysningene du gir kan brukes til forskning. Alle besvarelser anonymiseres slik at ingen kan vite hvem som har svart hva. Det tar om lag 10 minutter å fylle ut skjemaet.

1 Tilhører du denne spisemessen?

Merk: Sett ett kryss

- Ja
 Nei

FROKOST

2 Hvor mange dager i uken spiser du vanligvis frokost i spisemessen?

Tenk på en vanlig uke der du ikke er på feltøvelse eller annen reise.

Merk: Sett ett kryss

- 1
 2
 3
 4
 5 eller flere
 Ingen dager

3 Hvor fornøyd eller misfornøyd er du med følgende forhold ved frokosttilbudet i spisemessen?

Merk: Sett ett kryss på hver linje

	Svært misfornøyd 1	2	3	4	5	Svært fornøyd 6	Vet ikke/ikke relevant
Brødutvalget	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Hvor ferskt brødet er	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kjøttpålegg	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Fiskepålegg	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ost	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Søtpålegg (syltetøy, nugatti o.l.)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Frokostblandinger/mysli	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Frukt	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Grønnsaker	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Varmretter	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Drikke	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Variasjonen i tilbudet	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Frokosttilbudet alt i alt	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

LUNSJ

4 Hvor fornøyd eller misfornøyd er du med følgende forhold ved lunsjtilbudet i spisemessen?*Merk: Sett ett kryss på hver linje*

	Svært misfornøyd					Svært fornøyd		Vet ikke/Ikke relevant
	1	2	3	4	5	6		
Salatbuffeen	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Dressinger	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Frukt	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Varmretter	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Drikke	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Variasjonen i tilbudet	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Kvaliteten på tilbudet	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Smak	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Utseende på maten	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Lunsjtilbudet alt i alt	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	

5 Ønsker du andre ingredienser i salatbaren enn det du får servert nå? I så fall, hva?

MIDDAG

6 Hvor fornøyd eller misfornøyd er du med følgende forhold ved middagstilbudet i spisemessen?*Merk: Sett ett kryss på hver linje*

	Svært misfornøyd					Svært fornøyd		Vet ikke/Ikke relevant
	1	2	3	4	5	6		
Variasjonen i tilbudet	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Kvaliteten på tilbudet	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Smak	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Utseende på maten	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Drikke	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Dessert	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Middagstilbudet alt i alt	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	

KVELDSMAT

7 Hvordan tilbys kveldsmåltidet?

Merk: Sett ett kryss

- Ingen tilbud
- Smører niste ved frokost
- Smører niste ved lunsj
- Smører niste ved middag
- Buffé
- Annet

8 Hvor fornøyd eller misfornøyd er du med følgende forhold ved kveldsmattilbudet i spisemessen?

Merk: Sett ett kryss på hver linje

	Svært misfornøyd					Svært fornøyd	Vet ikke/ikke relevant
	1	2	3	4	5	6	
Variasjonen i tilbudet	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kvaliteten på tilbudet	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Smak	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Utseende på maten	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Oppbevaring av matpakker, hvis aktuelt	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kveldsmaten alt i alt	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

9 Hva ønsker du helst å få servert til kvelds?

Merk: Sett ett kryss

- Brødmat
- Et varmt måltid
- Salatbar

10 Hvilket klokkeslett bør kveldsmat serveres?

Skriv inn klokkeslett med fire tall, for eksempel 2315

--	--	--	--

(ett tall i hver rute)

11 Hvor ofte hender det at du benytter noen av følgende alternativer/tilskudd til kveldsmat?

Merk: Sett ett kryss på hver linje

	Aldri	1 dag i uken	2 dager i uken	3 dager i uken	4 dager i uken	5 dager i uken	6 dager i uken	7 dager i uken
Kantinen	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Lokalt spisested (gatekjøkken e.l.)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Lokal butikk	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kosttilskudd som proteinshake, energibarar e.l.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Godteri, potetgull e.l.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

FAVORITTMAT

12 Nedenfor er en liste med matretter som serveres i Forsvarets spisemesser. Hvor godt eller dårlig liker du disse rettene på en skala fra 1 til 6, der 1 = «liker svært dårlig» og 6 = «liker svært godt»?

Merk: Sett ett kryss på hver linje

	Liker svært dårlig					Liker svært godt	Vet ikke
	1	2	3	4	5	6	
Laks	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Fiskepinner	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Torsk	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Lasagne	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Biff	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Koteletter	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Chili con carne	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kylling	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Suppe	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Pølser	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Pizza	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Risengrynsgrøt	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kebab	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Wraps	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Tex mex	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

DRIKKEVARER

13 Hvor godt eller dårlig liker du disse drikkevarerne, på en skala fra 1 til 6, der 1 = «liker svært dårlig» og 6 = «liker svært godt»?

Merk: Sett ett kryss på hver linje

	Liker svært dårlig					Liker svært godt	Vet ikke
	1	2	3	4	5	6	
Melk	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Juice	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Vann	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Brus/drikke med tilsatt sukker	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Brus/drikke med kunstig søtstoff	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kullsyreholdig vann	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kaffe	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Te	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

KOSTHOLD OG TRENING

14 Mener du at tilbudet i spisemessene dekker ditt behov for energi og næringsstoffer i forbindelse med trening?

Merk: Sett ett kryss

Ja

Nei

Kommenter i boksen under:

15 Bruker du kosttilskudd?

Merk: Sett ett kryss

- Ja → Gå til 16
 Nei → Gå til 17

16 Hvis ja, hva slags kosttilskudd bruker du?

Merk: Flere kryss mulig

- Vitaminer og mineraler
 Omega-3/tran
 Energibarer
 Proteinpulver/-barer og lignende
 Kreatinpreparater
 Annet, noter i boksen under:

PÅSTANDER OM MATEN OG SPISEMESSEN

17 Hvor enig eller uenig er du i følgende påstander om menytilbudet i Forsvaret?

Merk: Sett ett kryss på hver linje

	Helt uenig 1	2	3	4	5	Helt enig 6	Vet ikke
Maten i Forsvaret smaker godt	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Maten i Forsvaret ser delikate og god ut	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Maten i Forsvaret er sunn og næringsrik	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Menytilbudet i Forsvaret er variert	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Forsvaret gir meg tilstrekkelig informasjon om mattilbudet	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Spisemessen er godt tilpasset antall personer som spiser der	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
De som har ansvar for spisemessen gjør en god jobb	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kjøkkenbetjeningen er synlig og tilgjengelig under måltidene	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Spisemessen samarbeider godt med avdelingen i forhold til spisetider og tilrettelegging av måltidene	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Det er gode håndvaskfasiliteter ved/nær spisemessen	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mine medsoldater er flinke til å vaske hendene før måltidene	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mine medsoldater forholder seg til antreksbestemmelser i spisemessen	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

18 Hender det at spesielle hendelser påvirker mattilbudet i messa (positivt eller negativt)?

F.eks. ved høytstående besøk, lavt antall spisegjester, eller annet

Merk: Sett ett kryss

- Ja
 Nei

Kommenter i boksen under:

19 Har du opplevd ikke å få servert et måltid fordi tjenesten ikke tillater det?*Merk: Sett ett kryss* Ja Nei

Kommenter i boksen under:

PÅSTANDER OM DEG SELV**20 Hvor enig eller uenig er du i følgende påstander om deg selv og ditt forhold til maten du spiser?***Merk: Sett ett kryss på hver linje*

	Helt uenig 1	2	3	4	5	Helt enig 6	Vet ikke
Jeg spiser all slags mat dersom den blir tilberedt på en god og smakfull måte	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Det er viktigere for meg at maten smaker godt enn at den er spesielt sunn	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Jeg spiser ikke enkelte typer mat på grunn av min religion	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Jeg spiser bevisst sunn mat	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Jeg spiser mer fisk i Forsvaret enn ellers	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Jeg spiser mer kjøtt i Forsvaret enn ellers	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Jeg spiser mer frukt i Forsvaret enn ellers	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Jeg spiser mer grønnsaker i Forsvaret enn ellers	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Jeg har blitt mer bevisst det å spise sunn mat gjennom tiden i Forsvaret	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Forsvaret har motivert meg til å spise mer sunn mat også på fritiden/etter verneplikten	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Jeg vet at maten jeg spiser påvirker klima og miljø	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Jeg synes det er positivt at Forsvaret tar hensyn til klima og miljø i matinnkjøp	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Jeg synes det er positivt at 15% av maten i Forsvaret er økologisk	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

MILJØ OG KOSTHOLD

Vegetarmat forstås her som mat som ikke inneholder kjøtt, fugl eller fisk, men kan inneholde andre produkter fra dyr, som for eksempel melk og egg (supper, pannekaker, grøt etc.).

21 Jeg kjenner til at Forsvaret har innført tiltak for redusert kjøttforbruk*Merk: Sett ett kryss* Ja Nei

22 Hvor ofte serveres det vegetarmat (dvs. hverken kjøtt eller fisk) i messa?

Merk: Sett ett kryss

- En gang i uka
- To ganger i uka
- Tre eller flere ganger i uka
- Sjelden
- Aldri

23 Hvor ofte hender det at du velger vegetarretter (dvs. hverken kjøtt eller fisk) til lunsj eller middag i messa?

Merk: Sett ett kryss

- En gang i uka
- To ganger i uka
- Tre eller flere ganger i uka
- Sjelden
- Aldri

24 Hvor ofte spiser du kjøtt i messa?

Merk: Sett ett kryss

- Flere ganger daglig
- En gang om dagen
- Hver andre dag
- Sjeldnere enn hver andre dag
- Aldri

27 Hvor enig eller uenig er du i følgende utsagn?

Merk: Sett ett kryss på hver linje

	Helt uenig						Helt enig	
	1	2	3	4	5	6		Vet ikke
Det er gunstig for miljøet å endre forbruket fra rødt til hvitt kjøtt	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Å redusere kjøttforbruket er et effektivt miljøtiltak	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Med tanke på global rettferdig fordeling av ressurser er det riktig å redusere kjøttforbruket	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Dyrevelferd er viktig for meg	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Det er viktig å ta vare på miljøet	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Vi burde alle bli vegetarianere	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

28 Hvor enig eller uenig er du i følgende utsagn?

Merk: Sett ett kryss på hver linje

	Helt uenig						Helt enig	
	1	2	3	4	5	6		Vet ikke
Matens effekt på helsen min er viktigere for meg enn matens effekt på miljøet	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Høyt kjøttforbruk er skadelig for helsen	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Jeg må spise kjøtt daglig for å få i meg nok protein og næringsstoffer	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Et riktig sammensatt vegetarkosthold inneholder alle de næringsstoffene kroppen trenger	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

25 Hvis det innføres en ukentlig kjøttfri dag i spisemessa, ville dette påvirket dine spisevaner på noen av de følgende måter?

Merk: Sett ett kryss

- Jeg ville spise flere måltider i messa denne dagen enn jeg normalt gjør
- Jeg ville spise færre måltider i messa denne dagen enn jeg normalt gjør
- Det ville ikke hatt noen innvirkning på mine spisevaner
- Vet ikke/umulig å svare

26 Hvor ofte unngår du å spise i messa fordi det serveres fisk?

Merk: Sett ett kryss

- Hver gang
- Ofte
- Noen ganger
- Sjelden
- Aldri

29 Hvor enig eller uenig er du i følgende utsagn?

Merk: Sett ett kryss på hver linje

	Helt uenig					Helt enig	Vet ikke
	1	2	3	4	5	6	
Vegetarmaten i messa smaker godt	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Vegetarmaten i messa er mettende	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Det er bra hvis Forsvarets messer kan tilby vegetarmat	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Jeg blir ikke skikkelig mett av et middagsmåltid uten hverken kjøtt eller fisk	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Et middagsmåltid smaker best når det er enten kjøtt eller fisk med	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Hvis folk lærer mer om hva vegetarmat er, blir det lettere for dem å redusere kjøttforbruket sitt	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Hvis folk lærer mer om matens effekt på miljøet, blir det lettere for dem å redusere kjøttforbruket sitt	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Når jeg flytter i egen bolig kommer jeg til å velge å spise middag uten hverken kjøtt eller fisk en eller flere ganger i uken	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Det er vanskelig for meg å redusere kjøttforbruket mitt	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Jeg synes det er vanskelig å lage god mat uten kjøtt eller fisk	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Jeg har fått et mer positivt syn på vegetarmat etter at jeg kom i Forsvaret	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

BAKGRUNNSSPØRSMÅL

30 Er du mann eller kvinne?

Merk: Sett ett kryss

- Mann
 Kvinne

31 Hva er din alder?

År (ett tall i hver rute)

32 Hvor lenge har du tjenestegjort i Forsvaret?

Merk: Sett ett kryss

- Mindre enn 3 måneder
 3-6 måneder
 6-9 måneder
 Over 9 måneder

33 Hvor hadde du oppveksten din/hvor kommer du fra?

Merk: Sett ett kryss

- Storby (mer enn 50.000 innbyggere)
 Mellomstor by (15.000-49.999 innbyggere)
 Småby (5.000-14.999 innbyggere)
 Tettsted i landkommune
 Spredtbygd strøk

34 Har du fullført videregående skole?

Merk: Sett ett kryss

- Ja
 Nei

35 Hvor ofte trener du/er du fysisk aktiv slik at du blir andpusten og svett?

Merk: Sett ett kryss

- Hver dag
 5-6 dager i uka
 2-4 dager i uka
 1 dag i uka
 2-3 dager i måneden
 Sjeldnere

36 Røyker du?

Merk: Sett ett kryss

- Ja
 Av og til
 Nei

37 Snuser du?

Merk: Sett ett kryss

- Ja
 Av og til
 Nei

Takk for hjelpen!

Appendix B: Tables

Tables based on SPSS analysis, 4 pages

1 Gender / attitudes**Women's attitudes**

		Strongly Disagree	2	3	4	5	Strongly Agree	Don't Know	Missing count
29_9	It is difficult for me to reduce my consumption of meat	13,5	12,8	17,2	19,1	14,9	13,2	9,4	390
29_4	I do not feel full from eating a dinner without fish or meat	14,9	11,7	14,3	18,7	15,7	11,3	13,4	374
29_3	The military mess halls should provide vegetarian food	5,9	7	13,3	18,8	16,2	27,3	11,5	405
29_2	The vegetarian food in the mess hall is filling	8,5	8,5	11,7	12,3	5,9	5,3	47,8	369
29_1	The vegetarian food in the mess hall tastes good	7,7	9,2	11,6	12,5	6,7	5,2	47,1	357
28_4	A well balanced vegetarian diet contains all the necessary nutrients	10,7	14,1	14,3	14,9	10,3	14,9	20,7	460
28_3	I need to eat meat on a daily basis to consume enough protein and nutrients	12,4	12,9	19,1	20,5	15,1	9,8	10,2	439
28_1	The food's effect on my body is more important to me than the effect it has on the environment	2,7	6,4	23,1	29,2	15,3	13,1	10,2	398
27_5	It is important to protect the environment	0,8	1,9	5,8	14,7	20,9	52	3,9	438
27_4	Animal welfare is important to me	2,3	4,6	11	19,1	17,2	38,2	7,5	448
27_3	Considering fair global resource distribution it is right to reduce meat consumption	7,7	8,7	17,7	16,2	11,3	14,2	24,2	437
20_12	I think it is positive that the Armed Forces are concerned about climate and the environment in food procurement	2,3	3,1	8,9	13,2	22,1	42,1	8,3	435
20_2	It is more important to me that the food is tasty than that it is healthy	7,1	15,6	31,5	27,8	12,2	5,4	0,4	392
27_2	Reducing meat consumption is an effective climate measure	9,3	8,1	17,2	16,1	9,1	15,9	24,4	429

Men's attitudes

		Strongly Disagree	2	3	4	5	Strongly Agree	Don't Know	Missing count
29_9	It is difficult for me to reduce my consumption of meat	9,3	7,4	13,8	14,6	17,2	28,1	9,6	390
29_4	I do not feel full from eating a dinner without fish or meat	11,3	10	15,2	15,7	16,3	23	8,6	374
29_3	The military mess halls should provide vegetarian food	18,4	11,3	17,2	16,3	10,6	13,1	13,2	405
29_2	The vegetarian food in the mess hall is filling	17,9	12,6	15,2	12,2	5	3	34	369
29_1	The vegetarian food in the mess hall tastes good	18,2	10,8	15,7	12,2	5,8	3,4	33,9	357
28_4	A well balanced vegetarian diet contains all the necessary nutrients	26,3	14	15,8	11,1	7,8	8,8	16,3	460
28_3	I need to eat meat on a daily basis to consume enough protein and nutrients	4,9	5,6	16,5	22,2	19,5	23,4	7,8	439
28_1	The food's effect on my body is more important to me than the effect it has on the environment	3,2	3,1	16,1	23,9	19,7	26,7	7,2	398
27_5	It is important to protect the environment	5,6	4,9	11,2	19	23,3	31,1	4,9	438
27_4	Animal welfare is important to me	14,4	10,6	14,6	19	14,6	19,5	7,4	448
27_3	Considering fair global resource distribution it is right to reduce meat consumption	24,9	13,3	17,3	13,3	6,7	6	18,4	437
20_12	I think it is positive that the Armed Forces are concerned about climate and the environment in food procurement	7,6	5	13,8	17,5	19,5	27,1	9,5	435
20_2	It is more important to me that the food is tasty than that it is healthy	3,7	8,8	22,7	30,1	19,9	14	0,9	392
27_2	Reducing meat consumption is an effective climate measure	24,4	13,6	17,1	11,8	6,6	5,5	21	429

T- Test Gender

	Men	Women
29_9 It is difficult for me to reduce my consumption of meat	4,19	3,53
29_4 I do not feel full from eating a dinner without fish or meat	3,93	3,49
29_3 The military mess halls should provide vegetarian food	3,33	4,29
29_2 The vegetarian food in the mess hall is filling	2,74	3,28
29_1 The vegetarian food in the mess hall tastes good	2,8	3,33
28_4 A well balanced vegetarian diet contains all the necessary nutrients	2,84	3,56
28_3 I need to eat meat on a daily basis to consume enough protein and nutrients	4,26	3,47
28_1 The food's effect on my body is more important to me than the effect it has on the environment	4,44	3,97
27_5 It is important to protect the environment	4,5	5,18
27_4 Animal welfare is important to me	3,73	4,72
27_3 Considering fair global resource distribution it is right to reduce meat consumption	2,77	3,76
20_12 I think it is positive that the Armed Forces are concerned about climate and the environment in food procurement	4,3	4,92
20_2 It is more important to me that the food is tasty than that it is healthy	3,96	3,39
27_2 Reducing meat consumption is an effective climate measure	2,74	3,73

2 Insights and knowledge

	Strongly Disagree	2	3	4	5	Strongly Agree	Don't Know	Missing count
28_2 A high level of meat consumption is unhealthy	21	17	21	14	7	5	17	346
27_2 Reducing meat consumption is an efficient climate measure	21	12	17	13	7	8	22	346
27_1 It is good for the environment to switch from red to white meat	17	8	17	15	7	6	30	324
20_11 I know that the food I consume affects the climate and the environment	16	11	17	18	14	14	10	328

3 Values / attitudes

Values Group 1

		Strongly disagree	2	3	4	5	Strongly agree	Don't Know	Missing count
29_9	It is difficult for me to reduce my consumption of meat	13,7	9,5	14,7	14,8	13,6	25,5	8,0	590
29_4	I do not feel full from eating a dinner without fish or meat	16,8	12,2	14,8	16,0	13,7	18,0	8,5	572
29_3	The military mess halls should provide vegetarian food	9,1	7,2	12,0	15,8	13,8	31,6	10,4	612
29_2	The vegetarian food in the mess hall is filling	11,0	9,0	11,7	12,7	5,5	6,6	43,5	577
29_1	The vegetarian food in the mess hall tastes good	11,8	7,7	11,8	12,7	6,1	7,0	43,0	562
28_4	A well balanced vegetarian diet contains all the necessary nutrients	18,1	11,9	13,2	10,6	9,3	18,0	19,0	577
28_3	I need to eat meat on a daily basis to consume enough protein and nutrients	11,1	8,2	14,9	18,9	16,0	22,8	8,0	558
28_1	The food's effect on my body is more important to me than the effect it has on the environment	3,6	4,0	20,0	27,7	16,4	21,3	6,9	527
27_4	Animal welfare is important to me	5,9	3,3	5,6	10,7	14,1	55,3	5,2	540
27_3	Considering fair global resource distribution it is right to reduce meat consumption	14,5	7,9	12,7	12,5	11,2	19,9	21,3	548
20_12	I think it is positive that the Armed Forces are concerned about climate and the environment in food procurement	2,6	1,5	4,9	8,3	17,2	56,3	9,1	578
20_2	It is more important to me that the food is tasty than that it is healthy	7,4	14,3	25,7	26,9	14,7	10,6	0,5	537
27_2	Reducing meat consumption is an effective climate measure	14,7	7,6	13,1	11,0	10,9	18,5	24,1	544

Values Group 2

		Strongly disagree	2	3	4	5	Strongly agree	Don't Know	Missing count
29_9	It is difficult for me to reduce my consumption of meat	8,9	8,6	15,0	16,9	18,4	24,9	7,3	590
29_4	I do not feel full from eating a dinner without fish or meat	9,7	10,5	16,3	16,8	17,9	21,6	7,2	572
29_3	The military mess halls should provide vegetarian food	20,2	12,8	19,3	18,9	10,9	7,6	10,3	612
29_2	The vegetarian food in the mess hall is filling	18,7	14,1	17,1	12,7	5,0	1,8	30,6	577
29_1	The vegetarian food in the mess hall tastes good	18,2	12,6	17,8	12,9	6,2	1,9	30,4	562
28_4	A well balanced vegetarian diet contains all the necessary nutrients	25,7	15,8	18,2	12,9	8,1	5,9	13,4	577
28_3	I need to eat meat on a daily basis to consume enough protein and nutrients	4,3	7,1	19,9	23,8	21,0	18,5	5,4	558
28_1	The food's effect on my body is more important to me than the effect it has on the environment	3,0	4,3	17,2	24,4	20,9	24,9	5,2	527
27_4	Animal welfare is important to me	15,9	13,4	19,6	25,1	17,5	6,6	1,9	540
27_3	Considering fair global resource distribution it is right to reduce meat consumption	26,2	15,8	21,8	15,7	6,6	1,6	12,2	548
20_12	I think it is positive that the Armed Forces are concerned about climate and the environment in food procurement	8,2	6,5	17,1	21,9	22,6	16,3	7,4	578
20_2	It is more important to me that the food is tasty than that it is healthy	2,7	8,4	24,7	30,9	20,3	12,8	0,2	537
27_2	Reducing meat consumption is an effective climate measure	25,7	15,9	21,1	14,9	6,0	2,1	14,3	544

T-test Values

	Group 1	Group 2	
27_2	Reducing meat consumption is an effective climate measure	3,68	2,6
20_12	I think it is positive that the Armed Forces are concerned about climate and the environment in food procurement	5,26	4,01
27_3	Considering fair global resource distribution it is right to reduce meat consumption	3,73	2,61
27_4	Animal welfare is important to me	5	3,35
28_1	The food's effect on my body is more important to me than the effect it has on the environment	4,22	4,38
28_3	I need to eat meat on a daily basis to consume enough protein and nutrients	3,97	4,12
28_4	A well balanced vegetarian diet contains all the necessary nutrients	3,43	2,77
29_3	The military mess halls should provide vegetarian food	4,26	3,11
29_4	I do not feel full from eating a dinner without fish or meat	3,56	3,94
29_9	It is difficult for me to reduce my consumption of meat	3,89	4,1

4 Frequency vegetarian consumption

How often do you choose a vegetarian dish for lunch or dinner in the mess hall? (Q23)

	Men	Women
Once a week	6	9
Twice a week	7	14
Every second day	6	11
Rarely	29	35
Never	53	31
Missing	415	

5 Overview attitudes

Question	Strongly Disagree	2	3	4	5	Strongly Agree	Don't Know	Missing count
29_9 It is difficult for me to reduce my consumption of meat	10	8	15	16	17	25	10	336
29_3 The military mess halls should provide vegetarian food	16	11	16	17	12	16	13	342
20_2 It is more important to me that the food is tasty than that it is healthy	4	10	25	30	18	12	1	292
28_4 A well balanced vegetarian diet contains all the necessary nutrients	23	14	16	12	8	10	17	384
29_4 I do not feel full from eating a dinner without fish or meat	12	10	15	16	16	21	10	309
29_2 The vegetarian food in the mess hall is filling	16	12	14	12	5	4	37	307
29_1 The vegetarian food in the mess hall tastes good	16	10	15	12	6	4	37	283
28_3 I need to eat meat on a daily basis to consume enough protein and nutrients	7	7	17	22	19	21	9	363
28_1 The food's effect on my body is more important to me than the effect it has on the environment	3	4	18	25	18	24	8	321
27_3 Considering fair global resource distribution it is right to reduce meat consumption	21	12	17	14	8	8	20	363
20_12 I think it is positive that the Armed Forces are concerned about climate and the environment in food procurement	6	5	13	17	20	30	9	345
27_4 Animal welfare is important to me	12	9	14	19	15	24	8	367
27_5 It is important to protect the environment	5	4	10	18	23	36	5	359

6 Popularity of a potential vegetarian day

If weekly meatless days are implemented, would it affect your eating habits in any of the following ways? (Q25)

	Men	Women
I would eat more meals in the mess hall this day compared to what I normally do	6	8
I would eat less meals in the mess hall this day compared to what I normally do	47	18
This would not have affected my eating habits	30	55
Don't Know / Impossible to answer	18	19
Missing	739	

7 Response rate military branches*

Military Branch	Participants	Respondents	Response rate
The Air Force	1042	224	22
The Navy	1954	935	49
The Army	5529	1409	25
Other	550	233	42
Total	9000	2801	31

*These numbers are based on the code book and data set. "Participants" is the number of surveys distributed to each military branch while "Respondents" are the number of answers from the different branches in my data set.

Appendix C: Interview guide I, II & III.

I. Interview guide: Soldiers

Camp 1 and Camp 2

STATUS i aktuell spisemesse (messer, mat, hyppighet, valgmuligheter o.l.)

Kan dere beskrive hvordan måltidene foregår i Forsvarets kjøkken, ved denne leiren?

- For eksempel: Beskriv denne ukas måltider
- Hvor mange alternativer er det å velge mellom til middag?
- Når og hvordan får dere vite hva som er på menyen til middag? (Fisk? Vegetar?)

Hva vet dere om Forsvarets tiltak for **reduisert kjøttforbruk**? Har dette kommet til syne på denne leiren?

- Hva vet dere hørt om **Kjøttfri Mandag**?
- Hvor ofte serveres det **vegetarmat** i messa? (*Definer: matrett uten kjøtt, fisk eller fugl. Kan inneholde andre produkter fra dyr, f.eks. egg og melk*) eks: pannekaker, suppe, grøt)
 - Hvor ofte velger dere salatbar (vegetar?) til lunsj?
 - Hvor ofte spiser dere (kjøtt) i messa?
 - Kan dere nevne noen eksempler på kjøttfri mat som dere har fått servert her i leiren? Hva var populært, hva var ikke så godt? Hvorfor?
- Smaker den godt, blir du mett, er det nok næringsinnhold? (Smak, kvalitet, sunn/helse, metthetsfølelse)

Barneår og familieliv (-vaner)

- Hvordan har måltidene foregått i **familiene** deres, eller der dere bodde før dere ble innkalt til Forsvaret?
- Hva lærte foreldrene deres dere om mat og kosthold?
- Hvor sentral del av måltidet var kjøtt? Og hva slags type kjøtt var det?
- Hadde dere noe forhold til hvor maten kom ifra?
- Hva er viktig for dere i matveien?
- Hva slags forhold har dere til mat generelt?

Bevisst forbruk?

- Vil dere si at dere er **bevisste** i matveien? På hvilken måte og hvorfor?
 - Vil dere si at dere er opptatt av det dere spiser? I så fall, på hvilken måte?
 - Har noen av dere tatt noen beviste valg angående hva slags mat dere vil spise/ikke spise? (palmeolje, gåselever, scampi etc)
- Hva mener dere er et **riktig kosthold**?
 - Hvordan inngår kjøtt i det du oppfatter som riktig kosthold?
- Beskriv hva dere ser på som **bærekraftig mat**? (*med hensyn til naturens bæreevne / imøtekommer dagens konsumbehov uten å forringe mulighetene for kommende generasjoner til å få dekket sine*)
- I hvilken grad er **etiske eller politiske holdninger** grunnen til valg av mat?
- Synes dere det er **vanskelig** å være bevisst i matveien? I Forsvaret? Generelt?
 - Hva er i så fall de største utfordringene?

- Hva kan motivere deg til å være mer bevist i matveien?
- Føler dere at det nytter å ta mer beviste valg i matveien? – miljørelatert (påvirke miljøet direkte eller indirekte)
- Personlig ansvar for å velge de «rette» produktene? Evt andre personlige ansvar for bærekraftig forbruk (eg. Redusere kjøttforbruk, ikke kaste mat, sortere etc).

Mat og kjøtt – meninger og vaner

- Beskriv **kjøttforbruket** deres nå – Hva spiser dere av kjøtt?
 - Spiser dere mye storfekjøtt? Hva i så fall?
 - Hva kjennetegner godt kjøtt for dere?
 - Har dere noen innvendinger mot storfekjøtt?
 - Er det deler av dyret eller enkelte ting ved kjøtt du har motforestillinger mot/ikke liker/synes er udelikat og avstår fra?
- Kommer dere på eventuelle **problematiske forhold** med å spise storfekjøtt?
 - Dyrevelferd?
 - Klima og miljø?
 - Matsikkerhet (og/eller rettferdig fordeling)?
 - Helse?
 - Miljøvern – kulturlandskap og utmarksbeite?
- Er det å spise kjøtt et **moralsk spørsmål** for dere eller knytter dere noen følelser til det?
 - Hva vet dere om norsk storfeproduksjon? Hva synes dere om det?
 - Synes dere det er forskjell på norsk og utenlandsk storfe? I så fall, på hvilken måte?
 - Hva foretrekker dere? Hvorfor?
- Hvordan stiller dere dere til økologisk vs. vanlig kjøtt?

Case – Tiltak for å redusere kjøttforbruket i Forsvaret

- Hva slags **informasjon** har dere fått om maten som serveres i Forsvaret? Hva vet dere?
 - Har det blitt kommunisert noe om maten? I denne leiren?
 - Informasjonskampanje på økologisk mat?
 - Informasjonskampanje om Kjøttfri Mandag?
- Kan dere fortelle meg hva dere vet om Forsvaret som «bevist og miljøvennlig forbruker»?
 - Hva vet dere om den økologiske profilen til Forsvaret? Den økologiske maten i Forsvaret?
 - Har dere for eksempel kjennskap til at kjøttet i Forsvaret er økologisk?
- Hva synes dere om at det skal innføres **kjøttfrie måltider i Forsvaret**?
 - Har det skjedd at dere heller benyttet dere av kantinen de dagene det er vegetarmat / fisk? Hvorfor?
- Har dere noen gang tenkt over at gjennom det vi spiser er vi med å **påvirke** ting som skjer andre steder? Hva har dere tenkt i forhold til dette?
- Hva tenker dere når det gjelder **sammenhengen mellom matforbruk og miljø**?
- I hvilken grad tror dere Forsvaret kan være **et talerør for bærekraftig forbruk**?
- Hva anser dere å være den viktigste grunnen til å spise mindre storfekjøtt?

- Hva er argumentene som brukes når folk velger vegetarmat eller velger å være vegetarianere?
- Hva er Forsvarets standpunkt?
- Når du skal lage mat til deg selv, vil du lage mat uten kjøtt og uten fisk?
- Har du laget vegetarmat selv noen gang?
 - Har dere selv vurdert det? Hvorfor i så fall?
- Har **matvanene deres endret seg** etter at dere kom inn i Forsvaret? Hvordan?
 - Hvordan har deres kjøttforbruk endret seg til nå?
 - Hva var årsaken til de eventuelle endringene?

II. Interview guide: Chefs and cooks

Camp 1 and Camp 2

Introduksjonsspørsmål

Hvor lenge har du jobbet på dette kjøkkenet?

Har du annen relevant erfaring? Jobbet på andre kjøkken/andre leirer, utdanning?

Hvor mange besøkende i ukedag / helg?

Hva vet du om Forsvarets tiltak for å redusere kjøttforbruket? Kan du fortelle meg hvordan dette har kommet til syne på denne leiren?

Har du hørt om Kjøttfri Mandag?

Kan du nevne noen eksempler på kjøttfri mat som er blitt servert her i leiren? Hva var populært, hva var det mye rester av? Merker dere forskjell på besøkstallet avhengig av hva som er på menyen?

Barneår og familieliv

Hvordan har måltidene foregått i familien din?

Hva lærte foreldrene dine deg om mat og kosthold?

Hvor sentral del av måltidet var kjøtt? Og hva slags type kjøtt var det?

Hadde du noe forhold til hvor maten kom ifra?

Hva er viktig for deg i matveien?

Hva slags forhold har du til mat generelt?

Når du skal lage mat til deg selv, vil du lage mat uten kjøtt og uten fisk?

Har du laget vegetarmat selv (privat) noen gang?

Bevist forbruker?

Vil du si at du er bevist i matveien? På hvilken måte og hvorfor?

- Vil du si at du er opptatt av det du spiser? I så fall, på hvilken måte?
- Har du tatt noen beviste valg angående hva slags mat du vil spise/ikke spise? Servere/ ikke servere?

Hva ser du på som riktig kosthold?

- Hvordan inngår kjøtt i det du oppfatter som riktig kosthold?

Beskriv hva du ser på som bærekraftig mat?

I hvilken grad er etiske eller politiske holdninger grunnen til valg av mat?

Hva betyr politisk/miljøvennlig/bærekraftig forbruk for deg?

Synes du det er vanskelig å være bevisst i matveien? Generelt? I Forsvaret?

- Føler du at det nytter å ta mer beviste valg i matveien? (personlig ansvar for å velge de «rette» /miljøvennlige produktene?)

Hva er de største utfordringene for å være bevist i matveien som kokk/kjøkkensjef i Forsvaret?

Hvordan kommer denne bevisstheten til syne på arbeidsplassen din?

Er det vanskelig å drive et stort kjøkken i en mer bærekraftig retning? Hva er utfordringene?

Mat, kjøtt og miljø – meninger og vaner

Beskriv kjøttforbruket i Forsvaret nå – Hva serverer dere av kjøtt?

Serverer dere mye storfekjøtt? Hva i så fall?

Hva kjennetegner godt kjøtt for deg?
Har du noen innvendinger mot storfekjøtt?
Er det deler av dyret eller enkelte ting ved kjøtt du har motforestillinger mot/ikke liker/synes er udelikat og avstår fra?
Kommer du på eventuelle problematiske forhold med å spise storfekjøtt?
- Dyrevelferd/Klima og miljø/Matsikkerhet (og/eller rettferdig fordeling)/Helse/Miljøvern – kulturlandskap og utmarksbeite
Er det å spise kjøtt et moralsk spørsmål for deg eller knytter du noen følelser til det?
Hva vet du om norsk storfeproduksjon? Hva synes du om det?
Synes du det er forskjell på norsk og utenlandsk storfe? I så fall, på hvilken måte?
Hva foretrekker du? Hvorfor?
Hvordan stiller du deg til økologisk vs. vanlig kjøtt?

Case – tiltak for å redusere kjøttforbruket i Forsvaret

Hva slags informasjon har du fått om maten som serveres i Forsvaret? Hvilken informasjon gir du? Har det blitt informert/kommunisert noe om maten?
Kan du fortelle meg hva du vet om Forsvaret som «bevist og miljøvennlig forbruker»?
Fortell meg om bakgrunnen for ønsket om å redusere kjøttforbruket i Forsvaret. Hvor har dere fått informasjonen fra og hvordan kommuniseres det?
- Hva er Forsvarets standpunkt?
Hva er dine tanker om innføringen kjøttfrie måltider i Forsvaret? (/om Forsvarets forsøk på å redusere kjøttforbruket?)
På hvilken måte har dette kjøkkenet bidratt til kjøttreduksjonsinitiativet?
Beskriv din oppfatning av de vernepliktiges handlinger/holdninger. Hva spiser de i messa? Hvilke retter velger de?
Hva er intensjonen med å servere vegetarmat?
Har det vært noen uintenderte effekter?
Hvis det er motstand til tiltaket – hvor møter man den?
Hva synes du om den kjøttfrie maten? Smak, mett, næring?
Har tankene dine om vegetarmat endret seg etter at dere begynte å lage kjøttfrie retter? Hva slags tanker hadde du før/hva tenker du nå?
Har du tenkt over at gjennom det vi spiser er vi med på å påvirke ting som skjer andre steder? Hva har du tenkt i forhold til dette?
Hva tenker du når det gjelder sammenhengen mellom matforbruk og miljø?
I hvilken grad tror du Forsvaret kan være et talerør for bærekraftig forbruk?
Hvordan kan Forsvaret bidra til mer miljøvennlig forbruk?
- Øko/vegetar/lokal/bærekraftig mat
- Lavere forbruk
- Resirkulere
- Ingen av delene?

III. Interview guide: Policy makers

Introduksjonsspørsmål

Hva er din bakgrunn? Hvor lenge har du vært i Forsvaret, og har du jobbet på andre enheter enn denne?

Barneår og familieliv

Hva er ditt forhold til mat?

Lærte foreldrene dine deg noe spesielt?

Hvor sentral del av måltidet var kjøtt?

Hadde du noe forhold til hvor maten kom fra?

Hva er viktig for deg i matveien?

Når du skal lage mat til deg selv, vil du lage noe uten kjøtt eller fisk?

Har du lagd vegetarmat selv noen gang?

Bevisst forbruker?

Vil du si at du er bevisst i matveien? I så fall med hvilke hensyn?

Har du tatt noen valg på hva du ikke vil spise/vil spise?

Hva ser du på som riktig kosthold? (kjøtts rolle i dette?)

Beskriv hva du ser på som bærekraftig mat?

I hvilken grad er etiske eller politiske holdninger grunnen til valg av mat?

Hva betyr miljøvennlig/politisk/bærekraftig/bevisst forbruk for deg?

Er det vanskelig å være bevisst i matveien? Generelt, og i Forsvaret?

Hva er de største utfordringene ved å være bevisst i matveien?

Hvordan kommer denne bevisstheten til syne på arbeidsplassen din?

Mat, kjøtt og miljø

Kjøttforbruket i Forsvaret; Hva serverer dere av kjøtt? Hva kjennetegner godt kjøtt for deg? Er det problematiske sider ved å spise storfekjøtt?

Er det å spise storfekjøtt et moralsk spørsmål for deg eller knytter du noen følelser til det?

Norsk vs utenlandsk storfe?

Hva tenker du når det gjelder sammenhengen mellom matforbruk og miljø?

Case – tiltak for å redusere kjøttforbruket i Forsvaret

Kan du fortelle meg hva dine ansvarsområder er på arbeidsplassen?

Hva har vært din rolle ift tiltaket for å redusere kjøttforbruket i Forsvaret?

Kan du fortelle meg om bakgrunnen til dette initiativet? (intensjonen?)

Hvordan kom det opp? Fra hvem, hvor? (FIVH? Hvem? Hvorfor? Til hvem?)

Og hva er begrunnelsen, hva lener dere dere på? (Hvilken info, hvilke prinsipper?)

Hva har vært strategien for dette prosjektet,

- Hvordan har det blitt informert til kjøkkensjefene? Til andre? Hva kommuniserer dere om maten, og hvordan?

Hva er dine tanker om innføringen av kjøttfrie måltider i Forsvaret?

Hva er målet med dette initiativet? Er det noen målsetting? Har det vært endringer i målsettingen, hvorfor?

Hvordan jobber dere i FLO opp mot kjøkkensjefene? Hva er arbeidsfordelingen og ansvarsområdene?

Hvordan sikrer dere, fra et ernæringsperspektiv, at måltidene som serveres inneholder riktig og tilstrekkelig næringsmengde?

- Hva er utfordringene?
- Hvilke hensyn må tas?

Hvordan bør, i følge ernæringsvitenskapen, en soldats kosthold vært satt sammen?

- Hvordan sikrer dere dette?
- Hva er utfordringene ved å sikre dette?
- Hva er ditt inntrykk av soldatenes egen forståelse av disse behovene?

Finnes det en god nok erstatning for kjøtt?

- Men en kjøttfri dag, vil de klare å holde det høye aktivitetsnivået?
- Vil de ha «fulle lagre» selv med vegetarkost?
- Trenger man en proteinerstatning for proteinene man da «går glipp av»?
- Hvor kan man hente dette, og hva er tilstrekkelig?

Hva tror du er forutsetningene for at dette prosjektet lykkes?

Hvilken strategi tror du kan være effektiv for å formidle bakgrunnen for innføringen av tiltaket?

- For å argumentere for kjøttkutt?
- Er det å komme med FIVH sine faktaopplysninger, holde foredrag, spre informasjon i kjøkkenet eller messa, gå via befaler eller offiserer eller tillitsmenn? (bruke hierarkiet?)
- Hvis informasjonskampanje: hvordan og hvilken informasjon?
- Hvis introduksjon av retter: hvordan? Mottakelse?

Hvilke tilnærminger til kjøttkutt er sannsynlig å få til, og/eller ønskelig?

- Å redusere kjøttforbruket (bruke mindre kjøtt og mer grønt i gryter, sauser, gratenger etc)
- Å kutte kjøtt en dag
- Å kutte kjøtt et måltid i uka
- Å kutte kjøtt med tilhørende informasjon (hvordan informasjon?)

Har dette initiativet hatt noen uintenderte/uforutsette konsekvenser, i så fall hvilke?

Hva er utfordringen når man skal endre noens kosthold? Problemer? Hva er lettere?

- Hvordan kan man, etter din erfaring, motivere til å endre kosthold? Generelt, og i Forsvaret?

Hva er din erfaring med endring i Forsvaret? Er det vanskelig å endre ting? Hva tenker du om at Forsvaret ikke finner på så mye sprekkt av seg selv? At lite skjer av seg selv? Hvis det er noen motstand til dette tiltaket, hvor møter man den?

Det har vært en del internasjonal interesse for initiativet – hva er mottakelsen utenfor norske grenser? (i andre nasjoners militære?)

- Hvis de spør om tips (Nederland?) hva forteller du?

Hva anser du som viktig for at dette initiativet skal lykkes?

Hva er utfordringene når det kommer til å drive et storkjøkken i en mer bærekraftig retning?

Hvordan kan Forsvaret bidra til bærekraftig forbruk?

I hvilken grad tror du Forsvaret kan fungere som et talerør for bærekraftig forbruk?

Appendix D: Overview informants

This page is the Table of Contents of a separate document with the transcribed interviews.

Interview Informants

Contents

- 1. CAMP 1.....2**
 - 1.1 FOCUS GROUP, FEMALE: 0, MALE: 62
 - 1.2 FOCUS GROUP, FEMALE: 2, MALE: 515
 - 1.3 FOCUS GROUP, FEMALE: 1, MALE: 429
 - 1.4 FOCUS GROUP, FEMALE: 1, MALE: 345
 - 1.5 FOCUS GROUP, FEMALE: 0, MALE: 658
 - 1.6 INTERVIEW X (I:X)66
 - 1.7 INTERVIEW Y (I:Y)76
 - 1.8 INTERVIEW Z (I:Z)83
 - 1.9 INTERVIEW Q (I:Q)89

- 2. CAMP 2.....98**
 - 2.1 FOCUS GROUP, FEMALE: 2, MALE: 498
 - 2.2 FOCUS GROUP, FEMALE: 2, MALE: 1109
 - 2.3 FOCUS GROUP, FEMALE: 1, MALE: 5109
 - 2.4 FOCUS GROUP, FEMALE: 2, MALE: 4119
 - 2.5 FOCUS GROUP, FEMALE: 0, MALE: 5124
 - 2.6 FOCUS GROUP, FEMALE: 3, MALE: 4130
 - 2.7 INTERVIEW W (I:W)149
 - 2.8 INTERVIEW E (I:E)154
 - 2.9 INTERVIEW R (I:R).....161

- 3. ADMINISTRATIVE STAFF172**
 - 3.1 INTERVIEW T (I:T)172
 - 3.2 INTERVIEW S (I:S).....183
 - 3.3 INTERVIEW D (I:D)192

- 4. CATEGORIES203**

Appendix E: Letter of informed consent

Forespørsel om deltakelse i forskningsprosjektet *Kjøttfrie måltider i Forsvaret*

Bakgrunn og formål

Denne studien er en del av en masteroppgave ved Senter for Utvikling og Miljø (SUM), Universitetet i Oslo. Formålet med denne studien er å kartlegge praksis og holdninger når det kommer til kjøttfri mat i Forsvaret. Problemstillingene som skal analyseres dreier seg om hindringene og utfordringene (og mulighetene) til innføringen av «Kjøttfri Mandag» i Forsvaret. Prosjektet veiledes av veileder på SUM, Karen Victoria Lykke Syse.

Utvelgingen av respondenter er gjort på bakgrunn av informasjon fra Forsvarets Logistikkorganisasjon (FLO). Nøkkelpersoner som kjøkkenansatte, spesielt kjøkkensjefene, / Tilfeldig utvalgte vernepliktige vil i kraft av sin stilling bli spurt om å stille til *semistrukturerte dybdeintervjuer/fokusgruppeintervjuer*. Deltakerne kommer fra to bevisst valgte leirer på Østlandet, der den ene leiren er (noe) eksponert for kjøttfri mat, mens den andre leiren ikke er eksponert. Navn på leirene og deltakerne anonymiseres.

Hva innebærer deltakelse i studien?

Dybdeintervjuene med kjøkkenansatte/Fokusgruppeintervjuene krever aktiv deltakelse fra deltakeren, og vil vare i omtrent en time. Det vil ikke bli samlet inn informasjon om deltakeren fra andre kilder. Intervjuene vil være basert på semistrukturert utspørring og observasjon og vil rettes mot holdninger og praksis til kjøttfri mat og måltider i Forsvarets kjøkken. Data registreres ved lydopptak og notater.

Hva skjer med informasjonen om deg?

Alle personopplysninger vil bli behandlet konfidensielt. Det vil kun være student og veileder som har tilgang til personopplysninger. Personopplysninger og opptak fra intervjuene vil lagres adskilt fra øvrige data.

Deltakerne i dybdeintervjuene/fokusgruppeintervjuene vil ikke kunne gjenkjennes i publikasjonen. Personopplysningene anonymiseres og sammenkobles med dataene. Alle indirekte personidentifiserende opplysninger vil grovkategoriseres på en slik måte at personer ikke kan gjenkjennes i materialet. Før intervjuet begynner ber jeg om samtykke i deltakelsen ved å undertegne et samtykkeskjema.

Prosjektet skal etter planen avsluttes 01.06.15 og all informasjon skal da anonymiseres og lydopptak slettes.

Frivillig deltakelse

Det er frivillig å delta i studien, og du kan når som helst trekke ditt samtykke uten å oppgi noen grunn. Dersom du trekker deg, vil alle opplysninger om deg bli anonymisert.

Dersom du ønsker å delta eller har spørsmål til studien, ta kontakt med student Charlotte Lilleby Kildal, tlf. 99782069.

Studien er meldt til Personvernombudet for forskning, Norsk samfunnsvitenskapelig datatjeneste AS.

Samtykke til deltakelse i studien

Jeg har mottatt informasjon om studien, og er villig til å delta

(Signert av prosjektdeltaker, dato)

Appendix F: Policy document to military mess halls

Copy of policy document, 2 pages

Til

CST
HST
HVST
LST
OPSSSTØ
SST

Kopi til

Forsvarsdepartementet
Forsvarets sanitet
Forsvaret/FPVS/TMO

Reduksjon i forbruket av kjøtt og spesielt rødt kjøtt

1 Bakgrunn

Det er flere indikasjoner på at forbruket av kjøtt både nasjonalt og internasjonalt må reduseres med tanke på helse og miljøgevinster. Forskning har vist at for stort forbruk av kjøtt øker risikoen for hjerte- og karsykdommer samt en rekke kreftsykdommer. *Anbefalinger om kosthold, ernæring og fysisk aktivitet* (Helsedirektoratet 2013), påpeker et for høyt kjøttforbruk i Norge. I tillegg er miljøet, gjennom klimautslipp, påvirket av kjøttproduksjon.

2 Drøfting

Det er lite som tyder på at våre soldater spiser mindre kjøtt enn befolkningen for øvrig, snarere tvert om. Forsvaret ønsker å rette fokuset på et mer helsefremmende og bærekraftig kosthold. Forsvaret vil derfor igangsette tiltak for å redusere kjøttinntaket i Forsvaret.

2.1 Regelverk

Sjef FLO Felleskapasiteter utgir *Regulativ for forpleiningstjenesten i Forsvaret* med blant annet en intensjon om å følge de anbefalinger helsedirektoratet gir innen kosthold og ernæring. Dette omfatter blant annet å øke forbruket av ferske grønnsaker, frukt, hvitt kjøtt, grovt brød og grove kornvarer som bidrag til et sunt kosthold hos våre soldater. I tillegg bidrar dette til ivaretagelse av Forsvarets miljøansvar.

2.2 Hvordan skal Forsvaret kunne redusere kjøttforbruket

Det er flere måter å redusere kjøttforbruket på, herunder:

- Ukentlig kjøttfri dag.
- Ukentlige flere kjøttfrie måltider.
- Mindre kjøtt i serverte retter som for eksempel kjøttsaus, gryter og sammenkokte retter m.m.

Kjøttfri mandag i Forsvaret har fått mye medieoppmerksomhet nasjonalt så vel som internasjonalt. For det meste har omtalen vært meget positiv. Det er derfor grunn til å tro at en kjøttfri dag i uka vil forsterke det gode omdømmet Forsvaret har for en sunn, miljøvennlig og bærekraftig forpleining. De kjøkken som allerede har testet dette, gir tilbakemelding om fornøyde spisegjester. I tillegg har tilbakemeldingene fra kjøkkenansatte som har utviklet nye kjøttfrie retter vært utelukkende positive.

Avdelinger/kjøkken som ønsker rettleiding, informasjon eller kunnskapsformidling, herunder erfaringer fra de kjøkken som i dag har innført Kjøttfri dag eller liknende tiltak, bes kontakteforpleiningsseksjonen i FLO Felleskapasiteter.

2.3 Målinger av redusert kjøttforbruk

FLO Felleskapasiteter vil gjennom rammeavtalene på næringsmidler kunne se endringer i kjøpsstatistikk fra våre leverandører. Det planlegges med at de ulike forsvarsgrener vil motta kvartalsvise rapporter for de varegrupper som denne sak gjelder.

3 Konklusjon

Med bakgrunn i ovennevnte beskrevne helse og miljøaspekter ved vårt kjøttforbruk, anmoder Fagansvarlig innen forpleining samtlige avdelinger, stasjoner og fartøy å gjennomføre tiltak for å redusere kjøttforbruket tilsvarende minst en kjøttfri dag i uken. Det anses hensiktsmessig å gjennomføre konseptet med en kjøttfri dag, da dette er et kjent og gjennomførbart konsept for Forsvaret. I tillegg vil et likt konsept være i tråd med Tillitsmannsordningens gjentatte ønsker om enhetlig forpleining i Forsvaret. Tiltaket anmodes iverksatt senest 1. august i år.

XXXXXXXXX

Direktør

Sjef FLO Felleskapasiteter

Appendix G: FIVH posters

These are examples of the posters that was hanging in the mess hall in Camp 1 prior to my visit to the camp. Used by permission from Framtiden I Våre Hender, 08/05/2015.

- Klimagassutslipp -

KJØTT VS. BIL

Hvis alle nordmenn kutter kjøtt en gang i uka, så tilsvarer det å fjerne utslippene til 200 000 biler.

Ta et kjøttkutt for klimaet!



- Klimagassutslipp -

KJØTT VS. GRØNNSAKER

Product	CO ₂ Emissions (kg)
Storfe kjøtt	20 kg
Fårekjøtt	17 kg
Svinekjøtt	4,5 kg
Kylling	3 kg
Brød	0,85 kg
Brokkoli	0,35 kg
Poteter	0,35 kg
Gulrøtter	0,25 kg

* kg utslipp CO₂-ekvivalenter per kg vare.



Så mye **soya** må til for å produsere ett kg "norsk" kjøtt



DAGROS MED MAGETROBBEL



Raping fra kyr står for 39% av alle klimagassutslippene fra landbruket.

