

Structure: Neutral Context or Influential Factor?

*The issue of red meat and climate
change within the central administration
of Norway*

Hanna-Marie Titland Sørensen



Master thesis in Culture, Environment and
Sustainability

Centre for Development and Environment

UNIVERSITY OF OSLO

Autumn 2016

© Hanna-Marie Titland Sørensen

2016

Structure: Neutral Context or Influential Factor?

Hanna-Marie Titland Sørensen

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

Print: Representeren, University of Oslo

Abstract

Consumption of red meat has been recommended reduced from a climate and health perspective. In Norway, National Nutrition Council has pointed it out through their dietary advice published in 2011. Meat production is an important part of the Norwegian agriculture, and dietary advice has faced criticism from agriculture because of their recommendation of reduced consumption of red meat. A debate about whether red meat may be climate friendly has also taken place. Red meat and climate change is an intersectoral issue with multiple interests, cutting across the health sector, the climate and environmental sector and the agricultural sector. The Sustainable Development Goals points out the connection between food production, climate change and nutrition, and the need to view the issue holistically to address it properly.

On this basis, I found it relevant to look at how the central administration in Norway handles the issue of red meat and climate change, by focusing on the three sectors. Based on an assumption that the behaviour of government officials has an impact on policy outcome, I have through an organizational and institutional approach looked at what might influence their behaviour in dealing with this matter.

To answer the research question, I have interviewed informants from directorates and ministries from the health sectors, the climate and environmental sector and the agricultural sector within the central administration. Official documents from the corresponding sectors have also been used to show how this case has been handled. Based on this research, I have in this thesis drawn a picture of how the matter of red meat consumption and climate change is not treated holistically with all perspectives included. I have also shown how the organizational structure of the central administration has helped creating a power structure, where the agricultural sector has a dominant role. I have argued that it has affected the other sectors concerning red meat and climate. Hence, structure plays a role in how the central administration handles the intersectoral issue of red meat consumption and climate change.

Acknowledgements

It is with mixed feelings that I see the end of this master's thesis. My time as a student is over, but I am glad that I am finally crossing the finish line. Writing this thesis has been an exciting yet challenging process, which has taught me so much more than just the topic I have immersed myself in. It has involved ups and downs and some derailments. Luckily many great people have helped my through it.

Firstly, I would like to express my deep gratitude to my supervisor Karen Victoria Lykke Syse. Thank you for guiding me through this process from an idea to a complete thesis, especially in the final stages when I really needed a push. I would also like to direct my sincere appreciation to Unni Kjærnes. Thank you for rewarding conversations, your enthusiasm regarding the topic of my thesis and guidance concerning the research and writing of this thesis.

My genuine thanks also go to all the informants who gave their precious and pressured time for, in order for me to ask them questions for my thesis. I could not have completed this thesis without your openness and willingness.

I would also like to give a huge thanks to my classmates at SUM. You have provided a safety of not being alone in this scary process. We got through it together. I am so grateful for these two years with all of you wonderful people.

Finally, I want to express my thankfulness to friends and family who have shown support and cheered me on. However, most importantly, I want to thank my Mom and Dad for always listening when I needed to let some of my frustration out, and for all the encouragement throughout this process. Your support has made all the difference.

Each of you got me through this process and I am forever grateful. However, I am the only person responsible for any errors and omissions in this thesis.

Hanna-Marie Titland Sørensen

Oslo, September 2016.

Table of contents

1	Introduction.....	1
1.1	Research questions.....	3
1.2	Rationale for choice of topic.....	4
1.3	Delimitations and clarifications	6
1.4	Structure of the thesis	8
2	Institutionalization of nutrition policy.....	9
2.1	Nutritional issues and agriculture policy	9
2.2	Nutrition as part of food supply policy	10
2.3	Nutrition policy and climate policy	11
2.4	Summarizing remarks	12
3	Theoretical framework.....	13
3.1	Analysis of policy processes.....	13
3.2	Organizational perspective	15
3.2.1	<i>Horizontal specialization.....</i>	<i>16</i>
3.2.2	<i>Vertical specialization</i>	<i>16</i>
3.3	Institutional perspective	17
3.3.1	<i>Historical institutionalism</i>	<i>18</i>
3.3.2	<i>Schattschneider and the displacement of conflict.....</i>	<i>20</i>
3.4	Political cleavages.....	21
3.5	Intersectoral premise flows	22
3.6	Expectations to findings.....	23
3.7	Summarizing theoretical framework	24
4	Methodological approach.....	26
4.1	Research design	26
4.1.1	<i>Case study.....</i>	<i>26</i>

4.2	Method of data collection.....	27
4.2.1	<i>Interviews</i>	27
4.2.2	<i>Written sources</i>	29
4.3	Considerations regarding validity and reliability	29
4.3.1	<i>Reliability</i>	30
4.3.2	<i>Validity</i>	31
5	The structural and political context	33
5.1	The central administration.....	33
5.1.1	<i>The health sector</i>	34
5.1.2	<i>The climate and environmental sector</i>	36
5.1.3	<i>The agricultural sector</i>	37
5.2	Cleavages in society	40
5.3	Summarizing remarks	41
6	The handling of the issue of red meat and climate change.....	42
6.1	Policy on meat	42
6.1.1	<i>Health policy and meat</i>	42
6.1.2	<i>Climate policy and meat</i>	43
6.1.3	<i>Agricultural policy and meat</i>	45
6.2	Government officials' perceptions	46
6.2.1	<i>The Health Sector</i>	46
6.2.2	<i>The Climate and Environmental Sector</i>	50
6.2.3	<i>The Agricultural Sector</i>	52
6.3	Temporary findings	54
7	Structure as an explanatory factor	56
7.1	The formal structure of the central administration.....	56
7.1.1	<i>Fragmented central administration</i>	56
7.1.2	<i>Vertical conflict within the sectors</i>	62

7.1.3	<i>Summarizing remarks</i>	65
7.2	Relative power of the sectors	66
7.2.1	<i>Agricultural sector as the strongest sector</i>	67
7.2.2	<i>Premises for the health sector</i>	68
7.2.3	<i>Premises for the climate and environmental sector</i>	69
7.2.4	<i>Lack of communication between the health sector and the climate and environmental sector</i>	71
7.2.5	<i>Collaboration channels with the agricultural sector</i>	73
7.2.6	<i>The agricultural sector holds institutional power</i>	74
7.3	Behind the structure	76
7.3.1	<i>The domination of the left-right cleavage</i>	77
7.3.2	<i>Structure as a result of conflict hierarchy</i>	80
8	Conclusion	84
8.1	Theoretical implications	85
8.1.1	<i>Institutions and structure matter</i>	86
8.2	Policy implications	87
8.3	Recommendations for further research.....	88
	References	89
	Appendices	101

List of figures

Figure 1: Analytical framework

Figure 2: Overview of the three sectors

Figure 3: The issues of collaboration between the sectors

List of Abbreviations

The name of the ministries and directorates:

MHCS: The Ministry of Health and Care Services (Helse- og Omsorgsdepartementet)

NDH: The Norwegian Directorate of Health (Helsedirektoratet)

NNC: The National Nutrition Council (Nasjonalt Råd for Ernæring)

MCE: The Ministry of Climate and Environment (Klima- og Miljødepartementet)

NEA: The Norwegian Environment Agency (Miljødirektoratet)

MAF: The Ministry of Agriculture and Food (Landbruks- og Matdepartementet)

NAA: The Norwegian Agriculture Agency (Landbruksdirektoratet)

1 Introduction

Global warming is one of the biggest challenges the world is facing today. To prevent “dangerous anthropogenic interference in the climate,” a target of 2 degrees temperature increase in the global average temperature has been set (UNEP 2010, 20). The Paris Agreement states an even more ambitious target of 1.5 degrees. If we take this target seriously, all countries need to reduce their greenhouse gas emissions.

Emissions from livestock represent 14,5% of the total human-induced GHG-emissions (Bailey, Froggatt, and Wellesley 2014, 2). Beef and dairy production constitute the majority of the emissions in the agricultural sector, accounting for 65% of the sector’s emissions (Gerber et al. 2013, 15). Increased and intensified livestock production can also be seen as a problem considering water and energy resources, pollution and land use (Brooks n.d.). Globally, the demand for animal products is increasing (Bailey, Froggatt, and Wellesley 2014, 5). Compared to other Western countries, the Norwegian consumption level has been low historically. Nevertheless, from 1990 to 2013 the consumption of meat increased by 70 percent, while the consumption in other European countries has not changed much since the mid-90s (Vittersø and Kjærnes 2015, 77-78).

The National Nutrition Council (NNC) in Norway published in 2011 a report with new dietary advice. The advice recommended the public to eat less red and processed meat, because of the increased risk of non-communicable and chronic diseases from saturated fat. Non-communicable diseases is a major public health issue in Norway (Ministry of Health and Care Services 2013, 4). The dietary advice recommended a maximum of 500 grams of red meat per week. By red meat it is referred to cattle, pork, sheep and goat (National Nutrition Council 2011, 116). A large dietary survey conducted by Norkost in 2011 showed that women ate 620 grams of red meat per week on average, while men ate 1022 grams (Norwegian Directorate of Health 2015, 18).

The report by the NNC emphasized that the dietary recommendations from a health perspective correlates with a climate friendly diet (National Nutrition Council 2011, 325). The health authorities underlined this fact in their Public Health Report of 2015, where they argued that a plant based diet would enable reaching both climate and health political goals (Ministry of Health and Care Services 2014, 51). From a climate perspective it has

been argued that a sustainable level of red meat consumption would be an average global per capita consumption of 29kg of meat per year (Hallström and Börjesson 2012, 3). This is equivalent to the dietary recommendation published by the nutritional authorities of 500 grams per week. Therefore, it is a correlation between a climate perspective and a health perspective on diet and red meat consumption.

Although the dietary advice published by the health authorities clearly states that we need to reduce our red meat consumption, the consumption level had not been affected that much. In 2013 the calculations of actual consumption of red meat in Norway was 37.4kg. In 2011, the same year the dietary advice was published, the actual consumption of red meat was 37.7kg (Animalia 2015, 105) The consumption of pork had gone down, but the consumption of beef and lamb had increased slightly. It has been argued that it is a result of conflicting goals between nutrition policy and agricultural policy (Holm 2012). Both meat and dairy products constitute a large and important part of Norwegian agriculture, and increased food production is agricultural policy. Nonetheless, these products are also one of the biggest sources of saturated fat in the Norwegian diet, which the health authorities want to limit due to related chronic diseases. The agricultural authorities also criticised the recommended maximum limit for consumption of red and processed meat when the new dietary advice was published in 2011 (Heyerdahl 2011).

In September 2015, the world leaders adopted 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) as a framework for addressing root causes of poverty and inequality, as well as climate change (UNDP n.d.-b). The SDGs give attention to nutrition, and recognises Non-communicable diseases (NCDs) as a major challenge to sustainable development (World Health Organization 2015, 134). Improved nutrition and food security are emphasized together in the SDG goal 2: “Zero hunger” (UNDP n.d.-a). Based on food security, one of the overall aims of the agricultural policy in Norway is to increase sustainable food production. However, the definition of *sustainable* food production and meat production in that context is disputed. One discourse regards production of red meat as sustainable since it can utilize grazing resources. Within that discourse, red meat production in Norway is a solution to the climate crisis rather than a contributor. An opposite discourse have focused on the use of concentrated feed at the expense of grass, and the large part of the emissions from cattle (Austgulen 2013, 61-62).

Addressing nutrition and NCDs through the framework of the SDGs implies that food and agriculture have to be included in the equation, together with climate and environmental concerns. Thus, agricultural and food policies must be supportive of climate and health policies (World Cancer Research Fund International 2014, 3). The climate crisis and the focus on meat consumption from an environmental and health perspective have made it appropriate to regard food production policy, nutrition policy and climate policy in an overall context. Is this done in Norway? This introduction has shown that the issue of red meat and climate change is an intersectoral issue, consisting of differing interests and considerations. Does this have any implications for how the issue is handled?

1.1 Research questions

Because of the problems introduced above, my central research question is:

How does the central administration in Norway handles the challenges related to climate change and consumption of red meat, and what factors may affect it?

In order to answer this research question, the following sub-questions will guide the research:

What has the central administration done about the issue of red meat consumption and climate change?

How does government officials within the health sector, agriculture sector and the climate and environmental sector view the issue, and how is the interaction between the sectors?

What is the significance of organization and structure as an influence on how the government officials within the central administration handle this issue?

1.2 Rationale for choice of topic

The topic of this thesis is relevant to study because reduction of red meat consumption is regarded as one of the most effective climate measure people can do to reduce their emissions. Red meat consumption does also contribute to increase diet-related chronic diseases. Reduction in traveling, energy use in households and meat consumption in developed countries are highlighted in the 5th IPCC Assessment Report (IPCC 2014, 387-388). Energy efficiency and reduced emissions from transportation have been on the agenda in Norway for a long time, with concrete measures to address this issue. However, the emissions from livestock and the overall levels of meat consumption on the other hand have received little political interest (Kjærnes 2010, 22). Even though the dietary advice clearly recommends reducing red meat consumption, the Norwegian consumption level is still higher than the recommendations. Therefore, it is relevant to look at measures directed at the issue of red meat and climate change.

The focus on how the central administration handles the issue is of relevance as the government officials within the ministries and directorates are key actors in public policy processes. The ministries prepare, design and implement policies for the government. This makes them political actors with power to influence the substance of policies and the implementation of public policy. Therefore, how they perceive the issue of red meat and climate change is relevant concerning policy outcome.

Politics is about how different interests and values appear and collide in decisional processes, where some interests may win over others (Østerud 2007, 15). Thus, politics is about power. Three different sectors within the central administration constitute different interests about red meat consumption. The multiple interests make it relevant to look at the relations between the three sectors, to understand how they handle the issue. Studies have been conducted regarding the conflict between nutritional and agricultural authorities on saturated fat (Lien 1990), and between the agricultural authorities and environmental authorities on red meat production (Vittersø and Kjærnes 2015). However, there is a lack of research on how these three authorities interact and operate together. The relationship between the three different sectors will be the focus in this analysis with emphasis on the collaboration across ministries and directorates.

The power struggle between different interests and considerations happens through institutions and organizational structures (Bell 2002, 363). On this basis, organizations and institutions are important object of study to understand policy processes. Within organizational theory, it is argued that the organizational context will affect how members of the organization think and act (Christiansen et al. 2009, 11). Organizational and institutional features will affect options for action for the government officials within the sectors. Features of the organization and its “inner life” are of importance in the study of public policy, and the significance of organizational and institutional factors as an influence on the behaviour of the government officials is relevant to study.

Schattschneider (1960) emphasized the role of institutions in regards to politics, as a mean to channel conflict. He argued that organization in itself is a mobilization of bias creating a hierarchy of conflicts (Schattschneider 1960, 71). These hierarchies reflect deeply rooted conflicts in society, which party politics express. In his view, the conflict cleavages would influence organization and structure. Organizational structure is not neutral, but plays a part in promoting some interests and conflict over others. Formal and informal structures are not only creating a power structure within the central administration, but the organization can also be a result of power relations.

The left-right cleavage is a fundamental political cleavage in the Norwegian society (Østerud 2007, 186). The perhaps most important trait is linked to strong state intervention or not, expressed through a distinction between public versus private. The conflict between public versus private is also reflected in agricultural policy context through a market-driven agriculture based on a liberalistic understanding, against a protectionist understanding of agriculture driven by state regulated instruments (Grue 2014). Hårstad (2015) showed in her Master Thesis how the left-right cleavage within agricultural policy is expressed through party politics. The left side characterized by a focus on the multifunctional sides to agriculture, where the agriculture is legitimized through a picture of a green, clean and safe food production all over the country. The right side is characterized by more focus on production through market driven forces (Hårstad 2015, 44). I will use the theory of Schattschneider and analyse the significance of conflict structure as an influence of how the central administration handles the issue of red meat and climate change. In particular, I will see the issue of red meat and climate change in relation to the left-right cleavage.

1.3 Delimitations and clarifications

The aim of this thesis is not to provide a detailed overview of how public policy is developed, but rather to investigate how features of the organizational structure and the relationship between the involved sectors affects the behaviour of decision makers in addressing and dealing with intersectoral issues. It is the significance of policymaking that is analysed, not the issue of red meat consumption itself. The thesis focus on the possibilities and limitations the organizational context provides the actors in making decisions concerning the intersectoral issue.

This thesis has a descriptive and analytical dimension. The descriptive section aims to identify and describe the organization and the actions of the central administration. The description will cover how the government officials sees the issue of red meat and climate change and the contact pattern between the sectors. The aim of the analytical dimension is to investigate how the decision making processes in this area reflect the organizational context the government officials are a part of, and how this seems to affect their behaviour. The interests and views of the government officials on the issue, their considerations regarding the handling of the issue of red meat and climate change, as well as the communication between the different sectors are central in this thesis.

Given the time and scope of a master thesis, this study only focuses on one piece of dietary advice. When investigating what the nutrition authorities do, it is about the advice about reducing red meat consumption. The study does not look at coinciding advice about eating more vegetables and fish. It will also focus on the climate perspective of red meat consumption, and not look at other environmental aspects about the food we eat. I will not discuss whether red meat is climate and environmentally friendly or not.

The WHO published a report in January 2016 that raised the debate about red meat and cancer. The report distinguished between red meat and red, processed meat, concerning risk of cancer. I will not separate between processed of not processed meat, but rather focus on the dietary advice number 7: *“It is recommended that one chooses lean meat and meat products and reduced the intake of red meat and processed meat”* and the elaboration: *“Choose meat that is low in fat and salt. Unprocessed meat is preferable [...] Reduce intake of red meat (cattle, pork, sheep and goat) to 500 gram per week”* (National Nutrition Council 2011, 308).

I have looked at three ministries and associated directorates. I will refer to them as administrative sectors: the health sector, the climate and environmental sector and the agricultural sector. The health sector includes the Ministry of Health and Care Services (MHCS), the Norwegian Directorate of Health (NDH). The climate and environmental sector includes the Ministry of Climate and Environment (MCE), the Norwegian Environment Agency (NEA). The agricultural sector includes the Ministry of Agriculture and Food (MAF) and the Norwegian Agriculture Agency (NAA). I have selected these sectors based on their relevance to the issue of red meat and climate, and the fact that all sectors have addressed the issue through reports, White Papers or other written formal documents. The Ministry of Trade, Industry and Fisheries is together with the Ministry of Agriculture and Food and Ministry of Health and Care Services been described as the “food ministries” of Norway (Veggeland 2011, 19). However, The Ministry of Trade, Industry and Fisheries are not included since they have not been involved in this particular issue. Because my theoretical perspective will be organizational and institutional, I will sometimes refer to the ministries and directorates as organizations and institutions in this thesis.

1.4 Structure of the thesis

This thesis is structured into eight chapters. In this introductory chapter the topic of focus on the research, questions have been presented. Chapter 2 presents the institutionalization of the nutritional policy. Here I will contextualize the topic through a historical background for the development of nutrition policy in relation to environmental and agricultural policies. Following, the theoretical framework will be presented in chapter 3. Chapter 4 presents the methodological approach where I will elaborate on how I collected and analysed the data. Chapter 5 outlines the background for this thesis. This section will present the central administration and outline the formal features of the different sectors. It will be followed by a description of the political context relevant for the analysis. Chapter 6 constitutes a presentation of the empirical findings from the official documents as well as the interviews. It will be followed by an analysis of the findings in the light of the theoretical framework, which constitutes chapter 7. Conclusions and a summary of the discussion will be presented in the final chapter 8. It will cover the findings, relevance of the research and point to further research that can follow up the research conducted in this thesis.

2 Institutionalization of nutrition policy

Red meat consumption is a part of food and nutrition policy. This section will elaborate on how nutritional policy has been institutionalized within the central administration. The presentation intends to illustrate how nutrition policy always has been connected to other policy areas, and highlights the intersectoral character of the issue of red meat and climate change.

2.1 Nutritional issues and agriculture policy

Nutritional issues were first raised on the political agenda from a social and welfare perspective in the 1930s (Lien 1990, 9). Malnutrition and undernutrition were related to poverty, and therefore viewed as an issue the authorities in Norway had a responsibility to handle (Kjærnes 1990, 5). Nutrition was linked to agricultural considerations as well in the inter-war period, since Norwegian farmers experienced surpluses and declining prices. A main goal within agricultural policy became to ensure a steady sale of domestic farm products, as self-sufficiency and maintaining the level of food production were important political goals throughout this period (Lien 1990, 10). By ensuring stable supplies and allocation of surpluses to the poor by increasing their purchasing power, problems with mal- and undernutrition and problems within the agriculture were addressed together. The correlated goals created the alliance between agriculture and nutrition (Lien 1990, 10-11).

The League of Nations in 1935 also promoted the need to see nutrition and food production together, and it recommended establishing national nutrition committees. Norway established a national nutrition committee in 1937, which was the forerunner for the National Nutrition Council (NNC) established in 1946 (Lien 1990, 8-9). The council consisted of representatives from different ministries, as well as different organizations, institutions and industries. Since the first leader of the council was a representative from the Ministry of Social Affairs, the council was established within its subjected directorate (Haavet 1996, 161-162).

2.2 Nutrition as part of food supply policy

After the Second World War, the standard of living increased and undernutrition was no longer a health problem in Norway (Hansen 1990, 54). Instead, over-nutrition and an increase in cardiovascular diseases became a public health issue (Lien 1990, 98). The relationship between fat and cardiovascular diseases was pointed out in the Nicolaysen-report in 1962, and marked a change within nutrition policy (Hansen 1990, 55). The report recommended the public to reduce their daily fat intake from 40% to 30%. This issue created conflict of interests within the NNC, as the new nutritional advice conflicted with agricultural interests and interests of the industry (Haavet 1996, 137). The internal conflict within the NNC both pacified and paralyzed the process of formulating a nutritional policy (Lien 1990, 99). The compromise between the considerations of health and the consideration of agriculture resulted in vague statements about a healthy diet (Haavet 1996, 147). Still, the NNC did ask for a White Paper about nutrition and hence lifted the debate to the political level (Haavet 1996, 139). The suggestion for a White Paper was not received very well by the health authorities, and they remained passive to the diet-health issue (Lien 1990, 13-14). At different conferences initiated by nutrition researchers, the lack of coordination between different sectors was declared the reason for the problems within nutrition policy (Hansen 1990, 76).

However, in 1973 both the health minister and the agriculture minister pointed out the need for a nutrition policy (Hansen 1990, 87). The Directorate of Health started to work on the White Paper on nutrition, and emphasized health-related issues and solutions. After a while, the Ministry of Agriculture got the responsibility. The result was a shift in focus towards food supply (Hansen 1990, 102). The White Paper ended up recommending a daily diet where saturated fat should not exceed 35%. The recommendation was higher than recommended in the Nicolaysen Report. Since the Nicolaysen Report had recommended a reduction to 30%, the recommendation in the White Paper was regarded as a compromise between the health authorities and the agricultural authorities (Hansen 1990, 103-104). Nevertheless, it was still not stated any specific measures to reduce saturated fat. The process of and the result from the White Paper on nutrition and food supply shows that the nutrition policy was declared on the agricultural policy's terms (Hansen 1990, 150). The conflicting consideration between health policy and agricultural policy had become clear.

After the publication of the White Paper in 1975 that defined nutrition policy and concrete nutritional goals, the NNC went through some administrative changes. The changes was the beginning of the separation of the nutrition policy from agriculture towards the health sector (Haavet 1996, 148). The NNC became a professional expert agency, without any members from the ministries. The White Paper of 1982, the next paper addressing nutrition, clearly underlined its connection to the health sector. It was published by the Norwegian Directorate of Health in order to pinpoint the nutritional and health goals and the measures to be used (Haavet 1996, 149). The focus was no longer on addressing food supply issues as it did in the first White Paper on nutrition written by the agricultural ministry, but rather focusing on the health situation and nutritional issues (Haavet 1996, 158-159). Despite this, nutritional goals were not changed.

2.3 Nutrition policy and climate policy

In 2011 the NNC published a report containing updated dietary advice (National Nutrition Council 2011). The advice were based on a summary of research conducted on the relationship between diet and health, and had a broad scientific foundation. The overall goals were still more fruit and vegetables, less fat, salt and sugar. However, the advice was more detailed and specific, as the advice regarded different food groups and the risk of diseases (National Nutrition Council 2011, 7). This was the first time the dietary advice and the nutrition policy assessed food rather than nutrients.

The dietary advice recommended reduced consumption of red meat with a maximum of 500 grams per week (National Nutrition Council 2011, 308). The report also included a chapter on the relationship between diet and the environment. The chapter concluded that there is a correlation between a healthy diet and a climate-friendly diet (National Nutrition Council 2011, 325). In the 2015 Public Health Report, the Ministry of Health and Care Services argued that public health goals need to be coordinated with other societal goals (Ministry of Health and Care Services 2014, 51). The Public Health Report emphasized that political goals within health and climate would be reached through a plant-based diet with less meat (Ministry of Health and Care Services 2014, 52).

2.4 Summarizing remarks

Saturated fat has been an important issue within nutrition policy. The advice from 2011 clearly connects saturated fat to the consumption of red meat. Nutrition and agriculture were closely linked and viewed together, but the issue of saturated fat made the conflicting considerations between nutrition and agriculture clear. Nutrition became incorporated into preventive health policy and disconnected from agricultural policy. The publication of the dietary advice in 2011 also highlighted the connection between health policy and climate policy regarding red meat consumption. Red meat consumption is an issue concerning health policy, climate policy and agricultural policy, and thus interlinks the agricultural sector, the health sector and the climate and environmental sector in the central administration in Norway.

3 Theoretical framework

The theoretical framework provides a logical structure to guide the research process and a lens to examine a topic. The aim of this thesis is to investigate how the central administration handles the intersectoral issue of red meat and climate change. This study is therefore an analysis of an on-going policy process where power, institutions and organizational structure is focused on. I will study the policy process through an institutional and organizational perspective, to explore the significance of organization and structure as influencing factors on government officials' decision-making behaviour. The central administration is characterised by its division into ministries and directorates subjected to each ministry. The structure reflects horizontal and vertical specialization, and is part of the organizational perspective. Through the institutional perspective, I will focus on the influence of institutions. Also a part of this perspective is the theory of cleavages by Schattschneider, which I will elaborate on. It will be followed by a general presentation of theories on cleavages. Finally, I will present Dahl Jacobsen's theory on flows of premises. At the end of the chapter, I will present the expectations for the empirical research related to the theoretical framework.

3.1 Analysis of policy processes

The topic of this thesis is how organizational and institutional factors influence policy-making. Thus, it is an analysis of a policy process. In the English language, the adjective *political* has three matching nouns: policy, politics and polity. Policy is about the content of politics, while politics refers to the political processes, practice and action. Polity on the other hand refers to the structure of politics. This thesis will focus on how polity – the structure and institutions – influence the policy: the content of politics. Nutrition has mostly been dealt with as a matter of policy and has rarely entered the political agenda as a matter of party policies.

Power and institutions has been the core of the contributions and concerns within the discipline of political science (Bell 2002, 363). Politics is often referred to as the act of dividing scarce resources in a society. Power is an influencing factor in the distribution of resources, and therefore an important aspect in the analysis of policy processes. Hill

(2013) argued that “the study of the policy process is essentially the study of exercise of power in making of policy” (Hill 2013, 25). Researchers studying policy processes must address questions about the nature of power. Nutrition policy and climate policy are both policy areas with conflicting interests. Investigating the power play between the different interests is important while studying these policy fields. I will therefore address power relations and power structures within the central administration.

Power can be defined and understood in different ways. Dahl’s famous definition of power is “A has power over B to the extent that he can get B to do something that B would not otherwise do” (Dahl 1957, 203). The definition of power hence involves a relationship between at least two actors with different preferences and interests. This view of power concerning the study of policy processes implies that the exercise of power is visible and thus easy to investigate. On this basis, Dahl’s definition of power has been criticised. His conceptualisation of power has been criticised for not addressing indirect and deeper structures of power. Bachrach and Baratz (1962) argued that power can also be exercised through non-decision-making, where conflicts are suppressed and do not enter the political process at all. They argued that power is exercised through manipulating political values and institutional practises (Bachrach and Baratz 1962, 948). Then dominating values and the power relationships prevent certain grievances to develop into issues that need decisions (Hill 2013, 31). The absence of action can be equally as interesting as action when it comes to policy making. Seip (1976) argued that sources of power can be found in the personal resources an actor holds, but also through the position the actor has within an institutional system. The institutional framework provides the actor with authority to exercise power (Seip 1976, 412-414). This is referred to as *institutional power*, where the institutional or structural frames functions as the power factor influencing the actors (Christensen and Jensen 2008, 19).

A third way of understanding power is elaborated by Steven Lukes in his book *Power* published in 1974 (Østerud 2007, 37). Influencing and shaping people’s perceptions and interests is also a form of power, according to Lukes. This type of power can be related to *ideological hegemony* (Østerud 2007, 37). Hegemony is defined as ways of thinking that helps legitimize a certain type of domination (Mahutga and Stepan-Norris 2007). Whoever has a hegemonic position will be able to set standards for what is relevant and what is legitimate.

3.2 Organizational perspective

The organizational structure together with the goals and strategies constitute the formal features of an organization (Jacobsen and Thorsvik 2007, 16). How the organizational structure affects and shapes policy through the decision process is central within the organizational perspective (Egeberg 2012, 157). A central expectation within this perspective is that the organizational system the actors are a part of will affect their way of thinking and the way they act (Christiansen et al. 2009, 11). The influence of the actors within organizations is related to the fundamental aspect within organizational theory: *Bounded rationality* (Simon 1997, 118).

Bounded rationality implies that the actors have limited capacity for overview of every option in situations where they need to make decisions. To make decisions, the actors need to simplify and reduce the amount of information by filtering it (Egeberg 2012, 157). Decision making is a process where premises are added and chosen (Egeberg 1992, 188). How the information is categorised depends on the normative structure within the organization. According to Egeberg and Sætren (1999) there are certain expectations embedded in the roles of government officials and these will affect their behaviour. Roles can be defined as a set of expectations, norms and rules that indicate what kind of behaviour that is wanted (Egeberg and Sætren 1999, 94). Expectations, norms and rules influence the perspective on problems and possible solutions.

Features of the organization together with bounded rationality influences and reduces the scope of action of the actors within the organization (Jacobsen and Thorsvik 2007, 16-17). Structure shapes perceptions and affects the action within the structure. The decisional behaviour of the government officials can be understood better through the study of the organizational structure of the central administration. The perceptions of the government officials can also provide a deeper insight concerning the influence of structure on the how the government officials within the central administration handle the issue of red meat and climate change.

The purpose of the organizational structure is to control and coordinate work in order to reach the goals of the organization (Jacobsen and Thorsvik 2007, 63). A fundamental feature of organizations is division of labour. The employees are then able to specialize and thereby enhancing the organizational efficiency. When the organization expands, the

horizontal and vertical specialization often increases. The public sector of Norway, as in most other countries, is complex with strong horizontal and vertical specialization. These forms of division of labour will now be elaborated upon.

3.2.1 Horizontal specialization

Luther Gulick is known for his four different principles of horizontal specialization (Christiansen et al. 2009, 28). These principles are geography, purpose (sector), function (process) and clientele (Egeberg 2012, 159). Specialization based on purposes or sectors separated task by purposes. Actors within each sector will focus on their sectorial considerations (Egeberg 2006, 33). The central administration in Norway is divided into ministries responsible for different policy areas, which reflect the principle of specialization. Each ministry represents one policy area and can be categorized after Gulick's principle of purpose or sector.

A clear division of labour through horizontal specialization can promote effectiveness, as the actors within a sector can specialize on one area within the organization. Coordination is important because organizational borders between tasks can reduce information flows between the sectors, and consequently reduce the ability to solve conflicts between the sectors (Egeberg 2012, 162). The issue of red meat and climate change is an intersectoral issue that would need to be coordinated as it stretches across several sectors. The issue can be regarded as a *wicked issue*, which describes large and complex issues with a sector overarching character (Head 2008, Fimreite et al. 2014). Climate change and public health issues has been characterised as wicked issues. Fimreite and Lægreid have disputed that the structure of the central administration makes it difficult to address wicked issues cutting across several sectors (Fimreite and Lægreid 2013).

3.2.2 Vertical specialization

Vertical specialization describes the division of labour hierarchically within or between organizations (Egeberg 2012, 159). Within the central administration, the directorates are subordinate to the ministries that constitute the upper body of the sector.

Empirical studies have shown that the effect of vertical structure in the central administration, expressed through the directorates, is reduced political management (Aberbach, Putnam, and Rockman 1981, Christensen and Læg Reid 2009). Employees in directorates emphasize political signal in lesser degree compared to employees at the ministry level. This indicates that vertical specialization has an implication on the actors' considerations in making decisions. Government officials within directorates can address different issues more independently than government officials within the ministries can.

Committees and councils complement the hierarchical structure. They can have a coordinating function by making connections horizontally across administrative units and vertically between different levels of management (Egeberg and Sætren 1999, 97). They often consist of experts that provide professional comments in policy processes (Egeberg and Trondal 2011, 676). These can provide new premises and considerations in order to widen the field of an issue.

Since the 1980s, institutional theory became more prominent within organizational theory, emphasizing how the environment of the organization and the habits among its members affects the organization (Meyer 2008, 788). This theory will now be explored in further detail.

3.3 Institutional perspective

Institutions are defined as a process that influences behaviour (Bell 2002, 363). The definition includes both formal and informal institutions. Established and written rules and laws is formal institutions and are often connected to a formal organization (Bell 2002, 363). The formal institutions are often accompanied with informal institutions such as customs and norms. They are socially constructed implicit understandings (Zenger, Lazzarini, and Poppo 2002, 278). DiMaggio and Powell (1991) also includes a cognitive side to institutionalization, where action is institutionalized when certain ways of behaviour is regarded as appropriate and routinized (DiMaggio and Powell 1991, 15). An organization is also an institution when the informal features are established and influence behaviour just as much as the formal features of the organization.

Institutional theory divides into old and new institutionalism. Old institutionalism is represented by a descriptive approach to formal and administrative arrangements of the public sector (Bell 2002, 366). What is described as 'new' institutionalism was a reaction to the new major school within political science that appeared after the Second World War: Behaviourism (Lowndes 2009, 92). Behaviourism pushed institutions into the background and emphasized study behaviour through direct observation instead. The behaviourist school was described as reductionist: Political phenomena was explained by the behaviour of atomistic individuals (Bell 2002, 367). New institutionalism brought institutions back in the 1980s. Theorists argued again that institutions matter when studying behaviour of individuals, and institutions was regarded as an important element within social sciences (Bell 2002, 367).

The new institutionalism has emerged in different disciplines within the social sciences. Within political science, the emphasis on interests and power from the old institutionalism was upheld, but the influence of informal structures on behaviour, interests and preferences was also highlighted (Bell 2002, 366). Two different schools within new institutionalism grew prominent within political science. This thesis will use one of them, the historical institutionalism, as an explanatory approach to understand both the relationship between the sectors and how they address the issue of red meat and climate change.

3.3.1 Historical institutionalism

The historical institutional approach embraces the definition of politics as conflict between competing actors for scarce resources (Hall and Taylor 1996, 8). The focus and emphasis on how institutions structure relationships of power between different groups in the society is characteristic for the historical institutional approach of studying politics (Thelen and Steinmo 1992, 2). Institutions matter based on the belief that the organization of political life makes a difference (March and Olsen 1989, 1). Institutions can be regarded as a framework where politics takes place within, and therefore important objects of study when studying politics (Bell 2002, 363). Within historical institutionalism, the state is not regarded as a neutral agent, but rather an active actor affecting behaviour and political outcome (Hall and Taylor 1996, 6). The organization of the political and administrative system is believed to have an effect on policy outcome. I

will use this perspective to examine the extent organization of the public administration has helped to prevent or promote certain interests about the issue of red meat and climate change.

Peter Hall argued that institutions are restraining but also enabling politics, as the power structure they arguably create will be beneficial for some and disadvantageous for others (Thelen and Steinmo 1992, 2). He claimed that institutions affect and shape political interaction. The power structure influences the institution, which again influences the rules, procedures and norms, which consequently influences the behaviour of the actors. How the norms and routines within an organization influences the behaviour within the organization is called '*logic of appropriateness*' (March and Olsen 1989, 22). Behaviour considered appropriate within the organization will affect the actors. Appropriate behaviour connects to the specific roles the actors have. The institutional settings can explain the choices the actors make.

Another institutional setting emphasized within the historical institutional approach is the concept on *path dependence* (Thoenig 2003, 128). Path dependence is defined as a "self-reinforcing process with the potential for a lock-in" (Kominek 2009, 3). Kominek claimed that all institutions are a result of institutionalization, and institutionalization is a process that drives itself forward after the first organizational choices (Kominek 2009, 3-4). In his view, all institutions are affected by path dependency. Within historical institutionalism interests and preferences within an institution is affected by past institutional arrangements and policy choices (Thoenig 2003, 128). By looking at the institutional continuity, factors leading to changes can be clarified and understood (Kjærnes 1996, 74). The relationship between different interests will be important when studying the institutionalization processes. Relevant factors to study are the actors participating, which arguments win through the process and the environment and context this is happening within (Kjærnes 1996, 74). In this thesis, I will connect path dependency to the development and institutionalization of nutrition policy, the institutionalized contact patterns between the sectors and the perceptions expressed by the government officials. Path dependency will arguably influence the way they regard and address the issue of red meat and climate change.

3.3.2 Schattschneider and the displacement of conflict

Schattschneider is an influential scholar that can be characterized as an historical institutionalist. He used history as an analytical tool to explain real world outcomes and the focus on how institutions influence political behaviour (Thelen and Steinmo 1992, 157).

“The Semisovereign People” by Schattschneider (1960) provides an unique way of understanding political processes. He argued that “the root of all politics is the universal language of conflict” (Schattschneider 1960, 2). Politics in itself is about displacing conflict or preventing it from happening. The management of conflicts is thus one of the most important tasks within a regime (Schattschneider 1960, 71). Schattschneider emphasized that interests are unequal and ranked; some are dominant while others are subordinate. Based on the equality among interests he further claimed that every type of political organization is “the mobilization of bias” (Schattschneider 1960, 71). By mobilization of bias, he meant that when politics gets organized and structured, it will automatically also organize conflict and create a hierarchy of conflicts. This study will use the arguments of Schattschneider regarding mobilization of bias concerning the organization of the central administration. Schattschneider disputed that “A conclusive way of checking the rise of conflict is simply to provide no arena for it or to create no public agency with power to do anything about it” (Schattschneider 1960, 71). A result of the organization is that some issues are in the process organized into politics, while others are organized out. The hierarchy and structure of conflicts will therefore affect the political processes (Schattschneider 1960, 2). I will investigate whether this also applies to the central administration, and see if the organization and structure of the central administration and the sectors affects conflicts and hence policy outcome.

The theory of displacement of conflict shows that the means of politics is just as important as the ends of politics, as the former in many cases affects the latter. Organization is therefore of utmost importance for the policy outcome, and the role institutions play is arguably to channel conflicts. As Schattschneider said; “the function of institutions is to discriminate among conflicts” (Schattschneider 1960, 72). There will always be some conflicts not exploited since it is inconsistent with the dominant conflicts. Schattschneider argued that cleavages distribute power and organize conflicts. Different combinations of

lines of cleavages create hierarchy of interests and conflicts (Schattschneider 1960, 66-67). Conflicts compete with each other, and in order for a new conflict to be exploited; old cleavage lines must be played down.

3.4 Political cleavages

Cleavages are connected to a historical and social model presented by Lipset and Rokkan made explain the formation of political parties. They argued that deep contradictions in society influenced the political organization in Norway (Lipset and Rokkan 1967). However, they did not define the concept, and therefore conflict lines, cleavages, dimensions and separation lines among other concepts have been used to describe the concept (Aardal 1994, 218). Gallagher Laver and Mair (2006, 264-265) argue that in order to call something a cleavage there must exist a separation in the public of socio-structural character, and a political organization. An important aspect of the cleavage model of Lipset and Rokkan was that conflict structures would freeze and become lasting cleavages in society. Rokkan and Valen presented in 1964 a cleavage model consisting of the five conflict dimensions in Norwegian politics: Centre-periphery, language, alcohol, religion and moral and economic cleavage between producers and consumers (Rokkan and Valen 1964, 166).

Aardal and Valen used the concept of ideological cleavages connected to attitudinal contradictions in society (Aardal and Valen 1995, 76). It has been argued that these may not be called cleavages as the traditional cleavages presented by Liset and Rokkan, but rather political conflicts (Aardal and Valen 1995, 77). Aardal and Valen argued that there are some fundamental ideological dimensions that are relatively stable (Aardal and Valen 1995, 76). The first dimension is characterised by the view on state management. This is often referred to as public versus private, or left versus right concerning political parties. The second dimension is about moral and religious values, the third is about solidarity and immigration and the fourth about economic growth versus environmental protection (Aardal and Valen 1995, 76). The dimension of public-private is building on the cleavage model of Rokkan and Valen.

However, as society has changed, researchers argue that new cleavages have occurred in the post-industrial society. Research on cleavages also suggests that what people consider

“right” and “left” is different in different countries. Nevertheless, research conducted by Henry Valen and Bernt Aardal show that even though new conflict dimensions appear and affect the left-right conflicts, the fundamental cleavage between public and private seems to be relatively stable in Norway (Østerud 2007, 186). The public-private dimension is visible within agricultural policy where the left-right cleavage materialises in the debate about deregulation versus protection of Norwegian agriculture (Grue 2014). This discussion is also visible in the debate about EU-membership, where those in favour of EU-membership also usually are in favour of deregulation of the agriculture (Hellevik 1996).

3.5 Intersectoral premise flows

Knut Dahl Jacobsen first used the term *premise flows* in order to analyse the relationship between sectors in his paper *Informasjonstilgang og Likebehandling i den Offentlige Virksomhet* in 1965 (Dahl Jacobsen 1965). He is considered a pioneer within political science in Norway, and an important contributor within management research. Dahl Jacobsen argued in his paper that every choice within one sector, or within one policy area, will deliver stimuli or premises for choices made within other sectors (Dahl Jacobsen 1965, 151). The assumption that sectors within the central administration are not equally powerful and that they influence each other forms the foundation of his argument. Unbalance of power makes an unbalanced flow of premises between the sectors. Dahl Jacobsen differentiates between the different sectors in this uneven relationship by calling them surplus sectors and deficit sectors, depending whether they send out more premises than they receive, or the other way around (Dahl Jacobsen 1965, 152). He emphasized that industry ministries usually has a strong position within a society and tends to become the premise-sending ministry. He highlights the ministry of Agriculture as such a ministry in Norway (Dahl Jacobsen 1965, 153).

Intersectoral premise flows are not considered a natural law, but happens through action within and between the sectors by government officials (Dahl Jacobsen 1965, 153). Flows of premises appear through the perception and understanding of the government officials and their actions such as communication and cooperation with other sectors. Since the organizational structure influences the power of the sectors, the organizational structure will also influence the flows of premises between the sectors. I will use the theory of

intersectoral premise flows to describe and understand the relationship between the sectors.

3.6 Expectations to findings

An expectation based on the horizontal specialization principle is that decision makers within the different sectors identify with their sector and its considerations. The opinions and perceptions of the government officials within the different sectors reflect it. I will expect that the formal structure of the central administration will be characterized by fragmentation, where government officials within each sector emphasize their perspective.

Vertical specialization makes the directorates more independent and less influenced by the political leadership as the ministries. The hierarchical division within the sectors strengthens the emphasis of professional considerations in the directorates. The vertical specialization within each sector is expected to deepen the sectorial consideration within each sector, especially within the directorates. Alternatively, the distance to the political leadership might result in government officials less affected by the political goals of the sector they work within, and thus less connected to the sectorial considerations.

In the light of the institutional perspective, I will assume that organization and institutionalization is a result of battles of power. The cleavages in society and within politics will influence the organization of conflict, which again will influence the organization of the central administration. The outcome of power battle manifests in formal and informal features of the sectors. This will influence the behaviour of government officials through the concept of path dependency and logic of appropriateness. Based on the theoretical approach, I will expect that institutionalization of informal and formal institutions within the sectors affect the behaviour of the government officials.

3.7 Summarizing theoretical framework

This is a study of how polity is influencing policy and organizational and institutional theory will be used. Both these theories emphasizes how behaviour of actors within organizations and institutions are affected by the context they operate within. The organizational perspective has focused on how features of the central administration may influence the behaviour of the government officials. The institutional perspective has highlighted how the behaviour within institutions and organizations are linked to expectations related to their role. Both perspectives indicate that the study of perceptions of the government officials as well as the organizational structure of the central administration and the sectors will help understand how the government officials within the different sectors handle the issue of red meat and climate change.

I have emphasized that power is an important element in policy processes. As the issue of red meat and climate change involves several sectors and interests, power relations are important in order to understand how the central administration handles the issue. The theory of Dahl Jacobsen on flows of premises will be used to investigate the power relationship between the sectors. These premise flows will arguably steam from the formal structure, but also be visible through the informal structure within the sectors. The informal structure will be expressed through the understanding of the government officials of their role, responsibility and who they consider relevant collaboration partners outside their sector.

The institutional perspective also point to how organization and the formation of the structure can be a result of power battles. The theory of Schattschneider will be used in order to investigate whether the organization of the central administration, and hence the power relationship between the sectors is a result of a conflict. Schattschneider emphasizes that politics is about management of conflict done through institutions. He stresses that the management of conflicts create a hierarchy since it is not possible to address all potential conflicts. His argument is that organization is a mobilization of bias.

In this theoretical framework, the conflict hierarchy is connected to cleavages. The organization reflects conflicts between different interests. Some actors will get their desired outcomes because the structures enable it. The organization of the central administration will be regarded in the light of conflicts within the agricultural policy. I

will argue the public versus private conflict dimension has influenced the structure and institutions within the central administration, and will be used in order to analyse how the central administration handles the issue of red meat and climate change.

Based on the theoretical framework this model illustrates how the different theories act together and influences each other. This will be used throughout the thesis.



Figure 1: Analytical framework

4 Methodological approach

The aim of this chapter is to present and explain how I chose research methods, collected empirical data and how I will conduct the analysis to answer the research questions of this thesis. Researchers can conduct research in different ways, so I will justify my methodological choices in this chapter. I will describe the research design and case study approach, followed by a description of in-depth interviews as a way of collecting data. I will also discuss methodological challenges with the research methods I used. At the end of the chapter, I will evaluate the research in terms of validity and reliability.

4.1 Research design

The aim of research within social science is to describe, explain and draw conclusions about the social world (King, Kohane, and Verba 1994, 34). Choice of method is dependent on the area of interest, and the research design is chosen based on the research question that is asked (Brockington and Sullivan 2003, 72). The aim of this thesis is to describe and investigate the role organizational and institutional factors play for the government officials within the central administration when handling the issue of red meat consumption and climate change. The focus is also on the relationships between the different sectors. A qualitative research design is a natural choice with this intention. Qualitative methods are often used when the questions you want answers to is why or how (Overton and van Diermen 2003, 54). These questions imply that the aim is to get a deeper insight into the human behaviour and its context.

4.1.1 Case study

Case studies are common within qualitative research, but there are several ways of defining it within the social sciences. Tjora (2012) defines a case study as an intensive study of one particular or a few units, where the unit of study can be a person, processes or situations (Tjora 2012, 34-35). The strength of case studies is the ability to gain an insight into the contextual relations and achieve detailed descriptions (Yin 2009, 18). Since the aim here is to describe and achieve a deeper understanding of one particular

process – the handling of the issue of red meat and climate change within the central administration – a case study approach is appropriate for this thesis.

A critique and weakness of case studies is the modest generalization potential, since depth is emphasized over width (Yin 2009, 15). However, the value of insight into complex and comprehensive cases has proven useful where other methods have not been sufficient (Moses and Knutsen 2012, 133-134). Case studies include the context and get a more holistic view of the case. The focus in my case has been on a policy process, which are often complex and multi-faceted with several actors. Insight into the context is crucial in order to gain a better understanding of how the central administration handles the issue of red meat and climate change, and why it is handled that way.

4.2 Method of data collection

Triangulation, the collection of data from different sources, was used to increase the robustness and the quality of the research (Mathison 1988, 13). This is especially important when the research concerns one unit of analysis and the aim is to gain greater understanding and insight. Viewing the matter through different methods will contribute to reaching this aim. Eugene Bardach (2012) argued that in policy research, everything you need to know will be found through people and documents (Bardach 2012, 69). I will focus on perceptions and understandings about red meat and climate change among the government officials in the three relevant sectors. The aim is to understand how they conceive their role and the relationship between each other in regards to red meat and climate change. On this basis, interviews and public documents are key sources of data. Later in this chapter, I will describe in closer detail the process for collecting primary and secondary data.

4.2.1 Interviews

To develop a holistic picture of how the central administration is dealing with the issue of red meat and climate change, seven interviews were conducted with government officials at the ministry and at the directorate level. I interviewed the leader of the NCC since they published the dietary advice. I conducted the interviews in the period of September to December 2015.

The interviews are characterized as elite interviews, since the interviewees were government officials. Richards (1996) calls an interview an *expert interview* when the interviewees have a particular position that provides them with an influence over political outcomes in the society (Richards 1996, 199). Interviews with actors central within decision making processes can provide insights that cannot be found through written sources (Zølner and Bogason 2007, 125-126). They can also provide more clarity about the context of the process (Richards 1996, 200). This indicates that the officials will provide information and thus be key informants, but also the subject of analysis by representing a perspective on behalf of their ministry or directorate.

In order to gain a deeper understanding of the policy process, the interviews were semi-structured with open-ended questions. The interviewees were given space to lead the conversation in the direction they wanted to go, and emphasize and elaborate on what they considered important (Tjora 2012, 104). Nevertheless, the interview guide would make sure that each government official was talking about the topics and answering the questions I needed answered. I used the same interview guide with all the informants in order to highlight the potentially different views between government officials and the sectors.

Since the informants were specifically selected based on their position and role within the ministry or directorate, non-random sampling was used. It can be problematic regarding generalization and the researcher's effect on the result. However, in a case study this can be justified by the knowledge the selected participants have about the issue. In this case, their role provides them with particular knowledge concerning red meat and climate change. They also have the ability to affect policy outcome due to their position in the ministry or directorate. This makes it interesting to gain understanding of how they regard the issue of red meat and climate change.

I reported the project to the Norwegian Social Science Database Service at the beginning of the project period. Research such as this study relies on information and data from people. It is my responsibility that those who voluntarily situate themselves at the disposal of this study are in no way affected negatively by this participation. It was therefore important to get informed consent from the informants, and ensure that they were aware that they could withdraw from the project at any time. I told them they would be informed of any direct citations that would be used in the studies and what those citations were.

Before the interviews began, I asked the participants if I could record the interview. I stressed the use of the recording was limited to this study, and would be deleted upon completion of the project. Since I chose the informants based on their position in the ministries, directorates and the NNC, the data could not be anonymous. This was also stressed in the declaration of consent. I have not used their names in the text itself, but included a list as an appendix.

I scheduled the interviews over the phone or via e-mail, and I conducted the interviews in their offices. The experience of contacting governmental officials and arranging interviews was mixed: Some government officials were very easy to reach while others were very busy. Difficulties of getting in contact with wanted interview objects were expected, so I planned for follow up communication. Despite some difficulties of scheduling interviews, I managed to arrange interviews with all of the selected participants. The length of the interviews varied, but lasted on average about 40 minutes. I recorded and transcribed the interviews afterwards, to use direct citation precisely and to support the data analysis later on. I sent the participants a copy of the transcription, and gave them the opportunity to clarify their answers and approve direct citations.

4.2.2 Written sources

I used a wide range of written sources to gain an overview of the different sectors: Their goals and strategies, their perception of the issue of red meat consumption and climate change and the historical development of the nutrition policy in Norway. I have used relevant White Papers, propositions and reports as well as books and articles.

4.3 Considerations regarding validity and reliability

Validity and reliability are considered central criteria for evaluating the quality of research. These criteria are used to check if the research conducted can be considered scientific and have provided reliable results (Bryman 2008, 32). It has been argued that validity, reliability is not applicable to qualitative research, and researchers have used different criteria and ways of evaluating the quality of qualitative research. Terms like

credibility, trustworthiness, truth, value, applicability, consistency and conformability have been used instead of the terms validity and reliability (Lincoln and Guba 1985, Davies and Dodd 2002). However, it is still common to use reliability and validity within qualitative research, and therefore applied here.

4.3.1 Reliability

Reliability is a criterion used within scientific research, indicating that if the same method were used to do the investigation again, the result would be the same. It has been argued that it is difficult to do within qualitative research, and hence dependability has been used instead (Shenton 2004, 71). In order to ensure dependability, I have emphasized consistency and transparency in the method of data collection and the analysis throughout this research. The aim is to strengthen reliability and credibility of my research.

A risk of using interviews to collect data, it is the possibility that the informants might not tell the complete truth. However, as the aim of this study is to get an insight into their perceptions, I will understand what they tell as their understanding of the truth, unless it is a factual error where the answer could be found elsewhere. The issue of red meat and climate change involves opposing views and interests. The fact that the interviewees knew I intended to interview different ministries, could influence their answers. However, I emphasized that their perspective from their sector was the area of interest. As the questions were open-ended, the interviewees were free to respond and organize their answer in order to show their perspective on the issue. I used a recorder to uphold the reliability of the interviews. For the same reason, official papers and credible journals were used.

Another methodological challenge in regards to the interviews was the double role of the informants. The interviews had two purposes: Provide information about the policy process, as well as provide insight to the different perspectives on red meat consumption and climate change in the light of the different policy areas. If the interviewees were embellishing the facts, it could be problematic to rely on the information provided through the interviews and thus affect the reliability of the research. I used the written sources to verify some of the information from the interviews as well as strengthening the research.

Before the interview process began, a debate about red meat consumption sparked as the WHO released a report about the risk of cancer from eating processed and red meat. This might have affected the way the interviewees responded during the interviews. Red meat consumption in regards to the environment has not been high on the political agenda. However, this debate changed that for a short while during the period of most of the interviews. Despite this, it might also have made the interviewees more clear about their position and perspective about the topic.

The researcher's role

Reliability is not only about the reliability of the data, but also about the reflectivity of the researcher. Empirical data is not just a reflection of the real world, but an interpretation done by the researcher. Brockington and Sullivan (2003) argue that “qualitative data is only as good as the degree of critical reflexivity pursued by the researcher” (Brockington and Sullivan 2003, 73). Hence, I had to be aware of my environment influencing me. My perspective has an effect on the research, but it could also have affected the interviewees and thus affect their answers. As a masters student at the *Centre for Development and Environment* they probably made some assumptions about my perspective on the issue of red meat consumption and climate change. Reflection regarding how the interviewees viewed me, and how I could limit the risk of making it affect the research was important throughout this study. It felt as though some of the interviewees were sceptical in the beginning of the interview, but as the interview evolved as a conversation, they seemed more comfortable.

4.3.2 Validity

One way of regarding validity of a research project is to view the relationship between the research design, findings and the research questions asked (Tjora 2012, 202). Validity is understood as a criterion to determine whether it is actually measured what was initially planned. It also checks if the tools, design and data are appropriate means to answer the research question. Defining and using concepts in a systematic way ensure high validity. This is difficult to measure in qualitative research, but is rather a discretionary assessment.

In order to attain high validity in this study, I have presented the theoretical framework and methodological approach in a systematic and thorough manner. I gave the informants the opportunity to suggest adjustments if necessary and they were asked to approve direct citations that I would like to use in the study. Since I only interviewed one informant from each directorate and ministry, it might have reduced the internal validity. The aim was to get an impression of how the different directorates and ministries within the sectors regard and deal with the issue of red meat and climate change. The opinion of the one I interviewed might not be representative for his or her section. On the other hand, I interviewed the leader of the section or department within the sectors. They are properly influential within their sector.

The critique of case studies concerning generalization relates to external validity. However, case study researchers argue that the aim of case studies is not to generalize to populations either, but rather generalize to theoretical propositions (Yin 2009, 43). Hence, external validity shows if the research has succeeded in establishing definitions, descriptions, interpretations and/or explanations that can be used in other situations (Tjora 2012, 207). By that definition, external validity is about the relevance of the research. A theoretical and analytical generalization is possible here, as the aim is to understand how the central administration in Norway handles an intersectoral issue, in the light of the organizational and institutional theory.

5 The structural and political context

I present structure in the theoretical framework as a potential influence of the behaviour of the government officials. In the perspective of my theoretical framework, the political processes and public policy cannot be properly understood without taking the structure and organizational features of the central administration and its effect on behaviour of the government officials into consideration. Therefore, the aim of this chapter is to present the organizational structure the government officials operate within it. I will present the formal structure of the central administration and the three relevant sectors. The political goals they are working towards, their strategy to reach them and the instrument apparatus they have at their disposal will be emphasized. Finally, I will describe features of the political context, as they constitute a potential influence on how issues are viewed in society and consequently also within the central administration.

5.1 The central administration

The state administration at the national level is called the central administration. It consists of ministries for different policy areas and directorates subjected to them. This organization constitutes the connection between the political leadership and the central administration (Christiansen et al. 2014, 106). The ministries prepare cases for the government that will be presented in Parliament, as well as implement adapted policy (Christiansen et al. 2014, 15). Through these tasks they have power to influence policy outcome, and hence can be regarded as political actors (Christiansen et al. 2014, 14). The directorates constitute a lower level within the sector, subjected to a ministry. Their role is to develop, manage and publish knowledge within their policy field.

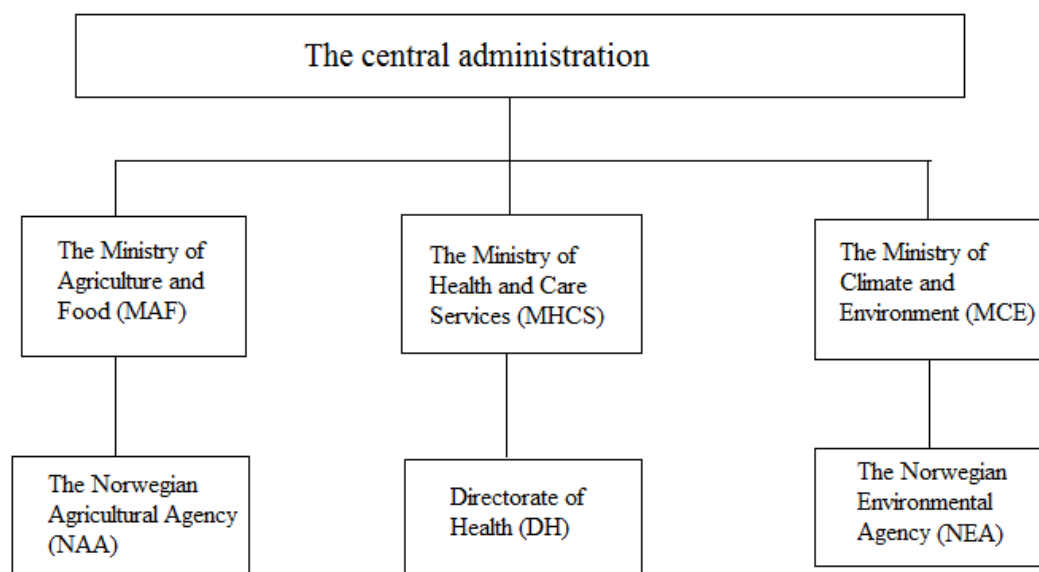


Figure 2: Overview of the three sectors

5.1.1 The health sector

The Ministry of Health and Care Services (MHCS), the Norwegian Directorate of Health (NDH) and the National Nutrition Council (NNC) represent the health sector in this thesis. MHCS is responsible for health policy in Norway, including public health, alcohol and drug policy, health services and health legislation (Ministry of Health and Care Services 2013). These areas of focus are divided into seven divisions. Public Health constitutes one of the divisions. The division is further divided into different sections. The section for Nutrition and Food Safety is responsible for health promotion and disease prevention.

The NDH is a professional and governmental agency subordinate to the MHCS (Ministry of Health and Care Services n.d). Their task is to give professional advice, implement policy and manage law and regulations related to health. One of their areas of expertise is diet and nutrition, and they are responsible for the official nutrition recommendations and dietary advice. The National Nutrition Council (NNC) is a council set by the NDH. They function as an expert group on nutrition. The directorate appointed new council members for the period 2015 to 2017. The council members are experts within public health and nutrition (Norwegian Directorate of Health n.d).

Nutrition policy was first linked to preventive health policy in the White Paper on health promotional and prevention work, published by the Ministry of Social Affairs in 1993 (Kjærnes 1996, 83). The overall goal was to address risk factors in order to prevent chronic diseases. An unhealthy diet with too much saturated fat was regarded as a major risk factor (Ministry of Social Affairs 1992, 13). The goals of the food and nutrition policy were: 1) To reduce diet related health issues in the population, 2) make sure foods are safe health-wise, 3) secure and strengthen the influence of the consumers in the food and nutrition policy and 4) to secure a production that takes health, environment and resource use into consideration and promotes a sound consumption pattern in terms of health and resources (Ministry of Social Affairs 1992, 136).

The instruments promoted to reach the goals within preventive health policy related to nutrition and food was information, legislation and supervision as well as efforts within the different sectors (Ministry of Social Affairs 1992, 139-140). In the White Paper the agricultural sector was urged to use the regulation of prices in order to promote lean varieties of dairy products and also reduce their production of milk and meat (Ministry of Social Affairs 1992, 141). It further pointed out that tax policies were not used sufficiently considering the knowledge about health damage caused by unhealthy diets (Ministry of Social Affairs 1992, 143).

The next White Paper on diet and nutrition came in 2003. The aim of preventing chronic diseases through a healthy diet was highlighted in this White Paper as well (Ministry of Health 2002, 5). The White Paper stressed that information as a measure to promote healthy diets had been the most used measure, but they wanted to focus more on structural factors and availability of healthy food (Ministry of Health 2002, 36). However, the paper did not point at taxation of red meat as a measure, as it was in the White Paper of 1992. It did not either mention the importance of working with others sectors and particularly the agricultural sector.

“Healthy food choices” can be characterised as a strategy of the health sector to reach their political goals of preventing diet related diseases. Nutrition policy connects to preventive health policy, where the goal is to prevent chronic diseases through healthy diets. The government wants to stimulate healthier diets by making it easier to make healthy choices (Ministry of Health and Care Services 2014, 49). Collaboration across the sectors is regarded as essential for promoting healthier choices (Ministry of Health

and Care Services 2014, 52). The health authorities emphasize the collaboration with the food processing industry, schools and kindergartens (Ministry of Health and Care Services 2014, 49). The health authority depend on collaborate with other sectors to reach their sectorial goals.

5.1.2 The climate and environmental sector

The environmental sector will here include the Norwegian Ministry of Climate and Environment (MCE) and the Norwegian Environment Agency (NEA). Within the MCE the Climate Department is in charge of the development of national policies in the area of climate (Ministry of climate and Environment n.d). The NEA reports to this department within the ministry.

The Ministry was established in 1972 under the name of the Norwegian Ministry of Environment (Julsrud 2012, 16). Before the ministry was established, various appointed committees discussed different possibilities for a new structure for the ministry. A committee looking at the natural resources at disposal in Norway recommended to new ministry of resources, with the same overarching character like the ministry of Finance (Julsrud 2012, 14-15). The argument was that the economic considerations and the ecologic considerations complemented each other in the overall management. A minority within the committee argued for a ministry promoting environmental considerations equated with and with the same organizational structure as the other ministries (Julsrud 2012, 15). Despite the disputes about the formalisation of an environmental policy area, the result was a ministry similar to the existing ministries. In 2014, the ministry changed its name to the Ministry of Climate and Environment. The change was reasoned with a better reflection of the ministry's responsibilities (Ministry of Climate and Environment 2013)

The Norwegian climate policy is based on agreements reached in Parliament in 2008 and 2012, in connection with the processing of White Papers on Norwegian climate policy (Ministry of the Environment 2006, 2011). The overall goals agreed upon in the agreement for the Norwegian climate policy are: 1) Norway will reduce global greenhouse gas emissions until 2020, by an amount equivalent to 30% of the Norwegian emissions in 1990, and 2) be carbon neutral in 2050 (Energy and Environment Committee

2008, 2). Further, 2/3 of the cuts of emissions must constitute national cuts (Energy and Environment Committee 2008, 2).

In order to reach the goals of the climate agreement in Parliament, cuts of emissions are required in all sectors. In the White Paper of 2006, the principle of sector responsibility is emphasized by presenting goals and possible measures for each sector (Ministry of the Environment 2006, 67). The principle of sector responsibility is about getting climate and environmental concerns included in central decision-making processes within other sectors (Torjussen 2002, 26). Sector overarching economic instruments are central within the national climate policy (Ministry of the Environment 2011, 95). The most important instruments are the Carbon Dioxide fee, the quota system and the Pollution Act (Ministry of the Environment 2011, 95).

The agricultural sector is a non-quota regulated sector and not included in the Carbon Dioxide Fee system. Hence, the agricultural sector is outside the sector overarching economic instruments within the climate policy. Nevertheless, the Norwegian climate policy is connected to the EU's climate policy, where the EU shall reduce its emissions from non-quota sectors between 0-40 percent from 2005 to 2030 (Interview with the informant from the NEA). In their climate plan, The EU suggests that Norway reduces 40% of our emissions within 2030 in the non-quota sectors. The final numbers will be decided in negotiations between Norway and EU (Færaas 2016).

5.1.3 The agricultural sector

The agricultural sector includes the Ministry of Agriculture and Food (MAF) and the Norwegian Agriculture Agency (NAA). The MAF is responsible for the policies concerning food and agriculture. It includes land management, agriculture, forestry, livestock, reindeer herding and other industries related to agriculture. In order to work efficiently with each topic, the MAF divides into several departments. The focus of this study was the agricultural policy department. The NAA also divides into departments. I interviewed an informant from the section on climate and environment, which is a part of the department of resources and areas.

The agricultural industry is a result of historical events and political responses. Two crises in agriculture in Western Europe – the competition of grain from overseas in the 1880s

and overproduction in the 1930s – have resulted in protectionist measures. It affected the development of agricultural policies and is one factor that made agriculture in Western Europe a protected industry (Munthe 1986, 10-11). The Norwegian response to the overseas grain competition was to increase livestock production at the expense of grain cultivation. Trade policy measures were also needed as a response to the crisis, with import protection through increased tariffs (Munthe 1986, 11). During the First World War, the government introduced measures to stimulate increased national production and to regulate imports. After the war a debate on whether private wholesalers should take over the regulation of the import or not arose. The result was that the state kept its monopoly (Munthe 1986, 12). Since then, the state has played an active role in regulating and controlling agriculture in Norway.

The active state gave the agricultural sector a wide range of instruments, which are referred to as the Norwegian Model. The basic features of agricultural policy and its main instruments are subsidies through the Agricultural Agreement, import protection and market regulation (Almås et al. 2013). The import protection is meant to offset production drawbacks a country has in relation to competition from other countries (Ministry of Agriculture and Food 2011, 105). The Agricultural Agreement is an agreement between the Norwegian Farmers' Union and Norwegian Farmers, Smallholders Union and the state where the budget support to the farmers are negotiated (Farsund 2002, 65). Market regulation is one of the instruments through the Agricultural Agreement. The aim of market regulation is to balance supply and demand in order to have a stable access to products and stable prices (Ministry of Agriculture 1999, 188 and 191).

The agricultural policy we see today builds on policy goals expressed in several propositions and White Papers. The proposition of 1992 presented the first agricultural policy goals, and was foundation for the development within agricultural policy. The goals were to promote sustainable production and consumption of food and to increase the competitiveness of Norwegian food production (Ministry of Agriculture 1992, 21-25). A measure to reach these goals was to lower the prices of grain and concentrated feed. This again led to an increase in import and use of concentrated feed (Vittersø and Kjærnes 2015, 83).

The White Paper of 1999-2000 highlighted the multifunctional aspect of Norwegian agriculture. It refers to the ability to safeguard public interests and consideration through agriculture (Rommetvedt 2002, 43). The argument is that agriculture has other important societal tasks besides food production; to maintain and protect the cultural landscape, biodiversity, vibrant villages across the country as well as plant and animal health (Ministry of Agriculture 1999, 62-72). The newest White Paper on agricultural policy came in 2011-2012. Here the multifunctional role of agriculture was also highlighted and used as a foundation to present four overall goals for Norwegian agricultural and food policy. These goals were as follows: food security, agriculture across the country, increased value and sustainable agriculture (Ministry of Agriculture and Food 2011, 15). Within the goal of food security, the paper emphasized increased food production to maintain the self-sufficiency rate as of today, and to provide what the market wants. The White Paper presented increased meat production as a mean to reach the goal of food security (Ministry of Agriculture and Food 2011, 99).

The White Paper of 1999-2000 also emphasized to produce food after consumer preferences. This was not completely new within agricultural policy, but has received a dominant role in this White Paper (Nordlund, Bergset, and Sørensen 2006, 7). The next White Paper from 2011 continued the emphasis on consumer preferences (Ministry of Agriculture and Food 2011, 18). The establishment of a section for food policy within the agricultural ministry, and later the change of name to the ministry to the Ministry of Agriculture *and Food* can be understood as an adjustment of the role as a ministry of food and consumer considerations. Veggeland (2000) argued that this is a result of pressure on the Ministry of Agriculture which again has led to a reduction of the emphasis of the sector orientation (Veggeland 2000).

This section has shown that both the health sector and the climate and environmental sector has sectorial goals, but are dependent on implement measures in other sectors. The agricultural sector, on the other hand, has a large instrument apparatus within the sector in order to reach their goals.

5.2 Cleavages in society

Chapter 2 described cleavages as deeply rooted contradictions within society. Furthermore, I argued in the theoretical chapter that conflicts are organised and expressed through institutions. Hårstad (2015) connects Norwegian agricultural policy to the left-right cleavage in her master thesis (Hårstad 2015). There she argued that all the political parties want to increase food production in Norway, but what separated the centre-left parties was the focus on the multifunctional role the agriculture plays; with focus on agriculture across the country, cultural landscape, settlement and environment (Hårstad 2015, 53-54). However, the right wing parties focused more on structural changes, profitability, development in the sector, efficiency, centralization and increased production and trade (Hårstad 2015, 53). Her conclusions state that the Progress Party and the Conservative Party have clearly neoliberal ideas about agriculture. Agricultural policy is defined by their economical world view and they hence regard agricultural policy as part of industry and trade policy (Hårstad 2015, 54-55). The centre-left parties promoting a more protectionist agricultural policy contrary to the right wing parties working towards a more liberalistic agricultural policy represents the left-right dimension within agricultural policy. I will use her findings as an expression of the left-right dimension within the agricultural policy in Norway.

This study will investigate the significance of political cleavages are significant regarding how the central administration address and deal with the issue of red meat and climate change. This issue will be regarded as a conflict between agricultural authorities on the one hand and the nutritional and climate and environmental authorities on the other hand. The conflict is based on their differing and conflicting goals about red meat consumption and production. I will argue that the left-right cleavage expressed within the agricultural policy as a conflict between those who want to protect the Norwegian agriculture with state support, and those who want to have more faith in the market and wish to deregulate the agriculture.

5.3 Summarizing remarks

This chapter has presented the organization of the central administration. I have shown that the central administration consists of sectors, which work towards goals regarding their policy field. Both the environmental sector and health sector have goals where measures need to be implemented within other sectors. There is a disparity between sectors regarding instruments available to them within the sector to achieve sectoral objectives. The agricultural sector emerges as the sector with the biggest toolbox and strongest instruments in order to achieve their goals.

6 The handling of the issue of red meat and climate change

In order to say anything about how the central administration handles the issue of red meat and climate change, I need to gain a deeper understanding of what has been done and the perceptions of the government officials about the issue and the intersectoral character of it. Since it is an intersectoral issue it is relevant to study how the government officials regard the other sectors and the relationship between the sectors. In order to do so, I have looked at official documents published by the sectors and interviewed government officials from the health sector, the environmental sector and the agricultural sector. The findings will represent the empirical data forming the basis for the further analysis, and hence answering questions about why it is handled as it is.

6.1 Policy on meat

I will start by presenting central policy documents from the three different sectors concerning red meat. The White Papers and reports reflect how the sectors regard the issue, and more importantly, what they do to address and handle the issue.

6.1.1 Health policy and meat

In 2007 an Action Plan for Healthier Diets was published as a follow-up from the White Paper on nutrition from 2003 (Ministries of Norway 2011). This was an inter-ministerial Action Plan between 12 ministries, led by the health ministry. The primary aim of the action plan was to change the diet in accordance with the health authorities' recommendations (Ministries of Norway 2011, 13). The health authorities highlight reduction of high fat dairy products and meat products as a goal for changing the diet. The strategy and measures used to reach the aim were primarily to increase the availability of healthy food, and raise the knowledge in the population about healthy food choices (Ministries of Norway 2011, 14).

None of the measures suggested in the action plan aimed directly at reducing red meat consumption. The key measure recognized throughout this period was the product labelling system the "Keyhole". The purpose of this label is to help consumers pick the

healthier option within a food category. This has been criticized for being confusing and sometimes directly misleading, as people associate the label with healthy food (Tandstad and De Rosa 2015). The Consumer Agency claimed that a labelling of unhealthy food should supplement the Keyhole label in order to improve the consumer information (Tandstad and De Rosa 2015). The measures focusing on informing the consumer are not strong enough to address properly the issue of unhealthy food.

After the action plan period was over, the NDH wrote an evaluation. They reported that the intersectoral cooperation had been positive, but that it required resources and compromises. They further wrote that it was challenging to make other sectors take nutritional considerations and implement measures related to the issue (Norwegian Directorate of Health 2011, 4). The evaluation and the result of the collaboration indicate that information has been emphasized as a mean to promote healthy choices for the consumers. However, the informational campaigns have not contributed to show clearly the consumers which products they should choose from a health perspective.

6.1.2 Climate policy and meat

The White Paper on climate policy from 2007 pointed out measures to deal with emissions related to agriculture, and particularly emissions from livestock. However, no specific measures were identified in order to deal with the problem (Ministry of the Environment 2006). The Climate Report from 2012 estimated that 8% of the total emissions in Norway in 2010 came from the agricultural sector. 51% of these emissions are related to livestock through digestive gas and manure (Ministry of the Environment 2011, 149). The report did not elaborate further on the emissions from meat production, but rather focused on animal waste and bio fuel. The Climate Report did not address the climate effect of red meat production nor measures about reducing consumption of red meat. In comprising, measures to change habits related to bicycle use was elaborated in the Report (Ministry of the Environment 2011, 120).

The directorate of environment presented an action plan for Norwegian emissions in 2013 on request from the MCA. The aim of the report was to analyse measures and instruments in regards to short-lived climate drivers (Norwegian Environment Agency 2013). The action plan presented different efforts to reduce emissions based on *cost effectiveness* and *management effectiveness*. One of the measures considered was the shift from red meat

consumption to white meat consumption. It was regarded as highly cost effective, but scored low on management effectiveness (Norwegian Environment Agency 2013, 26-27). It means that it does not cost much, but it can be difficult to implement. One of the challenges emphasized concerning the shift in consumption from red to white meat was the shortfall of beef produced in Norway and a surplus of white meat (Norwegian Environment Agency 2013, 140). The production level did not match the consumption level. The discussion in the action plan and the conclusion that measures directed at shifting consumption and production patterns indicated that the underlying assumption was that change in consumption is difficult to regulate and affect.

In 2014, the NEA published a Low Emission Report that also discussed meat production and consumption as a measure to reduce emissions (Norwegian Environment Agency 2014). The report included a section within the chapter on agriculture about food consumption. In a low emission society the consumers would shift towards a more climate friendly diet including more fish and plant food (Norwegian Environment Agency 2014, 237). The meat consumption would have to be reduced and consist mostly of white meat, meaning pork and poultry (Norwegian Environment Agency 2014, 240). They argued for reduction of red meat consumption, and emphasized that the shift from red to white meat must happen within production as well as consumption simultaneously. The report concluded that the shift would be very difficult to implement, and the biggest challenge was to change the eating habits of the population (Norwegian Environment Agency 2014, 244).

Concerning meat production and emissions, the Norwegian Environmental Agency has focused on animal feed. In 2013 they published an assessment where they highlighted the dependency on concentrated feed within livestock production (Ministry of the Environment 2013). The report stated that the concentrated feed to grazers had increased massively, and it was regarded as a worrying trend in regard to our available grass and pasture resources (Ministry of the Environment 2013, 202). There was also expressed a concern related to the increased import of soy from Brazil for producing the concentrated feed (Ministry of the Environment 2013, 202).

6.1.3 Agricultural policy and meat

In 2009 the agricultural authorities published a White Paper as a response to the UN climate panels Assessment Report on mitigation from the agricultural sector (Ministry of Agriculture and Food 2008). The paper emphasized that climate efforts within the agricultural sector should be linked to the aim of the agricultural sector to secure or increase food production (Ministry of Agriculture and Food 2008, 12). Furthermore, the paper stressed that one of the challenges of climate change is food security. The agricultural sector has to increase meat production based on the goal of food security and at the same time reduce emissions from the sector (Ministry of Agriculture and Food 2008, 15). The focus of the White Paper is CO₂ emissions, whereas it did not emphasize on the emissions of methane. About 44% of the emissions from livestock are methane (Gerber et al. 2013, 15). It appears that the climate and environmental authorities do not address the methane emissions because it contradicts with their goal of food security and increased meat production.

The White Paper did point out that a reduction in production of meat and milk would lower the emissions in Norway. The paper viewed such reduction as a potential carbon leakage, as it would increase the mitigation somewhere else in the world (Ministry of Agriculture and Food 2008, 97). The argument of carbon leakage assumes that changes in the production would not affect the consumption level of meat. An increase of import of beef would instead be the result. Therefore, the aim is to optimize the production of meat and dairy products to reduce emissions. The White Paper do not regard increased production of red meat as a problem, but rather justified through food security. It became clearer when the ministry published a report in 2013 on how to increase the production and profitability of cattle (Ministry of Agriculture and Food 2013).

The latest White Paper on agriculture and food policy from 2012 also focused food security, as one of four overall goals for the agriculture (Ministry of Agriculture and Food 2011). Increased food production and meat production is justified in the name of food security, with an aim of producing red meat on grass and fodder from Norwegian grains. In the definition of food security the paper used, they focus on food safety and a diet that meet nutritional need (Ministry of Agriculture and Food 2011, 18). Nutritional need is something the consumers decide, as the White Paper argued that production is guided by

consumer demand. Influencing food choices must be done in order to do anything about production (Ministry of Agriculture and Food 2011, 18).

6.2 Government officials' perceptions

The previous section presented the official documents where aspects of the issue of red meat and climate were addressed. However, these publications are the product of a policy process. Government officials within the different ministries and directorates that constitute the sectors play a crucial role as decision makers within these processes. They are decision makers as they promote professionally founded suggestions as well as write the publications. They play a large role in addressing and dealing with political topics. How they see the issue of red meat consumption and climate change, and their responsibility to address and deal with this issue, will have an impact on the policy outcome. In this case the policy outcome concerns the handling of the issue of red meat and climate change. How the government officials regard the issue, as well as the connection between the sectors is relevant to study. Such investigation will provide a deeper insight into how the central administration handles the issue of red meat and climate change. I will present the findings from the qualitative interviews with the government officials from the three chosen sectors: The health sector, the climate and environmental sector and the agricultural sector.

6.2.1 The Health Sector

The leader of the National Nutrition Council (NNC) said that they have a working group within the NNC looking at the possibility to develop sustainable dietary advice. She emphasized that they focus on incorporating sustainability in the dietary advice because they regard climate change as one of the biggest challenges the world is facing. She said that according to the low emission report published by Norwegian Agency of Environment, reduction of red meat consumption is one of the most important and most efficient measures of reducing emissions within food production. She further said that they believe that the dietary advice should support this. She referred to how the Sustainable Development Goals are encouraging to regard food, nutrition and climate in relation to each other to underpin her argument for why the dietary advice also must take environmental considerations. She elaborated on her holistic view on the matter: "I

believe that eating is a political action that has consequences beyond cooking and eating it. Food production has a large part of the emissions” (Interview with the informant from the NNC). She highlighted the necessity to regard red meat consumption in a larger context than just from a nutritional perspective. According to her, food consumption affects climate and environment, and must be seen together.

With sustainable dietary advice, the leader of the NNC argued that they wish to change the diet of the population in order to reduce emissions. Although she stressed the importance of regarding consumption of red meat in a larger context, she expressed a concern for overstepping her role by doing so: “One might ask whether it is our responsibility to look into this as a council subject to the Health Ministry” (Interview with the informant from the NNC). She emphasized that their role is to give advice. The responsibility of implementing measures to change dietary habits in the population lay with the health authorities. She said that the NNC had a different role organized under the Ministry of Health and called the Governmental Nutritional Council. Their previous role involved counselling as well as implementing measures. Now, they are organized within the Directorate of Health with little contact with the ministry, and give advice to the directorate rather than the health authorities in the ministry. “It is limited what we can do. We do not have capacity or budget to implement measures, and we do not have the authority to do so either,” she said (Interview with the informant from the NNC).

The informant from the Norwegian Directorate of Health (NDH) highlighted that the dietary advice clearly show that the health authorities want to reduce red meat consumption from a health perspective. Concerning responsibility in addressing the issue, he stated:

Health authorities have a responsibility concerning meat consumption and health. Since it has clear consequences for the environment and climate, the environmental authorities have a responsibility. Then there is the agricultural side. They also have a responsibility (Interview with informant from the NDH).

The agricultural sector were given a responsibility by the informants from the health sector, and the conflicting interests between the health sector and the agricultural sector were emphasized as a reason for the difficulties of reducing red meat consumption. The leader of the NNC stated; “The agricultural authorities criticised the dietary advice when they were published in 2011, for saying that red meat is not good for people’s health”

(Interview with the informant from the NNC). The informant from the NDH referred to the differing interests between the health sector and the agricultural sector concerning red meat, as he argued that *policy inconsistency* distinguishes the field of food policy. He argued: “It is unfortunate that we have a financing mechanism for information material that clearly favours meat” (Interview with the NDH). A fee the farmers pay when they deliver meat and egg for processing and sale pays the Informational Office for Egg and Meat, *Matprat*. The office is run by the farmers’ money, but the NAA has the responsibility for administrating *Matprat* (*Matprat* n.d.). The informant for the NDH argued that public funds promote meat and egg. He said that the administration of the information office gives the agricultural authorities a responsibility regarding red meat consumption, as they take part in promoting red mat consumption as well as regulating the production.

About the relationship between the health authorities and the environmental sector, the informant from the NDH highlighted their common agenda regarding the issue of red meat consumption and climate change: “It is positive that there is a common agenda concerning public health and environment, but it should be utilized more” (Interview with the informant of the NDH). He argued that both the health sector and the climate and environmental sector would reach their political goals from a reduction of red meat consumption. It is good for peoples’ health as well as for the environment. However, the apparent common ground has not been utilised sufficiently, he argued. He further pointed at the fragmentation of the sectors as one of the reasons for it. Regarding the contact between the health authorities and agricultural authorities, he also focused on collaboration about food safety and the cooperation through the Norwegian Food Safety Authority.

The informant from the Ministry of Health and Care Services (MHCS) could tell that the ministry had started working on a holistic cross-sectoral action plan for a healthier diet, which they plan finish at the beginning of 2017. The last action plan involved 12 ministries, but it was difficult to coordinate, she said, so the new action plan will be narrower. She highlighted that the Ministry of Agriculture and Food was a part of the ministerial group in charge of the action plan. Moreover, she said; “The agricultural ministry have plenty of resources, so it is important to include them [regarding the action plan for healthier diets]” (Interview with the informant from the MHCS). However, the

Ministry of Climate and Environment did not want to participate in the ministry group working with this action plan. The informant from the MHCS stressed that they asked the MCE to be part of the working group to safeguard the environmental perspective in the development of sustainable dietary advice. She further said that there had not been any direct collaboration between the health authorities and the climate and environmental authorities regarding the correlation between health and climate regarding meat consumption.

The informant from the MHCS said that defining sustainable diets is a part the work related to the action plan, but the chapter on diet and environment in the report from 2011 provide some guidelines, including reduced consumption of red meat. Regarding sustainable diets, the informant from the MHCS emphasized; “It is not enough to just look at the nutrition, in terms of sustainable diets. We need to see what would be sustainable in Norway; with the natural conditions we have here” (Interview with the informant from the MHCS). Furthermore, she said:

When it comes to the dietary advice, this is not policy. It is professional advice that we have nothing to do with. An expert group produces them, and the NDH publishes them. Our job is to take measures based on these advices. Some can be positive for the agricultural sector and others can be more difficult. Reduction of red meat is one of the more difficult issues for the agricultural sector (Interview with the informant from the MHCS).

Concerning the relationship between them and the agricultural ministry, she said that it had been problematic in the fat debate in the 70s and 80s after the Nicolaysen-report on saturated fat. They had also had a dispute about the dietary advice regarding red meat, but the relationship was fine now. Regarding the collaboration between the two sectors, she said; “We have a lot of contact with them about food safety, and we agree upon this topic. Nutrition on the other hand concerns choices people make” (Interview with the informant from MHCS). She further emphasized that the agricultural authorities have other considerations that they need to prioritize within their policy field: “There is a difference between what is considered acceptable based on agricultural policy goals and what is acceptable based on nutritional policy goals (Interview with the informant from the MHCS).

6.2.2 The Climate and Environmental Sector

The informant from the Norwegian Environment Agency (NEA) pointed out that meat consumption is relevant in connection with their work on reducing emissions. Meat production is one of the areas they consider to reduce the GHG-emissions. IPCC have stated that we will need 14% more food globally for each decade, and that climate change will make it 1% harder each year to produce food. Based on these facts, the informant from the NEA highlighted the unique role the agriculture as a sector has: It needs to increase food production as well as reduce emissions.

An overall climate perspective requires a reduction of the total amount of red meat consumption, argued the informant from the NEA. The meat we do consume must be produced climate friendly. The answer in his opinion was for the authorities to implement measures to reduce consumption as well as make the production climate friendly. About the latter, he stressed that the animal feed is the key element in the debate of white meat versus red meat consumption. He argued that red meat produced on concentrated feed based on imported soy was most important to avoid. Good climate policy within the agriculture requires an increase of the areas for food grains production, and produce grains from concentrated feed on areas unsuitable for food grains production.

The informant from the NEA argued that red meat produced on concentrated feed based on imported soy was most important to avoid. He argued that people tend to point at the agricultural sector and give them the responsibility for the red meat consumption.

There seems to be a lot of confusion: The agriculture is not the sinner. It is the people eating red meat that is the sinner [...] People have pointed at the agricultural sector and given them the blame for people eating meat. This is an oversimplified way of looking at it (Interview with the informant from the NEA).

He said it would not help to stop the Norwegian production of red meat. As the consumption level would be the same, the import of meat would increase. Measures directed at consumption of red meat are therefore also important, he argued. However, he stated that measures providing incentives for reducing red meat consumption was someone else's area of expertise.

The informants from the climate and environmental sector saw the challenges related to red meat consumption as an intersectoral issue, but argued that their responsibility relates

only to the environmental perspective of the case. The informant for the NEA pointed out the intersectoral character of red meat consumption:

It is difficult to point at responsible authorities. This field moves across several units. Our job is to promote the knowledge base related to climate. A responsibility rests with the Ministry of Agriculture and Food and the health authorities. However, a primary responsibility of the agricultural ministry is to produce what the people need. Who has a responsibility to define what is needed? That is more difficult question (Interview with the informant from the NEA).

Although the informant from the Ministry of Climate and Environment (MCE) saw the relevance of red meat for their policy area, she said that the Parliament do not say that reduction of emissions must happened through reduced red meat consumption.

We do not have a specific target today on reducing consumption of red meat that is justified in climate policy. However, it is relevant to see this in relation with the targets the Parliament has stated concerning reducing greenhouse gas emissions to become a low emission society. However, the Parliament has not pointed particularly at red meat consumption in this regard (Interview with the informant from the MCE).

Concerning climate policy in general, the informant from the MCE highlighted that the ministry of Climate and Environment is dependent on collaboration with other ministries in order to reach their goals, since they do not have any instruments in order to implement measures themselves. Moreover, she highlighted the agricultural sector as an important collaboration partner for them. She explained:

We want to contribute to reaching the goals stated [reducing emissions]. However, we also need to take part in weighing it up against other considerations. [...] Agricultural considerations are among others included in this equation. This is what we want to work with the agricultural authorities about (Interview with the informant from the MCE).

Both informants from the climate and environmental sector highlighted the participation in the annual agricultural negotiations as an arena where they can influence the agricultural sector to take environmental and climate considerations within agriculture. Nonetheless, the informant from the MCE pointed out that reducing red meat consumption and production, as a mean to reduce emissions was a difficult topic due to the conflicting objectives in regards to agricultural policy. Concerning the topic of meat consumption the informant for the MCE stated:

Reducing meat consumption involves like most of the climate policy conflicting goals. [...] A reduction of red meat consumption is definitively a relevant measure, based on the low-emission report. The measure has some costs, and it conflicts with agricultural goals, but it

is up to the political decision makers to handle it (Interview with the informant from the MCE).

Concerning the nutritional perspective of the issue of red meat, the informant from the MCE argued:

It is clear that there is a connection between nutrition and diet and environment and climate, but I think it is more correct to talk about agriculture and environment. We are working on that connection. We are for instant part of the agricultural negotiations to safeguard environmental considerations. In other words, we work broader with climate and environment than the slightly narrow entrance of nutrition and climate (Interview with the informant from the MCE).

Furthermore, she said that they considered consumption and its impact on climate change a small part of the wider climate policy. The NEA stated the opposite: The informant from the NEA argued that they had recently started to look at the bigger picture by also looking at consumption, and consequently the relationship between nutrition and climate. Regarding collaboration with the health sector, the informant from the MCE could confirm that the report with the dietary advice and its chapter on diet and climate had been for consultation in the climate and environmental sector, but beyond that, there had not been any cooperation between them. She said that communication about red meat consumption and climate change with the health authorities did not take place through any institutionalized arena, because the issue is considered a very small part of the climate policy. She argued that it would not be efficient to establish a new arena between the two sectors, but rather use other collaboration arenas. She did not specify which arenas that might be.

6.2.3 The Agricultural Sector

The informants for the MAF and NAA stated that the goal and responsibility of the agriculture is to produce what the consumers say they want. The informant from the MAF stated: “Our task is to facilitate the production of what the consumers want and what we have basis to produce in Norway. [...] This is our goal, stated by the Parliament, which we are working towards” (Interview with the informant from the MAF). Consumer wants and demands are guiding their work. Based on the shortage of beef in Norway compared to the consumer demand, increased production of cattle is a political objective the agricultural sector is working towards, she said. In addition, she emphasized that the section for food policy within the MAF has tasks related to food consumption, and

collaborate with the health sector. She highlighted that their goal is to produce safe food the consumers want, in an environmental friendly manner. I will argue that although a different section within the MAF focuses on food consumption, the mandate and the goals of the section for production will guide and lay premises for the section on food consumption.

The informant from the NAA stressed that optimizing animal feed is central to reduce emissions from livestock. However, he said that grass feeding are losing to imported concentrates due to the low price on soy, in spite of measures promoting the use of pasture. “Today the prices on soy are very low. Unutilised grass in Norway losses against imported concentrated feed (Interview with the informant from the NAA). He further said that there are instruments and grants that promote pasture in both cultivated and uncultivated fields. Nevertheless, the promotion of larger and more centralised farms are functioning as drivers against the use of pasture, he stated. The promotion of these drivers is political, and hence indicates that efficiency and increase volume of production is highlighted within the agriculture, rather than the use of grass and roughage.

Even though both informants emphasized the distinction between production and consumption, there were also some findings indicating that the NAA regarded the issue of red meat and climate change more holistic than the ministry. The MAF argued firmly that their goal is to produce the food the consumers demand. The informant interviewed stressed that their aim to increase production is because the consumers demand more red meat than the farmers produce today. They emphasize climate friendly production in regards to climate and environmental concerns. The NAA, on the other hand, said that the agricultural production could change in order to take health and climate perspectives into consideration, without threatening the interests of the farmers.

In a climate perspective, it is good for the climate and people’s health to reduce the consumption of red meat. If you are looking at contradictions between the sectors, it does not have to be a large conflict [between the health sector and the agricultural sector]. To increase the production of plants for direct consumption is in the interest of the agriculture. It would have been a threat to the agricultural interests if the cattle husbandry were reduced in the districts, but it is not relevant because we import 20 % of our consumption of cattle (interview with the informant from the NAA).

A reduction of red meat consumption in line with the recommendation of the health authorities does not have to come at the expense of production in Norway.

6.3 Temporary findings

In publications related to the issue of red meat and climate change, the nutrition authorities focus on healthy choices through informational campaigns as a way to change the people's diets. As shown in chapter 5, they depend on other sectors to implement measures to change the diet in the population in accordance with the dietary advice. The need for collaboration was shown through the intersectoral action plan the nutritional authorities led, where the aim was to influence people's food habits. However, they concluded that it was difficult to make other sectors include nutrition concerns in their policymaking. As a measurement to change the diet in accordance with the dietary advice, it did not contain any measures directed at reducing red meat consumption. The agricultural sector emphasized food security and through that, justifies a policy of increased meat consumption. The emissions from livestock are not focused on. Rather, grass-fed beef is promoted as sustainable and climate friendly. Although increased use of grass and pasture is portrayed as wanted in the White Papers, the directorates have published a report on the dependency on imported concentrated feed. They have also written about the need to reduce red meat consumption from a climate perspective. Nonetheless, they conclude that it is difficult to address consumption of red meat.

From the interviews, I would first like to highlight the findings concerning the measures used to address the issue of red meat and climate change. The NDH published the dietary advice, and it is therefore natural that they have and take responsibility of measures to influence people's diets. This correlates with the overall aim of the health authorities regarding promotion of healthy food choices. However, as the official documents show, the promotion of healthy food, where reduction of red meat consumption is included, is only done through informational measures. Other than promoting the dietary advice, there has not been implemented any measures that is directed directly at the consumption of red meat.

The informants from the health sector emphasized the intersectoral character of the problem and thus, the shared responsibility. Particularly, they saw the agricultural sector as responsible. The informant from the ministry within the agricultural sector, on the other hand, made a sharp distinction between production and consumption. She emphasized that consumers demand is guiding production. This view on the matter is also visible in

the reports and White Papers published by the agricultural authorities. The informants from the climate and environmental sector also seem to separate between consumption and production as two different spheres, where measures need to be taken in both areas. However, they seemed to focus on measures to make the agricultural production as climate friendly as possible. The reports and White Papers barely mentioned the problems regarding red meat consumption, with the exception of the Low Emission report. However, it did not discuss any measures on reducing red meat consumption, and the report concluded that consumption is difficult to address. These findings indicate that no one is responsible to address the issue red meat and climate change.

The second finding I would like to highlight concerns the relationship between the sectors. There are no communication between the health sector and the climate sector about the issue of red meat and climate change, despite the wish by the nutrition authorities to do so. They argue that it would be beneficial for both sector to reduce red meat consumption. Further, the informant from the MCE seem to view such relationship with the health and nutrition authorities as not relevant for them, as they collaborate with the agricultural sector on the relation they find most relevant: Climate and agriculture and on making the production climate friendly. This is despite the fact that the NEA point at consumption as the area where they need to implement measures in order to reduce red meat consumption.

These empirical findings provide a greater basis for asking why the central administration handles the issue of red meat and climate change as they do, and look at structure as an explanatory factor. It will be answered by regarding the findings in the light of organizational and institutional theory and analyse the significance of structure, organization and power as explanatory factors.

7 Structure as an explanatory factor

This chapter will investigate whether and in what ways structure has an influence on the behaviour of the government officials, and hence how the central administration handles the issue concerning red meat consumption and climate change. The findings from the interviews of key informants within the three administrative sectors will be analysed in the light of the theoretical framework to understand why the issue of meat consumption and climate change is handled as it is.

I assume that the behaviour of government officials have an effect on public policy because of their role within the bureaucracy. I will analyse the significance of the structure and institutionalization of the central administration on their behaviour, by studying both formal and informal features. Finally, I will discuss the influence of conflict hierarchy on the structure of the central administration. I assume that flows of premises and a conflict hierarchy affect the power relationships between the sectors. I will argue that formal and informal structures manifest this relationship in regards to the issue of red meat and climate change. All these factors can help understand why the intersectoral issue of red meat consumption and climate change is deal with within the central administration as it is.

7.1 The formal structure of the central administration

7.1.1 Fragmented central administration

The first structural feature I will analyse, as a potential influence on the behaviour of the government officials is the division of the central administration into sectors: Horizontal specialization. The assumption is that horizontal specialization will make the government officials focus on sectoral considerations and maximising the interests of the sector.

The health sector

The informants from the health sector considered consumption of red meat and climate change as an intersectoral issue, where they together with the climate and environmental sector and the agricultural sector have a responsibility to deal with it. Nonetheless, the informant from the MHCS stressed that it is because of health problems reducing red meat is a relevant aim for them. They seemingly consider the climatic effects of reducing red meat consumption a bonus. This illustrates how the government officials are focusing on their sectoral interests.

The leader of the NNC expressed a holistic view on the issue of red meat and climate change. She saw the responsibility of the agricultural sector as the emissions comes from the production. Because of the emissions related to red meat production and hence consumption, she argued that the health sector also had to promote reduction of red meat consumption in a climate and health perspective. However, she pointed out that by viewing it in a larger context, she was concerned for the NNC to overstep their role as a nutrition authority within the health sector. The fright she feels of overstepping the role of the council connects to the expectations associated with their role within the health sector. The way she expresses herself shows that the NNC is being torn between their responsibility within the health sector and their wish to integrate other perspectives in order to address intersectoral issues properly. Their role with its routines and norms expect the government officials within the health sector to focus on health perspectives, and not worry about other considerations. The expectations to her and the nutrition council's role relates to this concern. The formal structure create an internal conflict for the government officials between what is expected related to their role within the sector, and what is necessary in order to address intersectoral issues properly. The expectancy to focus on sectorial responsibility correlates with the expected influence of the horizontal specialization.

The informant from the NDH argued that the structure of the central administration had several consequences for the way the central administration address and deal with the issue of red meat and climate change. Firstly, he said he experienced the formal structure as a hindrance for addressing and dealing with intersectoral issues. The division into sectors makes it difficult to establish contact across the sectorial borders. He pointed at the horizontal division of sectors prevented collaboration between health authorities and

climate and environmental authorities about the challenges associated with red meat consumption and climate change. More communication between the two sectors would have been beneficial in his view, as they both have the potential to reach their political goals if they managed to reduce red meat consumption. Secondly, he argued that the structure made it possible to create a policy incoherency on about the issue of red meat. The statement of a policy inconsistency insinuates that the government speaks with two tongues concerning red meat consumption. He argued that the way the agricultural sector administrates the Information Office for Egg and Meat, *Matprat*, creates a policy incoherency, where the agricultural sector appears to promote consumption of red meat and egg. The promotion of red meat does not correspond with the dietary advice the nutrition authorities have published. The administration of *Matprat* the agricultural authorities are responsible for is argued to undermine the diet advice that advocates for the opposite (Holm 2012). The structure of the central administration allows two sectors to pursue conflicting goals.

Chapter 4 presented the intersectoral action plan for healthier diets, as one way the health sector has actively promoted the dietary advice with concrete measures. To change the diet in the population in accordance with the dietary advice was the overall goal of the plan. One aim within the action plan was to reduce red meat consumption. Hence, the health authorities addressed consumption of red meat and climate change as an intersectoral issue through the plan. Promotion of healthier food choices in the population demands that several sectors take nutritional considerations in policy-making within their sector. Healthy food choices relates to people daily life, and therefore several policy areas. In the evaluation of the action plan conducted by the NDH, they emphasized that it was difficult to get other sectors to take nutrition considerations (Norwegian Directorate of Health 2011, 4). Horizontal specialization can explain this difficulty of getting other sectors to include nutritional considerations, as it promotes a wish for all sectors to maximize their sectorial considerations. When the structure promotes a competition between the different policy areas it will naturally be difficult for one sector to promote its concerns to other sectors.

The agricultural sector

The informants from the agricultural sector explicitly expressed that the goal of the agricultural sector is to produce the food, and hence red meat, that the population demand. This correlates with the official agricultural policy expressed in the White Paper of 2011 say that it is only through the changes of consumption patterns that the food production can change, as they only produce what people want. The agricultural sector holds a view where agricultural policies regarding production have nothing to do with consumption of the red meat they are regulating. From the interview, it appeared that the informant from the MAF saw food production and consumption as disconnected. The consumption affects the production, but the production does not affect the consumption. This implies that the government officials within the agricultural sector do not regard the policy of increasing production of red meat in relation to the health authorities' wish of reducing the consumption of red meat. The informant from the MAF highlighted that the section for agricultural policy within the MAF focused on food production, whereas the section for food policy focused more on the consumption side. By consumption side, she referred to safe food. It seems that the separation and distinction between production and consumption was justified by the distinction through the formal structures within the ministry. However, I will argue that if the section for production policy does not consider consumption, meaning type of food and amount, then it does not matter that there exist a section for food policy within the MAF. The mandate and goal of the section for production policies will guide and lay premises for the section of food policies.

From the findings it appear that consumption is regarded as someone else's responsibility, among other the health authorities. However, although the agricultural sector emphasized that consumer demand influences their food production, they criticised the dietary advice from 2011 about the reduction of red meat consumption. I find it rather strange that the agricultural authorities, who emphasizes strongly that they focus on production and are only guided and influenced by consumer demand, at the same time criticises the dietary advice on reducing red meat consumption. If they strive towards giving the public what it demands, than they should be more willing to collaborate with the nutrition authorities on reducing the consumption of red meat. The nutritional authorities have stressed that the dietary advice do not require big changes in the public's diets. From a health perspective, the consumption of red meat should be reduced, but they do not require that

people stop eating meat altogether. A small reduction in red meat consumption should not be too difficult for the agricultural authorities since we import 20% of the beef consumption in Norway, as the informant from the NAA pointed out. Nevertheless, the agricultural authorities are promoting red meat consumption through Matprat, and pursue a policy of increased production of beef to meet the demand. On this basis, it seems that the increase of red meat production is rather a political desire than just a reaction to meet the demand, as it opposes the health policy on reduced meat consumption. This political desire has apparently been manifested in the agricultural sector and within the Ministry of Agriculture and Food.

Horizontal specialization makes it possible and easier for the agricultural authorities to hold the view of a disconnection between production and consumption of red meat. The horizontal specialization creates role expectations, and promotes behaviour among the government officials to focus on their sectoral consideration. However, the problem is that the sectors focuses on their interests and aims without regarding it in a larger picture. The narrow-sightedness will be seen in the policy suggestions and solutions promoted by the ministries, without issues viewed in a larger context. Hence, the government officials will not suggest holistic solutions that address cross-sectoral issues. The formal structure of the central administration promotes behaviour for the government officials where they do not have to consider the overall picture. The horizontal specialization makes it difficult to deal with intersectoral issues, illustrated through the issues of red meat and climate change.

The informants from the agricultural sector emphasized an environmentally friendly production of safe food, in addition to produce according to consumer demand. Environmentally friendly production and safe food is something the consumer increasingly demands, and hence understood as a way to meet consumer demand. In the light of the horizontal specialization and the expectations related to this division of labour, the consideration of safe food and climate friendly production helps increase the legitimacy of the agriculture and arguably used in order to maximise their sectoral interests of increased production. Concerning environmentally friendly production, the informant from the NAE emphasized, that a way of addressing the climate crisis is to increase production of red meat produced on grass resources. Utilization of grass as feed was also highlighted in the White Paper published by the agricultural authorities in 2008.

Despite the emphasis on grass feed in a climate perspective, the informant from the NAA stated that it is losing for cheap concentrated feed. More centralised and larger farms are drivers for this development. It shows that the focus on the environmentally friendly production of red meat is maybe not focused on in order to actually address the climate problem, but rather justify increased production of red meat and increase the legitimacy of the Norwegian agriculture. Focusing on other concerns, as part of the multi-functional agriculture, the agriculture and the agricultural policy increase its legitimacy. However, the health perspective about the need to reduce red meat consumption is not included, which the distinction of production and consumption helps justify. Because of the separation of sectors, the agricultural sector can focus only on production and do not see it as their responsibility to take consumption of red meat into consideration in their work.

The climate and environmental sector

The informants from the climate and environmental sector did see the relevance of reducing red meat consumption in a climate perspective. However, the informant from the MCE also said that reducing red meat consumption is one measure among many. She stressed that reduction of red meat consumption is not a stated goal by the Parliament that they have to implement. The reduction of red meat consumption is a measure that in total might not contribute that much on reaching the overall goal of reduced emissions. The goal of the climate and environmental sector is to reduce emissions, and hence, there might be more effective ways than reducing red meat consumption. The argument was supported by the Low Emission Report published by the NEA concluding that reduction of red meat consumption is a cost effective measure but difficult to implement.

The arguments stated by the informant from the MCE about difficulties about and lack of political goals related to reduction of red meat consumption illustrate that the sector focus on their sectoral considerations only. The informant did not reflect on other considerations that would have made it more relevant to reduce red meat consumption. She did not reflect upon the benefits of reduced red meat consumption within the health sector as well as the climate and environmental sector. In the agricultural sector, as it also was in the health sector, the government officials seem to act according to the expectations promoted by the horizontal specialization to focus on their sectoral considerations. The structure influences the understanding of correct behaviour within

the sectors. The structure demands the government officials to work with blinders for the other sectors, in order to maximise the interests of their sector. The horizontal specialization creates an expectance about the role of the government officials. Because of these role expectancies, the formal structure makes it difficult to address and deal with intersectoral issues.

I have shown how the formal structure through horizontal specialization of the central administration is making the government officials emphasize sectorial considerations. Such structure makes it difficult to address intersectoral issues holistically. The health authorities regarded reduction of red meat consumption as a cross sectoral task, but the informant from the MHCS said that it was firstly a relevant measure due to the health related problems. The climate and environmental authorities also saw it in regards to their sectorial goals as a relevant measure, but seemingly not something they emphasized. The agricultural sector focused on production, and did not see consumption of red meat as something they needed to take into consideration. Seemingly, the structure limited the sectors to do something about the cross sectoral issue of red meat and climate change. Dealing with it requires them to view it from other perspectives then just the one related to their sector. However, that is not their role within the different sectors. Their mandate and accordingly their responsibility are connected to the goals of the sector. Even though they might try to address it with intersectoral measures, each of them is limited to maximise their interests.

7.1.2 Vertical conflict within the sectors

The ministries and their subjected directorates constitute the central administration, and constitute the vertical specialization. This section will look at how the central administration deals with the issue of red meat and climate change through an analysis of the findings in the light of vertical specialization. There are two contradicting expectations related to vertical specialization: on one hand is directorates even more incorporated into its sectors than the ministries, because of the vertical specialization. On the other hand, have the directorates more technical tasks that requires them to view issues in a larger picture. The directorates are organized further away from the political leadership. This might imply that political goals are to a lesser degree guiding the directorates than the ministries. The consequence of vertical specialization might make

them regard the issues more holistically, as the structure gives them more space concerning the goals of the sector.

The informant from the MHCS emphasized the natural limitations we have in Norway in regards to food production and sustainable diet. She expressed a view where our natural resources influences what we should eat. The resources we have available should limit our diet. The NNC on the other hand expressed a slightly different perspective: She argued that the climate impact of the food we eat should limit our diet. Both of these views about the relationship between climate and environment and the food we eat are important when considering sustainability. However, they emphasize different elements of the concept of sustainability in regards to food. The view expressed by the informant from the health ministry had a similar view as the agricultural authorities have, as they argue for consumption of red meat because we have pasture resources cattle and sheep can utilize.

The differing view appearing in the interviews with the informants from the climate and environmental sector was regarding the relationship between nutrition and climate. The informant from the MCE considered consumption and its impact on climate change as a small part of the wider climate policy. The informant from the NEA, on the other hand, stated the opposite: He argued that they had recently started to look at the relationship between nutrition and climate because they wanted to regard the climate measures in a bigger picture. Different views within the climate and environmental sector concerns whether regarding nutritional questions together with climate measures is extending or reducing their field of work. How the government officials' views it has an impact because it says something about what is considered relevant to work on within the climate and environmental sector. The different views also illustrate how the government official within the directorate seem to regard the issue more holistically, while the informant from the ministry views it narrower.

Within the agricultural sector there was also indications for differing view between the informant from the ministry and the informant from the directorate, where the informant from NAA seem to view the issue more holistically. The informant from MAF argued firmly that their goal is to produce the food the consumers demand. The informant interviewed stressed that the consumers demand more red meat than the farmers produce today and therefore increased production is their aim. In order to consider climate

concerns, the informant from the MAF pointed at climate friendly production. The NAA on the other hand said that the agricultural production could change in order to take health and climate perspectives into consideration, without threatening the interests of the farmers. A reduction of red meat consumption in line with the recommendation of the health authorities does not have to come at the expense of production in Norway. The view presented by the informant from the NAA illustrates a difference within the agricultural sector on how they regard the aim of the sector. The informant from the directorate did not focus strictly on sectoral interests, but saw the issue in a larger picture by including other considerations. The NAA focuses on the interests of the farmers and not so much on the interests of the consumer. It appears that he sees the interests of the consumers as taken care of through the recommendation of red meat consumption from a health and environmental perspective.

The empirical findings from the interviews indicate that there exist different views within the ministry and directorate in all the sectors about the issue of red meat and climate change. The findings show that the directorates do not see the challenges associated with red meat consumption as black and white as the ministries. The government officials in the ministries regarded the issue of meat consumption strictly connected to the political goals for the sector. The government officials within the directorates saw the issue more holistically by including other considerations in a larger degree than the ministries. A result of the holistic way of regarding the issue was that the directorates did not view the issue as conflicting as the government officials within the ministries. It indicates that the distance to the political leadership together with their technocratic tasks have influenced how the government officials behave within the directorates, and furthermore how they regard the issue of red meat and climate change.

The different perceptions within the sectors illustrate that there are internal conflicts between the ministries and directorates on how they can and should address the issue of red meat and climate change. The perceptions and opinions expressed by the informants from the ministries correlates with the official documents from the different sectors. The correlation indicate that the ministries and directorates settles the conflict concerning the differing views on the issue of red meat and climate change within the sectors. The settlement of the conflict prevents any larger discussion across the sectors about this issue. The more sector-oriented view within the sectors won, and the fragmentation between the

sectors is upheld. It was especially apparent within the agricultural sector: The White Paper on agriculture and climate crisis published by the ministry highlighted red meat production as a way of addressing climate change because of the utilisation of grass resources. The informant from the NAA, on the other hand, said that the use of grass resources is losing for cheap, imported concentrated feed.

The organizational perspective explains why the directorates seem to have a more holistic view on the issue of red meat and climate change by role expectancies and expected behaviour. As shown in the previous section, the horizontal specialization affected the behaviour of the government officials by perceiving the issue through their sectoral interests and concerns. The structure affects the understanding and actions done in order to address it. It is visible through the holistic approach within the directorates and sector-oriented approach with the ministries. The government officials within the ministry are closer to the political leadership that makes politics, and they need to fight for their sectoral concerns in a competition for the scarce resources. The political goals of the sector also tie the ministries because of the closeness to the political leadership.

7.1.3 Summarizing remarks

The findings analysed in the light of the organizational perspective have shown the sectors regard the cross-sectoral issue of red meat and climate change differently within the sectors. The differing views are a result and consequence of the organization of the central administration, where policy areas constitute separate ministries. The sectoral interests and goals define and limit the responsibility they take about the issue of red meat and climate change. The division into sectors urges the government officials to maximise their sectorial considerations. The division amplifies the conflict between the sectors. The vertical specialization, on the other hand, seems to reduce the conflicting view on the issue of red meat and climate change. The analysis of the influence of horizontal and vertical specialization indicate that the horizontal specialization makes the issue of red meat and climate change appear more conflicting than it apparently has to be. The horizontal and vertical specialization has influenced the behaviour of the government officials where the result is a lack of overall responsibility in order to view the matter as a three-folded issue. The formal structure of the central administration has influenced

how the central administration address and deal with the intersectoral issue of red meat and climate change.

7.2 Relative power of the sectors

Some of the findings show that there were some similar views between the ministries. This stands in contrast with the findings in the light of organizational perspective. This section will therefore analyse the findings in the light of institutional perspective in order to answer the research questions complementary.

The formal structure of the central administration implies that each sector focus on their issue and are just as influential, as they are equated formally with no ministry above other ministries. The rationale for such structure is that horizontal organization promotes efficiency as the government officials within each sector focuses on their area of expertise. Each sector would present policy suggestions for their policy field, which the government and the Parliament would consider when distributing resources. This presentation is the ideal outcome of horizontal specialization. It would imply that the sectors are equal, and operating isolated from each other.

The reality is that the different sectors are unequal and influences each other. Dahl Jacobsen argued that the sectors do not operate isolated from each other, and that premises flow between the sectors within the central administration. He defined flows of premises as something that occurs when choices within one sector will function as input to other sectors (Dahl Jacobsen 1965, 151). He argued that the different organizational structure in terms of resources and tools available to implement measurements determines the balance of power between sectors. The different degree of power influences the flow of premises. The flows would go from a strong sector to a weaker sector, where the strongest sectors would be able to influence the weaker sectors. The organization structure influences the power of the sectors, which appears through the flows of premises. This section will address the relative power of the various sectors and analyse the findings in the light of flows of premises between the sectors.

Premise flows are according to Dahl Jacobsen transferred via actors within the sector and over to other sectors. The organizational structure within each sector will be analysed as an influence on the behaviour of the government officials. I will investigate the

perceptions on the issue and the relationship between the sectors as informal structures reflecting the dominating norms and routines within the ministries and directorates. I will look at these informal structures as expressions of premise flows between the sectors. The formalised and institutionalised collaboration channels between the sectors are also a feature of the structure where the premise flows will occur. Hence, they will be analysed as an influence on the behaviour of the government officials and the handling of the issue of red meat and climate change.

7.2.1 Agricultural sector as the strongest sector

The presentation in chapter 5 showed that the agricultural sector emerged as the strongest sector, because of the organizational structure. The agricultural sector has several tools in order to implement measures in order to reach their sectoral goals of increased production of food and promote a sustainable food production. Dahl Jacobsen also point at industrial ministries as more powerful than other sectors.

The health sector is dependent on collaboration with other sectors in order to reach their goals of promoting healthy food choices. Making healthy choices related to food interferes with different policy areas, and the intersectoral action plan with 12 ministries show how the health sector tries to influence other sectors in taking nutritional considerations. Concerning the work on the intersectional action plan for healthier diets, the informant from the MHCS stressed the dependency of the participation of the agricultural authorities because of their resources. The climate and environmental sector have their sectoral goals, but need other sectors to take environmental consideration when making policies in order to reach these goals. The agricultural sector is one of the sectors the climate and environmental authorities want to influence to take environmental considerations in policies regarding food production.

Since the agricultural sector is the strongest sector in terms of owning instruments in order to implement measures, it is consequently less dependent on other sectors. Both the health and the climate and environmental sector depend on collaboration with the agricultural sector, and thus have less influence over the agricultural sector. In the language of Dahl Jacobsen, the agricultural sector is the sector with advantage and one sending premises, while the climate and environmental sector and the health sector are the sectors of deficit and premise receivers. The agricultural sector lays premises for choices made in the health

sector and the climate and environmental sector. The agricultural sector has the upper hand about the premise flows between the sectors. I will analyse the empirical findings and see if the perceptions of the government officials and communication between the sectors support the claim that the agricultural sector is a premise sender, and particular concerning the issue of red meat and climate change.

7.2.2 Premises for the health sector

The findings showed that the informant from the MHCS viewed nutrition as something that concerns the choices people make, when I asked her about any collaboration between the agricultural sector and the health sector. It reflects a view where nutrition policy is limited to consumer choices and she indicates that there is no point discussing it with the agricultural sector, as production has nothing to do with consumption. The informant from the MHCS seems to share the view of disconnection between production and consumption with the agricultural authorities. She also emphasized that the agricultural authorities have other considerations that they need to prioritize within their policy field. She points out that there is a distinction between what the agricultural authority consider legitimate within agricultural policy, and what nutrition authorities considered legitimate within the nutrition policy. It further seems that the aim to reduce the consumption of red meat is unacceptable within the agricultural sector and their policy goals. As it is unacceptable and illegitimate within agricultural policy, red meat consumption is not something the health sector cannot discuss with the agricultural authorities.

Moreover, she pointed out that the dietary advice is not a policy. The statement gives the impression that the health sector moderates its own advice at the expense of agricultural policy, and that she does not consider the dietary advises as important to take into consideration as the goals and policies of the agricultural sector. If the health sector believes in a hierarchy where agricultural goals are more important than nutrition goals, it is of course difficult to address the issue of red meat consumption and climate change. Since the health authorities also are dependent on the agricultural authorities, it is reasonable that the health authorities do not push for measures that the agricultural authorities find unacceptable. Her limiting view on nutrition as people's choices underpins her argument that the dietary advice is not a policy, and furthermore explains the focus on informational campaigns.

The nutritional authorities have focused more and more on information campaigns regarding diet and nutrition. However, the informants from the health sector has emphasized that communicating the dietary advice has been difficult. Concerning both alcohol and tobacco, the health authorities have been able to implement harder measures than information to affect consumption, including legislation and pricing measures. Future In Our Hands have argued for increased sales tax on meat, and not just decreased sales tax on vegetables (Thoring 2015). Recently reduction of production grant for red meat production and tax on red meat consumption has been suggested by the Green Tax Committee (Ministry of Finance 2015, 110). The lack of action might indicate that the health sector is reluctant to work for measures that conflict with agricultural policy. Still, the health authorities did fight against the agricultural authorities regarding low fat milk (Holm 2012).

The informant of the MHCS also stressed that they need to address more than nutritional needs when discussing sustainable diets. She emphasized that natural environmental conditions limits what we can eat. The agricultural sector uses the argument to justify why their wish to increase red meat production in Norway. As explained earlier, there were different understandings regarding the relationship between diet and the environment within the health sector. It is striking that the government officials within the ministries of the health sector and agricultural sector have a similar view, while the government officials further down in the vertical hierarchy within the health sector sees things differently than the Ministry of Health and Care Services. A reason for the correlation of opinion might be the influence the agricultural authorities have on the government officials within the health sector, because of the unequal power balance between the two sectors.

7.2.3 Premises for the climate and environmental sector

The empirical findings showed that the climate and environmental sector, and especially the informant from the ministry, emphasized considerations of the agricultural authorities over the considerations of the nutrition authorities. The informant from the MCE argued that the issue of reducing consumption of red meat is a difficult topic because of the conflicting objectives regarding the topic. The way I understood her, she meant that in a purely climate perspective, reduced red meat production would lower emissions, but

increased red meat production would be beneficial in other policy areas. However, she did not mention the common agenda between climate and environmental authorities and nutrition authorities regarding reducing red meat consumption, as the informants from the health sector stressed. The health sector emphasized the common agenda and regarded it as necessary to utilize if the central administration would deal with the issue of red meat consumption. The informant from the MCE therefore emphasized the negative consequences of contradicting the agricultural authorities, rather than emphasising the possibilities about collaborating with the health authorities. The Low Emission Report published by the directorate stated that measures directed at both production and consumption is important. It seems that agricultural policy considerations are influencing the climate and environmental sector more than health considerations.

The informant from the NEA underlined that the responsibility of the agricultural sector is to produce what the population need and demand. He could not place the responsibility for what people need. The difficulty of placing responsibility about what people need, interrelates with the view that food preferences is regarded a private matter. However, the leader of the NNC pointed out that their responsibility is to give advice about how people should eat in order to avoid health damages. The nutrition authorities, in her opinion, are responsible to implement measures with the aim of influencing people's diets. The health sector is than responsible for what the population eats and hence what they need nutritionally. The leader of the NNC voiced an understanding where what the government do affects the consumers.

The informant from the NEA did not see the issue the same way as the leader of the NNC, as he did not recognize their responsibility about needs related to food. It indicates that he does not see how policy can influence the consumers to change diets. Consumer demand is the only thing affecting production. What the agricultural authorities produce and emphasize have no effect on the consumers. The informant from the NEA reinforced this way of interpret his statements by saying that the consumers of red meat that is the sinner, not the agriculture producing the food. It showed that he do not see any connection between what the agricultural sector do, and what the population eats. However, I could also understand it as an argument for implementing measures directed at the consumer in order to reduce red meat consumption. Regardless of this understand, the view indicate that he regard production and agricultural policy as something that do not affect the

consumer and the level of consumption of red meat. The informants from the agricultural sector also expressed the understanding of a disconnection between production and consumption. I understand it as a premise provided by the agricultural sector influencing how the government officials within the climate and environmental sector sees the issue of red meat.

The distinction between production and consumption has led to the focus on making the food production climate friendly within the climate and environmental sector. It is reasonable to focus on making the meat production climate friendly rather than addressing the overall production level of red meat, if the distinction between consumption and production is the premise. Increased meat production seems to function as a premise for their work and the focus is on making this production as climate friendly as possible. Although several reports published by the climate and environmental sector play with the idea of reducing red meat production, from the interviews it seems as if this is not seen as very realistic, nor something they aim for. The premise prevents the climate and environmental sector to address the production of livestock.

7.2.4 Lack of communication between the health sector and the climate and environmental sector

Despite the common agenda between the health sector and the climate and environmental sector in reducing red meat, the empirical findings from the interviews showed that there are no communication and collaboration between the health sector and the climate and environmental sector concerning red meat and climate change. The informant from the MCE said that they talk to the nutrition and health authorities through already established forums, but the informant from the MHCS made it clear that they have not discussed red meat consumption and climate change with them. It indicates that there do not exist any institutionalized arenas where the issue is addressed. The informant from the MCE did not seem to regard it as necessary with such contact with the health sector, since they focus and primarily work on the connection between the environmental considerations and the agricultural considerations.

I will argue that the lack of communication about red meat and climate change relates to the influence of the agricultural sector as a premise sender. The climate and environmental authorities have contact with, influences how they perceive the situation

and problem. The government officials within the climate and environmental sector highlighted the Agricultural Negotiations as an important forum where they can advocate for measures that can make the agricultural production more climate friendly. However, this collaboration channel between the agricultural sector and the environmental sector can also influence what the two sectors discuss and hence, what the climate and environmental sector focus on. Since the climate and environmental sector depend on the collaboration with the agricultural sector in order to implement measures leading to reduce emissions within the agriculture, the agricultural sector has the overhand in the relationship. The informants from the climate and environmental sector said that they work on the connection between the agriculture and environment rather than the connection between nutrition and environment. It implies that the focus is on making the agricultural production environmentally friendly rather than addressing what they produce. The way the informant from the MCE understands and regards the challenges related to red meat consumption and climate change is affected by the way they work on the matter and who they cooperate with.

Although the nutrition authorities said they wanted to collaborate in larger degree with the climate and environmental authorities, the informant from the MCE said that they did not feel that the nutrition authorities was more interested than any other sectors in collaboration. The informant from the MCE said that the report with the dietary advice and the chapter on diet and environment had been on their table for consultation, but the nutrition authorities had not asked for further collaboration. It appears that both sectors have contributed to the lack of contact between them. Neither of the sectors seem to work for establishing contact and collaboration on red meat and climate change.

From the empirical findings, an explanation for why the climate and environmental sector seem not to find collaboration between them and the health sector concerns relevance. The way the informant from the MCE regarded the issue of red meat and climate change and the emphasis on the agricultural concerns, promotes the impression that the nutritional authorities is not seen as relevant actors to talk to in order to achieve their goal of reducing emissions. Also arguments from the informant from the MHCS about nutrition being something that concerns consumer choices and how the dietary advice was not seen as a policy indicates that the MHCS might not find collaboration with the climate and environmental sector as relevant either.

7.2.5 Collaboration channels with the agricultural sector

Up until now, I have shown how the informants within the health sector and climate and environmental sector expressed some views the agricultural sector expressed as well on the issue of red meat and climate change. I have argued this might be because of the influence of the agricultural sector, as both the health and the climate and environmental sector depend on the collaboration with the agricultural sector in order to implement policies. The opinion expressed by the informants from the MHCS and the MCE correlates with the view expressed by the informant from the MAF. The formal structure is an explanatory factor, as it provides a frame for appropriate behaviour for the government officials, by enabling or limiting choices. The formal structure influences how government officials view a problem and possible solutions. The structure makes some sectors send premises to others, which appear in the government officials' view and perceptions about how they should deal with the issue of red meat and climate change. I will continue to argue for the influence of the agricultural sector by regarding the institutionalised collaboration channels, and analyse the findings concerning the communication between the sectors in the light of an institutional perspective.

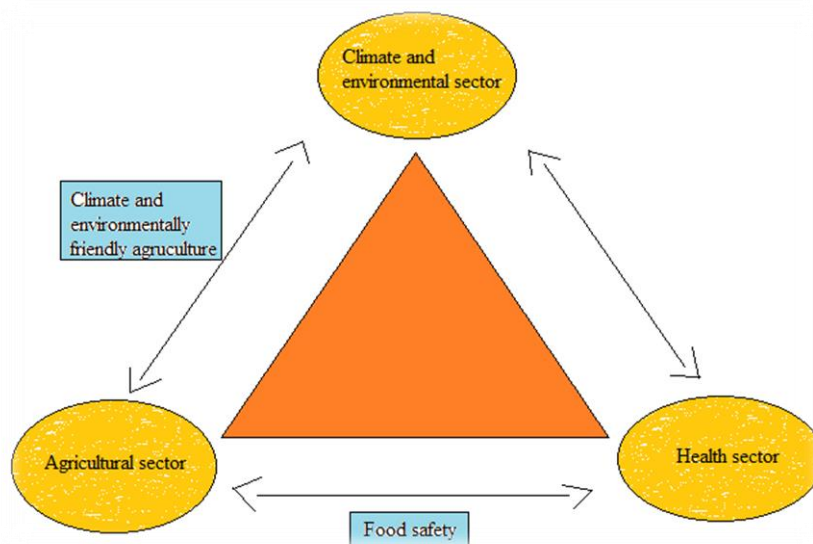


Figure 3: The issues of collaboration between the sectors.

The informant from the MAF said that the MAF discuss consumption with the health authorities within the section of food policy within the MAF. However, the contact and cooperation between the health sector and the agricultural sector is primarily concerning food safety, where the informant from the MHCS emphasizes their agreement on the

issue. The informant from the MAF also confirmed the cooperation and contact with the health authorities is primarily about food safety. She pointed out that this takes place through The Norwegian Food Safety Agency.

Through their contact on food safety, the agricultural authorities influence the health authorities, and it is visible through their correlating perceptions. It looks like questions about nutrition are not something the two authorities discuss, at least not in relation to agricultural production. The perceptions of the agriculture authorities have influenced the government officials within the health sector, particularly the ministry. It is apparent, as the attitudes and understandings within the subordinate organs within the health sector is in contrast with the perceptions expressed by the agricultural authorities. Since the agricultural authorities emphasize the disconnection between production and consumption, it appears as what the two sectors can and cannot talk about is dictated by the agricultural sector. The different views on the topic affects the communication between the sectors and it illustrates how the agricultural sector sends premises to the health sector. The communication they have influences the opinions of the health sector concerning the issue of red meat and climate change.

The informants from the climate and environmental sector highlighted the participation in the annual agricultural negotiations, as an arena where they can influence the agricultural sector to take environmental and climate considerations within agriculture. Nevertheless, the informant from the MCE stressed that they would always view and weight their interests against the interests of the agricultural authorities. The climate and environmental authorities regard the agricultural authorities and their interests as dominating. The climate and environmental sector and the agricultural sector collaborate, but it seems as if it is on the premise of the agricultural authorities.

7.2.6 The agricultural sector holds institutional power

I will argue that flows of premises visible in the perceptions of the government officials indicate that power is an important feature in the relationship between the sectors. Therefore will Hill's argument that the analysis of a policy process is essentially the study of power be a basis for further analysis. Since the structure and institutions affects the behaviour of the government officials, it is relevant to talk about institutional power. It is because whoever has institutional power has authority based on formal structures that

ensure them certain positions where they have power over others. Flows of premises relates to institutional power, where the exercise of power is hidden behind structures and in the institutions. The agricultural sector has institutional power since they have an influence over the other sectors, through their strong position within the central administration. The institutional power manifests informal structures within the other sectors, such as roles, routines and norms. The analysis has so far shown how the formal structures influence the behaviour of the government officials, by affecting their understanding of their role and the expectancies related to these roles.

The lack of communication between the nutrition authorities and the agricultural authorities, together with the emphasis on the already established collaboration channels with the agricultural sector connects to path dependency and furthermore the institutional power that the agricultural sector holds. As the agricultural sector has institutional power within the central administration, the collaboration forums are used nutrition authorities and the climate and environmental sector to promote their concerns towards the agricultural sector. However, I will argue that the collaboration forums also strengthen influence the agricultural sectors have on them. The agricultural sector lays premises for the other sectors through these forums. When these forums were established, the organizational choices influence further choices. The organizational choices influence what the government officials consider appropriate behaviour and limit the choices they can make within their sector. The emphasis on the agricultural considerations illustrates this fact.

Path dependency can also explain the lack of communication between the health sector and the climate and environmental sector. The established collaboration channels indicate that the structure shapes the room of action the government officials have, and hence lay down guidelines. The structure influences what they can and cannot do, and hence influences what they consider appropriate. The collaboration channels have influenced the norms within the health sector and the climate and environmental sector concerning whom they consider relevant sectors for collaboration.

Influence over people's perceptions refers to the third way of exercising power: Power of discourse. The analysis has shown how the perception of the agricultural sector dominates, and the agricultural sector arguably holds the power. Such power is connected to ideological hegemony, where those holding the ideological hegemony control the

dominating understanding. The ideological hegemony is visible through the way the MHCS and the MCE talk about the issue. The MCE emphasized agricultural considerations over health considerations and the MHCS emphasized agricultural considerations over their own dietary advice. Likewise, the lack of communication between the health sector and the climate and environmental sector is because of the strong position the agricultural sector has. They seem to focus on the already established collaboration channels between them and the agricultural sector, although it leads to a neglect of the possible collaboration about the common goal through the reduction of red meat consumption between the health sector and the climate and environmental sector. Although it is possible to talk about both the power of discourse and ideological hegemony, I will argue that the influence and power of the agricultural sector stems from the structural power they have gained. It gives them the control over premises and hence influences the behaviour within the health sector and the climate and environmental sector.

7.3 Behind the structure

I have argued that the structure has influenced the government officials within the different sectors. The agricultural sector holds institutional power, which has made it possible to lay premises for the other sectors concerning the handling of the issue of red meat and climate change. I will in this section look at why the agricultural sector and the agricultural authorities have become premise deliverers. I regard it relevant concerning how the central administration handles the issue of red meat and climate change and why in such matter.

Schattschneider argued that conflict is an essential part of politics. Politics is power struggle; winning acceptance for your ideas and get the scarce resources in order to put your ideas into practice. Management of conflict is just as relevant in the definition of politics. There will always be several potential conflicts, but a political system cannot utilize them all. Management is to prioritise among conflicts. Organization will therefore always result in some interests being highlighted over others. Every organization is mobilizing a bias and creating a hierarchy of conflicts. Conflicts compete with each other with the aim of climbing the hierarchy of conflicts. The outcome of politics and policies implemented is a reflection of which conflict gained the dominant position.

I will analyse the findings in the light of Schattschneider's theory, and study the significance of conflict hierarchies as explanatory factor for the organization of the central administration. I hope the analysis will provide a deeper understanding of the structure and its influence on the behaviour of the government officials and their handling of the issue of red meat and climate change. I will first illustrate the conflict hierarchy and furthermore show how the structure of the central administration has manifested the conflict hierarchy.

7.3.1 The domination of the left-right cleavage

Cleavages affect Norwegian politics. One of these dominating cleavages is the left-right dimension. Political conflicts and particularly cleavages are also relevant when studying the public administration, as these cleavages permeates society. The left-right cleavage is also found in agricultural policy, expressed in the conflict between those who want to deregulate agriculture, versus those who want to protect it from competition. The left-right conflict within agriculture reappears on the political agenda every year during the agricultural negotiations and keeps the conflict alive and high on the political agenda. The informant from the NAA connected the challenges related to red meat to trade policy. He related it to trade policy because the import of beef stands for about 20% of the meat consumption. Hårstad (2015) argued in her thesis that political parties on both side in this conflict aim for increased production. Nevertheless, those on the left side of the political cleavage often use the multi-functionality of agriculture as an argument to keep it protected and stimulated by the government (Hårstad 2015, 54-55). A part of multifunctional agriculture is safe food and climate and environmental considerations. It shows that the left-right conflict is influential in the conflict about red meat and climate change.

The informants from the agricultural sector emphasized that their aim within the agricultural sector is to produce safe food through climate and environmental friendly production. The informants highlighted the focus on safe environmental friendly food concerning the collaboration with the agricultural sector, the health sector and the climate and environmental sector. The informant from the NEA stressed that Norwegian meat production is more climate friendly than in other countries. In their view, it seems as climate friendly production justifies the production of red meat in Norway. It is also

argued that Norwegian food is safer than the food we import (Ramborg and Fjellhammer 2016, 19).

The left-right conflict within agricultural policy has been materialized in the structures and is particularly visible through contact patterns between the three sectors. The findings of this study show how it is institutionalized through both formal routines and informal norms within the sectors, where food safety and climate and environmentally friendly production is in focus and is a topic that the different sectors work together towards. Such institutionalization helps influencing actors within ministries and directorates to rank relevant partners for cooperation. Concerning the left-right dimension within agricultural policy, the climate and environmental authorities in addition to health authorities appears to be on the same side in the left-right conflict within the agricultural policy. Climate, health and agricultural concerns are in accordance and make up the left side of the cleavage. The Norwegian safe and environmentally friendly food production is used as an argument to regulate and protect the Norwegian agriculture.

The issue of red meat and climate change is cutting across the left-right cleavage. The disagreement about red meat consumption is a conflict primarily between the health authorities and the agricultural authorities. The climate and environmental authorities can be placed on the same side as the health authorities in the conflict, because of the argument that reduced consumption of red meat is considered good for the climate. Thus, the issue of red meat and climate change is a conflict between the health sector and environmental sector on one side and the agricultural sector on the other. The health sector than are agreeing and collaborating with the agricultural sector concerning safe food, but has conflicting views about the production of red meat. The climate and environmental sector is agreeing and collaborating with the agricultural sector about climate and environmentally friendly production, but have conflicting views on reduction of red meat production and consumption.

Schattschneider argued that dominating cleavages prevents the utilization of conflicts cutting across them. The lack of communication and cooperation between climate and environmental authorities and nutrition authorities on the issue of red meat and climate change supports that claim. The central administration has not institutionalized the issue. The findings also show that climate and environmental sectors together with the agricultural and food sector has a view on consumption of red meat as something

disconnected from the production of meat. Through this view, the issue of reducing red meat consumption is not regarded as something that falls in the remit of the agricultural and climate and environmental sectors. It is not their responsibility. Even if the nutrition authorities argue that it is an intersectoral issue, the government officials within the agricultural sector do not perceive it in such matter. Hence, the conflict about reducing red meat consumption is subordinate to the left-right conflict with the agricultural policy. Formal and informal structures make them unable to address the issue of red meat and climate change, as expressed in the previous sections.

The lack of communication and collaboration between the climate and environmental sector and the health sector can also be interpreted as an unwillingness to actually try to make an alliance, collaborate on measures, and together put pressure on the agricultural sector. Concerning the dominating left-right cleavage, it would create too much political reaction trying to raise a conflict that crosses the dominant cleavage within agricultural policy. Earlier sections have shown how the agricultural sector influences the perceptions within the health sector and the climate and environmental sector. It appears through accentuating agricultural policy concerns. The conflict hierarchy makes it difficult for the nutrition authorities and the climate and environmental authorities to raise a debate and conflict that would contradict their role in the dominating conflict. Their focus on safe food and environmentally friendly production is legitimizing the increased production of red meat in Norway. The conflict hierarchy promotes unwillingness among the government officials within the health sector and the climate and environmental sector. The argument is that raising the conflict about red meat and climate change will create political reactions, and perhaps influence the relationship with the agricultural authorities.

The government officials' wish of maximising their interests through the established channels of collaboration with the agricultural sector can be explained by unwillingness. The agricultural sector influences the collaboration between the health sector and climate and environmental sector in a negative way. The power structures in the management make it difficult to do anything about the issue of red meat and climate change. The difficulties and the lack of contact and collaboration between nutrition authorities and climate and environmental authorities relates to the conflict hierarchy. The hierarchy makes it difficult to raise a debate about the issue of red meat and climate change, as it is subordinate to the dominating left-right conflict. The apparent wish by the nutrition

authorities to collaborate with the climate and environmental environment authorities is symbolic rather than something they actually tries to accomplish. The fact that they had not taken any further initiative to establish communication with the climate and environmental sector underpins the argument that it is not something the health authorities really want.

7.3.2 Structure as a result of conflict hierarchy

Organization as a mobilization of bias indicates that the state is not a neutral actor, but rather active in promoting some conflicts over others. Schattschneider stresses that “A conclusive way of checking the rise of conflict is simply to provide no arena for it or to create no public agency with power to do anything about it” (Schattschneider 1960, 71). The previous section outlined how the left-right conflict within agricultural policy seems to be higher in the conflict hierarchy than the conflict about reducing red meat consumption. The following section will look at the influence of the conflict hierarchy within agricultural policy on the institutionalization of nutrition policy as well as climate and environment policy.

Earlier when nutrition and food production had corresponding aims, these policy areas were seen and addressed together. The large part of the population suffered from undernutrition and the agriculture experiences surplus in the production. The relationship between nutritional and agricultural concerns was clear in the White Paper on Nutrition and Food Provision from 1975. When over-nutrition instead of undernutrition became a health problem in Norway, the situation changed. The goals of the agricultural authorities and the health authorities no longer aligned. Instead, the goals and interests of the health sector and the agricultural sector were conflicting. The White Paper of 1992 did not focus on the relationship between nutrition policy and agricultural policy. Rather, the paper stresses that nutrition policy as a part of health policy. The White Paper did emphasize the need for structural changes within the agricultural policy and red meat production to address health issues related to diet and chronic diseases. The latest White Paper of 2002 and the Public Health Reports have focused on healthy choices. It did not mention the agricultural authorities’ responsibility on the issue of reducing red meat consumption.

Food safety is the main topic the health authorities and the agricultural authorities work on together. By renaming the Ministry of Agriculture to the Ministry of Agriculture and

Food, it became even clearer that food policy was connected to agricultural policy, and nutrition was disconnected from food policy. This is also apparent in the concepts of food safety and food security used in White Papers, where the papers do not include nutritional aspects. It looks like the conflicting goals and interests between the health sector and the agricultural sector had organizational effects, where the issues of production and consumption of red meat is not seen together.

Nutrition policy is highly connected to the National Nutrition Council, as they stand behind the dietary advice. The council has always been organized within the health sector, or what was earlier named Ministry of Social Affairs. Even though it was organized within the health sector, it had members from all relevant ministries in the beginning. The inclusion of several ministries did not function very since they had conflicting interests. The differences within the council paralysed it from functioning efficiently. Later the NNC changed into an expert council with experts related to the field of health and nutrition. It was first established as a council with nutrition experts organized subjected to the Ministry of Health, but later it became subjected to the Directorate of Health instead. The informant from the NNC argued that the changes within the council made it weaker. It evolved from a council organised under the MHCS directly with mandate and resources to implement measures, to a council subjected the NDH with a mandate of advising. The NNC also went through a name change from the Governmental Nutritional Council to the National Nutrition Council the year before the MAF changed its name. Many were oppose the renaming in fear of the council losing its legitimacy (Norum 2014).

In the light of the theory of Schattschneider, I interpret the organizational changes within the NNC were as a *management of conflict*. The organizational changes were done because of the conflicting policy goals of the agricultural authorities and the nutrition authorities. The changes restrained the conflict between the health authorities and the agricultural authorities as the disconnection between agricultural policy and health policy within the White Papers indicated. Arguably, the organization is a reflection of the hierarchy of conflicts. The changes reduced the issue of red meat to a challenge within the health sector, and not an intersectoral issue where the agricultural authorities also have a responsibility. As argued in the beginning of this section, not all conflicts can be utilized, and the dominant conflict has been argued to be the left-right conflict. A conclusive way of preventing a conflict to arise is to remove an arena for it to be addressed

and reduce the power of the agency dealing with it. I will argue that this has happened with the NNC.

I see the reorganization of the NNC as an illustration of how organizing and structure can mobilize a bias. In the case of red meat and climate change, it looks as if the bias favours agricultural authorities. The reorganization of the nutrition policy made it easier to distinguish between production and consumption for the agricultural authorities. At the same time it made it harder for the nutrition authorities to argue for measures related to nutrition within agricultural policy. The separation between production and consumption was made possible by the organization of the central administration. Organizations and institutions have the influence of constraining or enabling certain policies. The organization of the central administration into sectors makes it harder to collaborate between sectors, which concerning the issue of red meat seems to benefit the agricultural authorities. They are not dependent on other sectors like the health and climate and environmental authorities are for reaching their political goals. The structure therefore enabled agricultural policy while disabling the nutritional authorities. Hence, organization is the mobilization of bias.

I will stress that it can make sense to change the NNC into an expert council rather than a council consisting of members from different ministries. The problem it faced gives reason to reorganize it. The reorganization is an expression of horizontal specialization, where the council became clearly delimited from other considerations related to other policy areas. Horizontal specialization is a principle of organization in order to safeguard and address different concerns. Horizontal specialization might be the best way of dealing with the different and differing topics. Nevertheless, based on the findings analysed in the light of the theoretical framework, government officials do not make decisions within a neutral context, but the structure of the central administration functions as an influencing element. Furthermore, it seems that the hierarchy of conflicts influences how the central administration is structured.

I will argue that the hierarchy of conflicts has also influenced the institutionalization of the climate and environmental policy. In chapter four, I talked about how a committee had argued that the new Ministry of Environment should have the same overarching structure and design as the Ministry of Finance. The result was still that the environmental ministry was organized similar to the rest of the ministries. Although climate and

environmental issues are sector overarching, the climate and environmental authorities must try to influence other sectors to take environmental considerations since they do not have instruments to implement measures themselves. The dependence on other sectors makes them less powerful in comparison to other sectors, such as the agricultural sector. In the light of the argument that organization as a mobilization of bias, the organization of the climate and environmental sector can be understood as choice to create a hierarchy where industrial considerations are emphasized over environmental concerns. Otherwise, it would have been reasonable to organize the Ministry of Climate and Environment in a different manner that would have provided them with more power.

The discussion above indicate that Schattschneider's argument about checking the rise of conflict correspond with the institutionalization of both climate and nutrition policy. No one has established an arena between the climate and environmental sector and the health sector for addressing the issue of red meat and climate. The institutionalization and development of the nutrition policy and the NNC has weakened their position as a public agency that addresses the issue of red meat and climate change.

I have argued that the dominant conflict within agricultural policy is the left-right dimension expressed through a "for or against"-conflict concerning regulation and state intervention of the Norwegian agriculture. Arguably, the structure reflects this conflict, as the collaboration between the agricultural sector and the health sector and climate and environmental sector concerns climate friendly food production and food safety. This provides the agriculture with legitimacy. Hence, the three sectors are on the same side in the dominant conflict. The management of conflicts downgrades the issue of red meat and climate change, since it cuts across the dominating conflict within the agricultural policy. The institutionalization of the nutrition policy has illustrated how the issue of red meat and climate change is a conflict lower in the conflict hierarchy than the left-right conflict. The organization of the nutrition policy under preventive health policy and the connection of food policy to the agricultural sector have made it difficult to regard nutritional concerns and agricultural concerns in relations to each other, as the issue of red meat and climate change demands. Hence, the structure is making it difficult to address the conflict between the health sector and the climate and environmental sector on the one side and the agricultural sector on the other.

8 Conclusion

This thesis has been an investigation of a policy process. The nutrition authorities recommended reduction in consumption of red meat through their dietary advice in 2011. The nutritional authorities argued that a diet in line with the advice would also be a climate friendly diet. They stressed that the dietary advice of reducing red meat consumption would help reach both health political goals as well as climate political goals. Despite this, the consumption of red meat has not been reduced. This fact together with the aim of the agricultural authorities of increasing the red meat production and their criticism of the recommendations provided by the nutritional authorities, gives reason to question what the central administration have been done about the issue of red meat and climate change, and investigate factors that might have made it difficult to handle.

In this thesis, I have studied how the sectors in the central administration handle the issue of red meat and climate change. I have based the analysis on the assumption that the behaviour of the government officials influence policy outcome. Thus, how they regard the issue of red meat and climate change, the relationship between the sectors and factors that influence the behaviour of the government officials have been in focus throughout this thesis. I have regarded in this study the structure and organization of the central administration as potential influencing factors for how the central administration handles the issue of red meat and climate change.

I have shown in the analysis that the central administration does not address the issue of red meat and climate change as a three-folded challenge, where they address the perspectives of health, agriculture and climate together. Although several of the government officials pointed out the intersectoral character of the issue, and hence the shared responsibility between the relevant sectors to address it, this is not apparent in any policies suggested or implemented.

A power structure is visible about the issue of red meat and climate change where the agricultural sector is the dominating part. I have analysed these findings in the light of the theoretical framework, and emphasized how the formal structure and organization of the central administration have provided the agricultural sector this position. The horizontal specialization promotes fragmentation within the central administration. The conflicting

views within the sectors illustrated that the horizontal specialization promotes fragmentation of the central administration. It makes it possible for sectors to work towards conflicting considerations, as well as it makes it harder to address cross-sectoral issues as the appropriate and expected behaviour of the government officials is to maximize sectoral aims and concerns. The structure limits the responsibility a sector can take about an intersectoral issue.

The position of the agricultural sector has influenced the health sector and the climate and environmental sector, and I have pointed out that the government officials in the health sector and the climate and environmental sector do not discuss the issue of red meat and climate change with each other. Hence, the issue of red meat and climate change has not been institutionalised in the central administration. I have argued that the agricultural sector as a premise deliver can explain it, as the agricultural sector holds structural power. The health sector and the climate and environmental sector emphasize agricultural considerations. The lack of contact between these authorities makes it difficult to address and the issue.

Regarding why the agricultural sector has become such an influence towards the other sectors, the organization of conflict has arguably had an impact. The conflict on red meat and climate change is not the dominating conflict within agricultural policy. I have argued that conflict hierarchy functions as an explanatory factor. The issue of red meat where the agricultural interests conflicts with health and climate interests cuts across the dominating conflict, and hence are further down in the conflict hierarchy. This conflict hierarchy together with the power structure within the central administration makes it difficult to handle the issue of red meat and climate change, as well as it might promote an unwillingness to address it.

8.1 Theoretical implications

Based on the research design this thesis does not aim to generalize. The case study is about one specific process, which generalizes difficult. However, as stated in the chapter 2, there is a potential for an analytical or theoretical generalization. This implies that the findings provide a deeper understanding of the case investigated throughout this thesis. The results are of theoretical interest as researchers can use it as guidelines in similar

situations. This thesis has contributed with a deeper understanding of factors affecting the handling of intersectoral issues, by studying how structure affects the behaviour of government officials. Hence, the theoretical implications relate to the influence of structure on government officials, and how structure is not a neutral factor but is influential in policy processes.

8.1.1 Institutions and structure matter

All the major conclusions are in the context of structure and institutionalization. I have argued that the formal structure of the central administration has been a catalyst in regards to some policies but a hindrance to others. The agricultural sector is a strong sector, as it is not dependent on other sectors to implement measures in order to reach its goals. The institutionalized collaboration channels between the health sector and the climate and environmental sector regarding climate-friendly production and safe food are increasing its legitimacy for increasing red meat production. Through the agricultural authorities' position in the central administration, they are influencing the perceptions and values within the health sector and the climate and environmental sector. These institutionalized collaboration forums also reflect the dominant conflict within agricultural policy, where the three sectors are at the same side. The historical development and the institutionalization of nutritional policy have averted the conflict between the health sector and agricultural sector concerning red meat consumption. It appears that the agricultural sector has an ideological hegemony, which the structure underpins. The lack of collaboration between health sector and environmental sector about reducing red meat consumption is a result. A theoretical implication is consequently that structure affects the behaviour of government officials because the structure influences their room for manoeuvring. The sectors within the central administration are operating within a power structure that will influence the policy process, particularly regarding issues that intersect with several sectors.

8.2 Policy implications

The research conducted in this master thesis point at features of the public administration that makes it difficult to handle intersectoral issues. The structure and organization of the central administration is not a neutral context for decision-making, but a variable that influences the process. This is important to be aware of in other similar policy processes, especially concerning topics intersecting several policy fields and sectors. This study shows how such topics make questions of responsibility unclear, and a result it that intersectoral issues are not addressed or handled properly.

I have shown how influential the structure is on the behaviour of the government officials, which again have a result on how they handle the issue of red meat and climate change. The structure favours the agricultural interests. If other considerations shall win through, or at least play a larger role when considerations are weighted, there is a need of stronger political guidance about the issue of red meat and climate change. A precondition is of course that strengthening the considerations of health and climate is wanted. If not, the mobilization of bias that organization has been argued to be, will do its job.

The findings of this thesis are also relevant about the debate about consumption of red meat. The findings from this thesis about the hierarchy of conflicts are useful in order to understand the response to measures suggested to the challenges associated with red meat consumption and climate change. During this research period both Civita and a Green Tax Commission published reports suggesting fees in order to reduce the production and consumption of red meat (Sandøy 2015, Ministry of Finance 2015). It was heavy criticised. The aim here is not to argue for or against these suggestions, but what can be said is that it seems that hard-hitting and effective measures to address red meat production and consumption are consistently seen as a wish to shut down Norwegian agriculture. It becomes a 'for or against agriculture'-discussion and hence the dominating conflict within agricultural policy. A constructive debate about reaching health and climate political goals by addressing red meat consumption where the agricultural sector also is included is therefore absent. I hope that this study will help emphasizing the importance of regarded concerns of nutrition, agriculture and climate together, as the SDGs stresses.

8.3 Recommendations for further research

This study has focused on formal and informal features as an influence on the behaviour of government officials and consequently an influence on policymaking and policy outcome. However, what has been analysed and discussed as informal features of the sector may be connected to that person's opinion and not a reflection of the dominating thought within the ministry or directorate. This indicates that the conclusions concerning institutional features of this study must be regarded as a starting point for further research on this topic. A larger study of the organizational culture within the ministries would be interesting to conduct, to study the informal structures in even more detail. It would also have been interesting to follow the process of implementing the new action plan for a healthier diet.

The case study in this thesis included only bureaucrats from the ministries and directorates. The focus of the research was on the bureaucracy. Still, it would be interesting to conduct a similar study where the political leadership was included. Their role as ministers is to be responsible for one sector whilst also taking part in the coordination of different interests within the government. This would expand the case and add interesting dimensions in the research with the aim of understanding the policy process of intersectoral issues with conflict interests and considerations. This thesis did not have the scope of doing so.

The increasingly relevant subject of sustainability will make this topic relevant for further study on how the central administration address and deal with intersectoral issues. A characterizing feature of sustainability and sustainable development is considering different perspectives at the same time. The definition presented in the Brundtland report *Our Common Future* emphasized the need to see ecological, economic and social aspects together (World Commission on Environment and Development 1987). The Sustainable development Goals builds on the need to look at the issue of development in a holistic matter in order to make it sustainable. If sustainability is to permeate all policies, the issue of addressing and handling intersectoral issues cutting across several sectors is bound to happen again. Further research on the issues addressed in this thesis is therefore relevant and crucial in order to achieve sustainable development.

References

- Aberbach, Joel D., Robert D. Putnam, and Bert A. Rockman. 1981. *Bureaucrats and Politicians in Western Democracies*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Almås, R., H. Bjørkhaug, H. Campbell, and C.A. Smedshaug. 2013. "Klimautfordringene og den norske landbrukspolitiske modellen." In *Fram mot ein berekraftig og klimatilpasse norsk landbruksmodell*, edited by R. Almås, H. Bjørkhaug, H. Campbell and C.A. Smedshaug, 9-32. Trondheim: Akademika Forlag.
- Animalia. 2015. *Kjøttets tilstand 2015*. Oslo Animalia. Accessed June 6. 2016. <http://www.animalia.no/Kjottets-tilstand/Kjottets-tilstand-2015/>.
- Austgulen, Marthe Hårvik. 2013. "Environmentally Sustainable Meat Consumption: An Analysis of the Norwegian Public Debate." *Journal of Consumer Policy* 37 (1):45-66. Accessed May 26. 2015. DOI 10.1007/s10603-013-9246-9.
- Bachrach, Peter, and Morton S. Baratz. 1962. "Two Faces of Power." *The American Political Science Review* 56 (4):947-952. Accessed May 27. 2015. <http://www.columbia.edu/itc/sipa/U6800/readings-sm/bachrach.pdf>.
- Bailey, Rob, Anthony Froggatt, and Laura Wellesley. 2014. *Livestock - Climate Change's Forgotten Sector*: Chatham House. Accessed August 20. 2015. <https://www.chathamhouse.org/publication/livestock-climate-change-forgotten-sector-global-public-opinion-meat-and-dairy>.
- Bardach, Eugene. 2012. *A Practical Guide for Policy Analysis: The Eightfold Path to More Effective Problem Solving, 4th edition*. California: CQ Press.
- Bell, Stephen. 2002. "Institutionalism: Old and New." In *Government, Politics, Power and Policy in Australia, 7th edition*, edited by John Summers, 363-380. NSW Australia: Pearson Education Australia.
- Brockington, Dan, and Sian Sullivan. 2003. "Qualitative Research." In *Development Fieldwork: A Practical Guide*, edited by Regina Scheyvens and Donovan Storey, 57-76. London: Sage.
- Brooks, Cassandra. n.d. *Consequences of increased global meat consumption on the global environment -trade in virtual water, energy & nutrients*. Accessed November 5. 2015. <https://woods.stanford.edu/environmental-venture-projects/consequences-increased-global-meat-consumption-global-environment>.

- Bryman, Alan. 2008. "Research Designs." In *Social Research Methods, third edition* New York: Oxford University Press.
- Christensen, Søren, and Poul Erik Daugaard Jensen. 2008. *Kontrol i det stille*. 3. utgave, Forlaget Samfundslitteratur.
- Christensen, Tom, and Per Læg Reid. 2009. "Living in the Past? - Tenure, Roles and Attitudes in the Central Civil Service." *Public Administration Review* 69 (5):951-961.
- Christiansen, Tom, Morten Egeberg, Per Læg Reid, and Jacob Aars. 2014. *Forvaltning og Politikk*. Vol. 4th edition Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.
- Christiansen, Tom, Per Læg Reid, Paul G. Roness, and Kjell Arne Røvik. 2009. *Organisasjonsteori for Offentlig Sektor: Instrument, Kultur, Myte*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.
- Dahl Jacobsen, Knut. 1965. "Informasjonstilgang og likebehandling i den offentlige virksomhet." *Tidsskrift for Samfunnsforskning* 6:147-160.
- Dahl, Robert A. 1957. "The Concept of Power." *Behavioral Science* 2 (3):201-215. Accessed August 18, 2015. DOI: 10.1002/bs.3830020303.
- Davies, Deirdre, and Jenny Dodd. 2002. "Qualitative Research and the Question of Rigor." *Qualitative Health Research* 12 (2):279-289. Accessed November 12, 2015. DOI: 10.1177/104973230201200211. .
- DiMaggio, Paul J., and Walter W. Powell. 1991. "Introduction." In *The New Institutionalism in Organizational Analysis*, edited by Paul J. DiMaggio and Walter W. Powell. Chicago: Chicago University Press.
- Egeberg, Morten. 1992. "Konstrktiv Statsvitenskap og Forvaltningspolitikk." *Norsk Statsvitenskapelig Tidsskrift* 8 (3):185-204.
- Egeberg, Morten. 2006. "Balancing Autonomy and Accountability: Enduring Tensions in the European Commission's Development." In *Multilevel Union Administration the Transformation of Executive Politics in Europe*, edited by Morten Egeberg. Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Egeberg, Morten. 2012. "How Bureaucratic Structure Matters: An Organizational Perspective." In *Handbook of Public Administration*, edited by B. Guy Peters and Jon Pierre, 157-168. London: Sage Publishing Ltd.
- Egeberg, Morten, and Harald Sætnen. 1999. "Identities in Complex Organisations." In *Organizing Political Institutions* 93-108. Oslo: Scandinavian University Press.

- Egeberg, Morten, and Jarle Trondal. 2011. "Agencification and Location: Does Agency Site Matter?" *Public Organization Review* 11 (2):97-108. Accessed February 5. 2016. DOI 10.1007/s11115-010-0113-8.
- Energy and Environment Committee. 2008. *Innst.S.nr.145 (2007-2008): Innstilling til Stortinget fra energi- og miljøkomiteen* Accessed April. 4. 2016.
<https://www.stortinget.no/no/Saker-og-publikasjoner/Publikasjoner/Innstillinger/Stortinget/2007-2008/inns-200708-145/>.
- Farsund, Arild Aurvåg. 2002. "Skilleveier i Norsk Landbrukspolitikk." In *Matmakt: Politikk, Forhandling, Marked*, edited by Hilmar Rommetvedt, 65-86. Bergen: Fagbokforlaget Vigmostad og Bjørke.
- Fimreite, Anne Line, Peter Lango, Per Læg Reid, and Lise H. Rykkja. 2014. *Organisering for samfunnsikkerhet og krisehåndtering*. Second edition. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.
- Fimreite, Anne Line, and Per Læg Reid. 2013. "Den komplekse forvaltningen." *Stat & Styling* 1:29. Accessed May 27. 2016.
https://www.idunn.no/file/pdf/59715198/temaleder_den_komplekse_forvaltning_en.pdf.
- Færaas, Arild. 2016. *EU vil at Norge skal kutte klimagassutslipp med 40 prosent*. Accessed August 23. 2016. <http://www.aftenposten.no/norge/EU-vil-at-Norge-skal-kutte-klimautslipp-med-40-prosent-600501b.html>.
- Gallagher, Michael, Michael Laver, and Peter Mair. 2006. *Presentative Governments in Modern Europe. Institutions, Parties and Governments*: McGraw-Hill Companies.
- Gerber, P.J., H. Steinfeld, B. Henderson, A. Mottet, Opio, C., , 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). Accessed May 18. 2015.
<http://www.fao.org/3/a-i3437e/index.html>.
- Grue, Per Harald. 2014. *Norsk Landbrukspolitikk 1970-2010*. Vol. 2. Oslo: NILF.
- Hall, Peter A., and Rosemary C.R. Taylor. 1996. *Political Science and the Three New Institutionalisms*. Köln: Max-Planck-Institut für Gesellschaftsforschung.

- Accessed September 13. 2015.
http://edoc.vifapol.de/opus/volltexte/2011/2782/pdf/dp96_6.pdf.
- Hallström, E. , and P. Börjesson. 2012. *Sustainable meat consumption to meet climate and health goals - implications of variations in consumption statistics*. Accessed September 8. 2015.
http://miljo.lth.se/fileadmin/miljo/personal/Elinor/Sustainable_meat_consumption_to_meet_climate_and_health_goals.pdf.
- Hansen, Ranveig Isdal. 1990. *Den Hensiktsmessige Ernæringspolitikken*. Lysaker: Statens Institutt for Forbrukerforskning (SIFO).
- Head, Brian W. 2008. "Wicked problems in public policy." *Public Policy* 3 (2):110-118.
- Hellevik, Ottar. 1996. *Nordmenn og det gode liv. Norsk monitor 1985-1995*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget AS.
- Helsedirektoratet. 2015. *Utvikling i Norsk Kosthold 2014*. Oslo: Helsedirektoratet.
- Heyerdahl, Nicolai. 2011. "Anbefaler maks en halv kilo rødt kjøtt i uken." In *Aftenposten.no*. Accessed January 5. 2016.
<http://www.aftenposten.no/nyheter/iriks/Anbefaler-maks-en-half-kilo-rodt-kjott-i-uken-5108948.html>.
- Hill, Michael. 2013. *The Public Policy Process*. Harlow: Pearson Education Limited.
- Holm, Amalie Kvame. 2012. "Propaganda mot kostholdsradene." In *Vårt Land*, 12.november. Accessed 19.10.2015 from <http://www.vl.no/2.627/propaganda-mot-kostholdsrad-1.71188>.
- Hårstad, Renate Marie Butli. 2015. *Nyproduktivismen i det norske politiske landskap. En case-studie av nyproduktivistiske ideer i politiske partier og norsk landbrukspolitikk*. Master Thesis: NTNU. Accessed March 23. 2016.
<https://brage.bibsys.no/xmlui/handle/11250/301899>.
- Haavet, Inger Elisabeth. 1996. *Maten på Bordet*. Oslo: Statens Ernæringsråd.
- 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*. Edited by Ottmar Edenhofer, Ramón Pichs-Madruga, Youba Sokona, Jan C. Minx, Ellie Farahani, Susanne Kadner, Kristin Seyboth, Anna Adler, Ina Baum, Steffen Brunner, Patrick Eickemeier, Benjamin Kriemann, Jussi Savolainen, Steffen Schlömer, Christoph von Stechow and

- Timm Zwickel. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Accessed September 12. 2015. <http://www.ipcc.ch/report/ar5/wg3/>.
- Jacobsen, Dag Ingvar, and Jan Thorsvik. 2007. *Hvordan Organisasjoner Fungerer, 3.utgave*. Bergen: Fagbokforlaget Vigmostad & Bjørke AS.
- Julsrud, Ottar. 2012. *Mellom himmel og jord. Glimt fra Miljøverndepartementets 40 år*. Oslo: Unipub.
- King, Gary, Robert O. Kohane, and Sidney Verba. 1994. *Designing Social Inquiry*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Kjærnes, Unni. 1990. *Velferdskrav og landbrukspolitikk. Om framveksten av norsk ernæringspolitikk*. Vol. 6, *Ernæringspolitikk og matpolitikk*. Oslo: SIFO.
- Kjærnes, Unni. 1996. "Fremveksten av ernæringspolitikk i Norden." In *Utfordringer i Ernæringspolitikken* edited by Unni Kjærnes, 73-89. København: Nordisk Ministerråd.
- Kjærnes, Unni. 2010. *Sustainable food consumption*. Vol. 1. Oslo: SIFO. Accessed September 14. 2015. <http://www.sifo.no/page/Publikasjoner//10081/76709.html>.
- Kominek, Jasmin. 2009. "Each institutionalization elementary is a self-reinforcing process increasing path dependency." In *Working Paper CLISEC-4*. Accessed September 7. 2015. <http://clisec.zmaw.de/index.php?id=1126>.
- Lien, Marianne. 1990. *The Norwegian Nutrition and Food Supply Policy*. Oslo: Statens Institutt for Forbrukerforskning.
- Lincoln, Yvonna S, and Egon G. Guba. 1985. *Naturalistic Inquiry*. Beverly Hills: SAGE.
- Lipset, Seymour, M., and Stein Rokkan. 1967. *Party Systems and Voter Alignments: Cross National Perspectives*. New York: Free Press.
- Lowndes, Vivien. 2009. "New Institutionalism and Urban Politics." In *Theories of Urban Politics*, edited by Jonathan S. Davies and David L. Imbroscio, 91-105. London: Sage Publications Ltd.
- Mahutga, Matthew C., and Judith Stepan-Norris. 2007. *Ideological Hegemony*. Blackwellreferenceonline.com. Last modified February 2. 2015. Accessed June 15. 2016. http://www.blackwellreference.com/subscriber/uid=1268/tocnode?id=g9781405124331_chunk_g978140512433115_ss1-9&authstatuscode=202.

- March, James G., and Johan P. Olsen. 1989. *Rediscovering Institutions: The Organizational Basis of Politics*. New York: Free Press.
- Mathison, Sandra. 1988. "Why Triangulate?" *Educational Researcher* 17 (2):13-17. Accessed November 12.2015. DOI: 10.3102/0013189X017002013.
- Matprat. n.d. *Om oss*. Matprat.no. Accessed June 19. 2016. <http://www.matprat.no/om-oss/>.
- Meyer, John W. 2008. "Reflections on institutional theories or organizations." In *The SAGE Handbook of Organizational Institutionalism*, edited by Royston Greenwood, Christine Oliver, Roy Suddaby and Kerstin Sahlin. London: SAGE Publications Ltd.
- Ministries of Norway. 2011. *Handlingsplan for bedre kosthold i befolkningen (2007-2011): Oppskrift for et sunnere kosthold*. Oslo: Departementene. Accessed September 14. 2015. <https://www.regjeringen.no/globalassets/upload/HOD/Vedlegg/304657-kosthold.pdf>.
- Ministry of Agriculture. 1992. *St.prp.nr.8 (1992-1993) Landbruk i Utvikling*. Oslo: Ministry of Agriculture.
- Ministry of Agriculture. 1999. *St.meld.nr.19 (1999-2000) On norsk landbruk og matproduksjon* Oslo: Landbruksdepartementet. Accessed September 15. 2015. <https://www.regjeringen.no/no/dokumenter/stmeld-nr-19-1999-2000-/id192695/>.
- Ministry of Agriculture and Food. 2008. *St.meld.nr.39 (2008-2009) Klimautfordringene - landbruket en del av løsningen*: Ministry of Agriculture and food. Accessed September 15. 2015. <https://www.regjeringen.no/no/dokumenter/stmeld-nr-39-2008-2009-/id563671/>.
- Ministry of Agriculture and Food. 2011. *Stmeld.nr.9 (2011-2012) Landbruks- og matpolitikken - Velkommen til Bords*. Oslo: Landbruks- og matdepartementet. Accessed September 15. 2015. <https://www.regjeringen.no/no/dokumenter/meld-st-9-20112012/id664980/>.
- Ministry of Agriculture and Food. 2013. *Økt storfeproduksjon i Norge - rapport fra ekspertgruppe*. Oslo: Ministry of Agriculture and Food. Accessed September 14. 2015. <https://www.regjeringen.no/no/aktuelt/mottok-gode-rad-for-okt-kjottfeproduksjo/id714513/>.

- Ministry of Climate and Environment. 2013. "Miljøverndepartementet blir til Klima- og miljødepartementet." In *Regjeringen.no*. Last modified December 20. 2015. Accessed February 26. 2016.
<https://www.regjeringen.no/no/aktuelt/miljoverndepartementet-blir-til-klima--o/id748447/>.
- Ministry of climate and Environment. n.d. *Klimaavdelingen*. Regjeringen.no. Accessed June 11. 2016.
<https://www.regjeringen.no/no/dep/kld/organisasjon/avdelinger/klimaavdelingen/id1175/>.
- Ministry of Finance. 2015. *Sett pris på miljøet - rapport fra grønn skattekommissjon*. Official Norwegian Reports NOU 2015:15. Oslo: Norwegian Ministry of Finance.
- Ministry of Health. 2002. *St.meld.nr.16 (2002-2003): Resept for et sunnere Norge*. Oslo: Helsedepartementet. Accessed September 20. 2015.
<https://www.regjeringen.no/no/dokumenter/stmeld-nr-16-2002-2003-/id196640/>.
- Ministry of Health and Care Services. 2013. *NCD-strategy 2013-2017*. Oslo: Norwegian Ministry of Health and Care Services. Accessed May 4. 2016.
https://www.regjeringen.no/contentassets/e62aa5018afa4557ac5e9f5e7800891f/ncd_strategy_060913.pdf.
- Ministry of Health and Care Services. 2013. *Ansvarsområder for Helse- og omsorgsdepartementet*. Accessed June 10. 2016.
<https://www.regjeringen.no/no/dep/hod/dep/ansvarsomraader/id446/>.
- Ministry of Health and Care Services. 2014. *St.Meld.nr.19 (2014-2015): Folkehelsemeldingen - Mestring og Muligheter*. Oslo: Helse- og Omsorgsdepartementet. Accessed September 20.
https://www.regjeringen.no/no/dokumenter/meld.-st.-19-2014-2015/id2402807/?q=folkehelsemeldingen&ch=2 - match_0.
- Ministry of Health and Care Services. n.d. *Underliggende etater*. Regjeringen.no. Accessed June 11. 2016. <https://www.regjeringen.no/no/dep/hod/org/etater-og-virkosmheter-under-helse--og-omsorgsdepartementet/underliggende-etater/id115200/>.
- Ministry of Social Affairs. 1992. *St.Meld.nr.37 (1992-1993): Utfordringer i helsefremmende og forebyggende arbeid*. Oslo: Ministry of Social Affairs.

- Accessed May 2. 2016. https://www.stortinget.no/no/Saker-og-publikasjoner/Stortingsforhandlinger/Lesevisning/?p=1992-93&paid=3&wid=d&psid=DIVL763&pgid=d_0509.
- Ministry of the Environment. 2006. *St.Meld.nr.34 (2006-2007): Norsk klimapolitikk*. Oslo: Miljøverndepartementet. Accessed March 9. 2016. <https://www.regjeringen.no/no/dokumenter/Stmeld-nr-34-2006-2007-/id473411/>.
- Ministry of the Environment. 2011. *St.Meld.nr.21 (2011-2012): Norsk klimapolitikk*. Oslo: Miljøverndepartementet. Accessed March 9. 2016. <https://www.regjeringen.no/no/dokumenter/meld-st-21-2011-2012/id679374/>.
- Ministry of the Environment. 2013. *Naturens goder - om verdier av økosystemtjenester*. Oslo: Official Norwegian Reports NOU 2013:18. Accessed March 9. 2016. <https://www.regjeringen.no/no/dokumenter/meld-st-21-2011-2012/id679374/>
- Moses, Jonathon W., and Torbjørn L. Knutsen. 2012. *Ways of Knowing: Competing Methodologies in Social and Political Research*. Basingtoke: Palegrave Macmillian.
- Munthe, Preben. 1986. *Norsk jordbruk: Politikk og utvikling*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget AS.
- National Nutrition Council. 2011. *Kostråd for å fremme folkehelsen og forebygge kroniske sykdommer*. Oslo: Helsedirektoratet. Accessed May 25. 2015. <https://helsedirektoratet.no/publikasjoner/kostrad-for-a-fremme-folkehelsen-og-forebygge-kroniske-sykdommer-metodologi-og-vitenskapelig-kunnskapsgrunnlag>.
- Nordlund, Anders R., Nils Øyvind Bergset, and Ann-Christin Sørensen. 2006. *Mål, virkemidler og forslag til suksesskriterier i norsk landbrukspolitikk*. Oslo: Norsk Institutt for Landbruksøkonomisk Forsknig (NILF). Accessed April 15. 2016. http://nilf.no/publikasjoner/Notater/2006/Mal_virkemidler_og_forslag_til_suksesskriterier_i_norsk_landbrukspolitikk-Innhold.
- Norum, Kaare R. 2014. "Norsk ernæringspolitikk." *Michael* 11 (3):322-344. Accessed June 19. 2016. <http://www.dnms.no/pdf/2014/3-322-344.pdf>.
- Norwegian Directorate of Health. 2011. *Sluttrapport: Handlingsplan for bedre kosthold i befolkningen 2007-2011*. Oslo: Helsedirektoratet. Accessed September 3. 2015.

<https://helsedirektoratet.no/publikasjoner/handlingsplan-for-bedre-kosthold-i-befolkningen-20072011-sluttrapport>.

Norwegian Directorate of Health. 2015. *Utvikling i norsk kosthold*. Oslo:

Helsedirektoratet. Accessed May 20.

<https://helsedirektoratet.no/Lists/Publikasjoner/Attachments/1021/Utviklingen-i-norsk-kosthold-2015-IS-2382.pdf>

Norwegian Directorate of Health. n.d. *Nasjonalt råd for ernæring*. Helsedirektoratet.no.

Accessed June 11.2016. <https://helsedirektoratet.no/om-oss/organisasjon/rad-og-utvalg/nasjonalt-rad-for-ertering>.

Norwegian Environment Agency. 2013. *Forslag til handlingsplan for norske utslipp av kortlevde klimadrivere*. Oslo: Miljødirektoratet. Accessed April 2015.

<http://www.miljodirektoratet.no/no/Publikasjoner/2014/September-2014/Forslag-til-handlingsplan-for-norske-utslipp-av-kortlevde-klimadrivere/>.

Norwegian Environment Agency. 2014. *Kunnskapsgrunnlag for lavutslippsutvikling*.

Oslo: Miljødirektoratet. Accessed September 9. 2015.

<http://www.miljodirektoratet.no/no/Publikasjoner/2014/Oktober-2014/Kunnskapsgrunnlag-for-lavutslippsutvikling/>.

Overton, John, and Peter van Diermen. 2003. "Using Quantitative Techniques." In *Development Fieldwork: A Practical Guide*, edited by Regina Scheyvens and Donovan Storey, 37-57. London: Sage.

Ramborg, Marte, and Eivinn Fjellhammer. 2016. *Verdien av Norsk Mat: Agenda*.

Accessed June 20. 2016. <http://www.tankesmienagenda.no/notater/verdien-av-norsk-mat/>.

Richards, David. 1996. "Elite Interviewing: Approaches and Pitfalls." *Politics* 16

(3):199-204. Accessed October 13. 2014. DOI: 10.1111/j.1467-9256.1996.tb00039.x.

Rokkan, Stein, and Henry Valen. 1964. "Regional contrasts in Norwegian politics." In *Cleavages, ideologies and party systems: Contributions to comparative political sociology*, edited by Erik Allardt and Yrjö Littunen, 161-238. Helsinki: Academic Bookstore.

Rommetvedt, Hilmar. 2002. *Politikkens Allmenngjøring og den ny-pluralistiske parlamentarismen* Bergen: Fagbokforlaget.

- Sandøy, Paul Joakim 2015. "Bør jordbruket avgiftbelegges?" *Civita-notat* 18:Accessed May 02..2015. <https://www.civita.no/publikasjon/nr-18-2015-bor-jordbruket-avgiftsbelegges>.
- Schattschneider, Elmer Eric. 1960. *The Semisovreign People*. New York.
- Seip, Jens Arup. 1976. "Studiet av makt." *Historisk Tidsskrift* 4:405-432. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.
- Shenton, Andrew K. 2004. "Strategies for ensuring trustworthiness in qualitative research projects." *Education for Information* 22:63-75. Accessed 12.10.2015 from <http://www.crec.co.uk/docs/Trustworthypaper.pdf>.
- Simon, Herbert A. 1997. *Administrative Behavior, 4th edition*. New York: The Free Press.
- Sumner, William Graham. 1906. *Folkways*. Boston: Ginn & Co.
- Tandstad, Bent, and Ida De Rosa. 2015. - Nøkkelhullsordningen for lite treffsikker. Accessed 03.04.16.
- Thelen, Kathleen, and Sven Steinmo. 1992. "Historical Institutionalism in Comparative Politics." In *Structuring Politics: Historical Institutionalism in Comparative Analysis*, edited by Sven Steinmo, Kathleen Thelen and Frank Longstreth. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Thoenig, Jean-Claude. 2003. "Institutional Theories and Public Institutions: Tradition and Appropriateness." In *Handbook of Public Administration*, edited by Guy B. Peters and Jon Pierre, 127-137. London: SAGE Publications Ltd.
- Thoring, Liv. 2015. *Kjøttkutt gir mange gevinster*. Accessed May 28. 2016. <http://www.framtiden.no/201506096792/aktuelt/mat/kjottkutt-gir-mange-gevinster.html>.
- Tjora, Aksel. 2012. *Kvalitative Forskningsmetoder i Praksis, 2.utgave*. Oslo: Gyldendal Norsk Forlag AS.
- Torjussen, Solveig. 2002. *Styring for en bærekraftig utvikling. En evaluering av offentlige tiltak for sektorintegrasjon i Norge 1987-2001*. Oslo: Program for forskning og utredning for et bærekraftig samfunn (ProSus). Rapport 3(2). Accessed May 23. 2016. <http://www.prosus.org/publikasjoner/Rapporter/2002-3/Rapp3.pdf>.
- UNDP. n.d.-a. *Goal 2: Zero hunger*. undp.org. Accessed June 17. 2016. <http://www.undp.org/content/undp/en/home/sdgoverview/post-2015-development-agenda/goal-2.html>.

- UNDP. n.d.-b. *A new sustainable development agenda*. undp.org. Accessed June 17. 2016. <http://www.undp.org/content/undp/en/home/sdgoverview.html>.
- UNEP. 2010. *The Emission Gap Report*. Accessed May 19. 2015. http://www.unep.org/publications/ebooks/emissionsgapreport/pdfs/GAP_REPORT_SUNDAY_SINGLES_LOWRES.pdf.
- Veggeland, Frode. 2000. "Landbruk, makt og internasjonalisering: Politikk og forvaltning i norsk landbruk 1976-1999." In *Makt- og demokratiutredningens rapportserie*. Accessed February 13. 2016. http://www.sv.uio.no/mutr/publikasjoner/rapporter/rapp1999_old/rapport22.html
- .
- Veggeland, Frode. 2011. "Norges forhold til EU på mat- og landbruksfeltet." In *Delrapport til Europautredningen. Rapport 9*.
- Vittersø, Gunnar, and Unni Kjærnes. 2015. "Kjøttets politiske økonomi - Usynliggjøring av et betydelig miljø- og klimaproblem." *Sosiologi i dag* 45 (1):74-97. .
- World Cancer Research Fund International. 2014. *The link between food, nutrition, diet and non-communicable diseases*. wcrf.org. Accessed June 17. 2016. http://www.wcrf.org/sites/default/files/PPA_NCD_Alliance_Nutrition.pdf.
- World Commission on Environment and Development. 1987. "Towards Sustainable Development." In *Our Common Future*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Accessed June 19. 2016. <http://www.un-documents.net/ocf-02.htm>.
- World Health Organization. 2015. *Health in 2015: From MDGs, Millennium Development Goals to SDGs, Sustainable Development Goals*. Geneva: WHO Press.
- Yin, Robert K. 2009. *Case Study Research - Design and Methods*. 4th ed. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications Inc.
- Zenger, Todd R., Sergio G. Lazzarini, and Laura Poppo. 2002. "Informal and Formal Organization in New Institutional Economics." *The New Institutionalism in Strategic Management* 19:277-305.
- Zølner, M, and P Bogason. 2007. *Methods in Democratic Network Governance*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Østerud, Øyvind. 2007. *Statsvitenskap: Innføring i politisk analyse, 4.utgave*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.

Aardal, Bernt. 1994. "Hva er en politisk skillelinje? En begrepsmessig grenseoppgang."

Tidsskrift for Samfunnsforskning 2:218-249.

Aardal, Bernt, and Henry Valen. 1995. *Konflikt og opinion*. Oslo: NKS-forlaget.

Appendices

Appendix A: Interview guide

Om stillingen

- Hva er din stilling?
- Hvor lenge har du vært i denne stillingen?
- Hva innebærer stillingen?

Ansvar og eierskap

- Både nasjonalt og internasjonalt har det økende kjøttforbruket blitt problematisert. Er dette noe dere jobber med?
 - (På hvilke måte?)
 - Hvor relevant er dette for dere?
 - Hvilke hensyn er dere opptatt av?
- Hvem er det du anser som ansvarlig for dette tema?
- Hva ønsker dere å få til på dette feltet? Hva gir gjennomslag og hva skaper hindringer?

Sammenheng:

- Hvordan ser du på forholdet mellom landbruk og klima?
- Hvordan ser du på forholdet mellom ernæring (kosthold og helse) og klima?

Miljø

- Hvordan ser du på forholdet mellom ernæring og miljø?
- Hvordan ser du på forholdet mellom miljøbaserte og ernæringsbaserte råd om kjøtt og kjøttforbruk?

Kommunikasjon

- Det er jo flere som arbeider med regulering av kjøttforbruk, hvordan forholder dere dere til dem? (landbruk, helse, miljø)
- Finnes det noen form for samarbeid?
- Er det noe press fra andre myndigheter og/eller organisasjoner angående samarbeid?
- Har dere en arena hvor dere møtes?

Appendix B: overview informants

Name	Position	Where
Liv Elin Torheim	Leader	National Nutrition Council
Sissel Lyberg Beckmann	Head of the Department of Public Health	Ministry of Health and Care Services
Knut-Inge Klepp	Previous head of the Department of Public Health	Norwegian Directorate of Health
Ingvild Andreassen Sæverud	Head of the Department of Climate	Ministry of Climate and Environment
Audun Rosland	Head of the Department of Climate	Norwegian Environmental Agency
Anne-Marie Glosli	Head of the Department of Agricultural Policy	Ministry of Agriculture and Food
Bjørn Huso	Head of section of Climate and Environment	Norwegian Agricultural Agency

Appendix C: Letter of informed consent

Forespørsel om deltakelse i forskningsprosjektet

The intersectoral issue of food policy in Norway

Bakgrunn og formål

Dette forskningsprosjektet er en masteroppgave ved Senter for Utvikling og Miljø (Sumner) ved Universitetet i Oslo.

Bakgrunnen for denne oppgaven er at matpolitikk er et tversektorielt politikkområde. I denne oppgaven vil det bli illustrert gjennom kjøttforbruk. Det er tre ulike politikkkfelt som kjøtt er relevant for i Norge: Landbruk, helse og miljø. Det er likevel bare en av disse myndighetene som gir de offisielle rådene om hva nordmenn bør spise, og det er helsemyndighetene, eller ernæringsmyndighetene under helsedepartementet. De anbefaler i dag å spise mindre kjøtt, likevel går kjøttforbruket i Norge opp.

Formålet med oppgaven er å undersøke hvordan matpolitikk og da spesifikt kjøttforbruk blir håndtert av de ulike myndighetene. Jeg ønsker å se nærmere på forholdet dem imellom og undersøke hvorvidt institusjonalisering og organiseringen av politikkkfeltene kan være en forklarende faktor. Utgangspunktet vil være hva ernæringsmyndighetene gjør for å implementere sine politiske mål om redusert kjøttforbruk i Norge, og hvordan andre politiske målsetninger for andre politiske områder påvirker deres arbeid. Dette er et statsvitenskapelig forskningsprosjekt, hvor konflikt, interesser og makt vil bli belyst.

Personene som blir forespurt om å delta i forskningsprosjektet er valgt på bakgrunn av sin stilling i den aktuelle institusjonen.

Hva innebærer deltakelse i studien?

Datainnsamlingen vil foregå gjennom intervjuer på ca. 40 min. Spørsmålet vil omhandle hvordan institusjonen arbeider med matpolitikk og kjøttforbruk, hvordan forholdet er til andre sektorer og tanker omkring sammenhengen mellom helse, miljø og landbruk. Data vil bli registrert ved notater og lydopptak.

Hva skjer med informasjonen om deg?

Alle personopplysninger vil bli behandlet konfidensielt. Det er bare student og veileder som har tilgang til personopplysninger under arbeidet med forskningsprosjektet. Deltakerne vil likevel bli gjenkjent i publikasjon på bakgrunn av sin stilling.

Prosjektet skal etter planen avsluttes september 2016.

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 Hanna-Marie Titland Sørensen, 99415170, eller veileder Karen Victoria Lykke Syse 22858949.

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)