

## **Contagious Consumption**

How workplaces promote their employees' organic food consumption - the case of preschools in Lund -

*Lasse Brand*

---

Master Thesis Series in Environmental Studies and Sustainability Science,  
No 2015:007

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of Lund University  
International Master's Programme in Environmental Studies and Sustainability Science  
(30hp/credits)



# **LUCSUS**

Lund University Centre for  
Sustainability Studies





**LUND**  
UNIVERSITY

---

## **Contagious Consumption**

How workplaces promote their employees' organic food consumption  
- the case of preschools in Lund -

Lasse Kaspar Brand

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of Lund University International  
Master's Programme in Environmental Studies and Sustainability Science

Submitted May 13, 2015

Supervisor: Turaj Faran, LUCSUS, Lund University



## **Abstract:**

Given unsustainable food consumption patterns and current policies' ineffectiveness to change them, new approaches are needed to promote sustainable food practices. In this thesis, I focus on the workplace as a leverage point for change. By studying the case of preschools in Lund with a mixed-methods approach that combines statistical and contextual analysis, I abductively develop a model of how the workplace influences its employees' organic food purchases. My results indicate that preschools influence their employees through two mechanisms – social comparison and deliberation. These mechanisms are conditioned by the level of exposure to the topic at work, supportiveness of the social context, and economic situation. I conclude that social interaction at the workplace is an important driver for increased organic food consumption, and that sustainable consumption policies need to better include the relational dimension of behaviour to overcome the existing gap between science and society.

**Keywords:** *organic food, workplace, diffusion, spillover, behaviour change, Sustainable Consumption and Production (SCP)*

**Word count (thesis):** 13,970

## **Acknowledgements**

So many ideas whom to thank, so little time. I'll talk to you all personally instead! However, I want to mention three groups of people who have been particularly important to bring the yearlong thesis process to a happy end: First and foremost Turaj, whose supervision and feedback during the whole process has been crucial for the final result. Thank you for taking the time for all our discussions! Secondly, lovely batch 16 for two great years together, Felix for morning smoothie supply that gave me extra energy in the final stage of thesis writing, and Saskia for the magical key card to nightly opening hours and endless coffee supply. Last but not least, thanks to all my interviewees and Lunds kommun, especially Emily Turgman and Maria Ivansson, for providing me with the data.

# Table of Contents

<b>1 Introduction .....</b>	<b>1</b>
1.1 Sustainability problem .....	1
1.2 Research aim and questions.....	2
1.3 Thesis structure .....	2
<b>2 Theoretical framework .....</b>	<b>4</b>
2.1 Methodology and research strategy .....	4
2.2 The shortcomings of sustainable consumption policies.....	5
2.3 A social take on consumption.....	7
<b>3 Constructing the model .....</b>	<b>8</b>
3.1 Organic food consumption .....	8
3.2 Influence of the workplace.....	10
3.3 Conditions for change .....	13
<b>4 Operationalising the model .....</b>	<b>14</b>
4.1 Correlation analysis .....	14
4.2 Contextual analysis.....	17
4.3 Research limitations .....	19
<b>5 Results of the fieldwork.....</b>	<b>21</b>
5.1 Correlation analysis .....	21
5.2 Contextual analysis.....	25

5.3 Refined model of workplace influence on private organic food consumption.....	32
<b>6 Discussing the results .....</b>	<b>33</b>
6.1 Answering my research questions .....	33
6.2 Generalisability.....	36
6.3 Implications .....	37
6.4 Significance and contribution .....	38
<b>7 Conclusion.....</b>	<b>40</b>
<b>References .....</b>	<b>41</b>
<b>Appendices .....</b>	<b>46</b>
A1 Survey questionnaire.....	46
A2 Interview guide .....	49
A3 List of interviews .....	50
A4 Table of interview analysis .....	51

# 1 Introduction

## 1.1 Sustainability problem

Consumption causes environmental change in many areas, pushing the planet towards and in some cases already over its boundaries (Steffen et al., 2015a; Steffen et al., 2015b). "If the entire global population consumed natural resources at European levels, three planets would be required to support the massive flow of energy and materials" (Tukker et al., 2010, p. 14). By demonstrating the potential of using the workplace to promote organic food consumption, this thesis tackles the *problem of global resource overconsumption*.

One of the highest environmental impact areas is food consumption (Tukker et al., 2011). Agricultural and food systems account for one third of global greenhouse gas emissions and are a leading cause of biodiversity loss (Pretty et al., 2010). Organic food systems have been proposed as part of the solution, due to their lower social and environmental impacts. They have a lower energy input than conventional farms, mainly as a result of different fertilizer use, and contribute positively to soil conditions and biodiversity (Heerwagen et al., 2014; Mondelaers et al., 2009). But even though the organic food market is growing in Sweden and Europe, it is still far from reaching the mainstream (KRAV, 2015).

In response to concerns over pollution, climate change and detrimental effects on personal health, food consumption is increasingly in the focus of public policy makers. In Europe, there are various state activities to promote organic diets, but they rely mostly on information and economic incentives to achieve individual behaviour change. Current research in consumption studies suggests this is not effective, because it fails to take sufficient account of the 'social embeddedness' (Di Giulio et al., 2014) of behaviour (Heiskanen et al., 2010; Mont et al., 2013; Tukker et al., 2010).

The urgency of environmental and social problems requires new approaches. To effectively tackle harmful consumption trends, and more specifically to promote more sustainable food consumption patterns, we need to break with the dominant individualistic approach. Current consumption studies emphasise that material and social context are extremely important for consumption (see chapter 2.2). In my thesis, I make these insights practical for sustainability. I focus on workplace as a leverage point for change.

## 1.2 Research aim and questions

The overarching aim of my research is to demonstrate the potential of using the social embeddedness of behaviour for sustainable consumption policies. More specifically, I assess how sustainable practices at the workplace can positively influence private consumption, using the example of organic food.

- RQ1:** *Can* organic food consumption practices at the workplace positively influence employees' private food consumption?
- RQ2:** If so, through what causal *mechanisms* can organic food consumption practices at the workplace influence employees' private food consumption?
- RQ3:** Under which *conditions* can organic food consumption practices at the workplace influence employees' private food consumption?

I operationalise my research questions by studying the case of preschool teachers in Lund with an abductive mixed-methods approach. My research strategy thus is to go back and forth between theory and evidence, combining quantitative and qualitative methods, in order to incrementally improve my understanding of the case. I start by constructing a theoretical model. On its basis, I apply quantitative methods in my first round of empirical analysis. I use municipality statistics and conduct a survey in order to collect data on teachers' organic food consumption at their preschool and at home, which I then analyse for correlations. As statistical analysis does not suffice to understand the complex causal connection that I study, I apply qualitative methods in a second empirical round. I conduct interviews with eleven teachers at a preschool with a strong organic profile, which I then analyse and compare. In my contextual analysis, I abductively develop a refined model through what mechanisms and under which conditions the workplace influences its employees' private food consumption.

## 1.3 Thesis structure

My thesis is structured in seven chapters. Starting from the general research problem, I zoom in on my specific case, to then zoom out again to its wider implications.

Chapter 2 provides the theoretical background. I describe my methodology and research strategy (2.1), set the study in the context of the sustainable consumption literature (2.2), and justify my social approach to consumption (2.2). On its basis, I construct a model for my case in chapter 3. After identifying a suitable model of organic food consumption (3.1), I develop potential causal mechanisms by which the workplace can influence it (3.2) and conditions for the mechanisms to work (3.3). Chapter 4 operationalises this model. I describe the design, methods of data collection, and methods of analysis for both my correlation analysis (4.1) and my contextual analysis (4.2), and discuss the limitations of my study (4.3). Chapter 5 presents the results of my empirical work. Structured by my research questions, I describe the most interesting statistical results (5.1) and dominant mechanisms and conditions of change for the teachers I studied (5.2), which I conceptualise in a refined model of workplace influence on private organic food consumption (5.3). Chapter 6 discusses the results. First I interpret what answer to my specific research questions they indicate (6.1), to then discuss their generalisability to other regions, workplaces and practices (6.2), their implications for sustainable consumption policies (6.3) and their theoretical and practical contributions (6.4). Chapter 7 concludes the thesis by suggesting directions for future research.

## 2 Theoretical framework

### 2.1 Methodology and research strategy

My thesis is an empirical work. I conduct fieldwork to study a causal relationship, with interviews as my most important method of data collection. In my methodological understanding, causation is not immediately apparent in interview statements. They have to be interpreted to get beyond the level of observations and to uncover the underlying causal mechanisms (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009).

Therefore, I follow *critical realism* as the ontological and epistemological perspective that fits my purpose best. Critical realism posits that a reality independent of our experience exists, but emphasises the difficulty and limitations of gaining knowledge about it. It assumes several layers of reality, which we can only access through perception and cognition, and space-time-dependent social structures that are continually recreated and reinterpreted by human beings (Benton and Craib, 2011; Bryman, 2012; Moses and Knutsen, 2007).

As Figure 1 shows, for critical realism, in contrast to positivism, causation is not directly apparent in patterns of events. Instead, social events are generated by underlying social structures and mechanisms, which are actualised under the right conditions.<sup>1</sup> The task of science, according to critical realism, thus is to uncover and continuously improve our concepts of these hidden mechanisms and structures (Sayer, 2000).

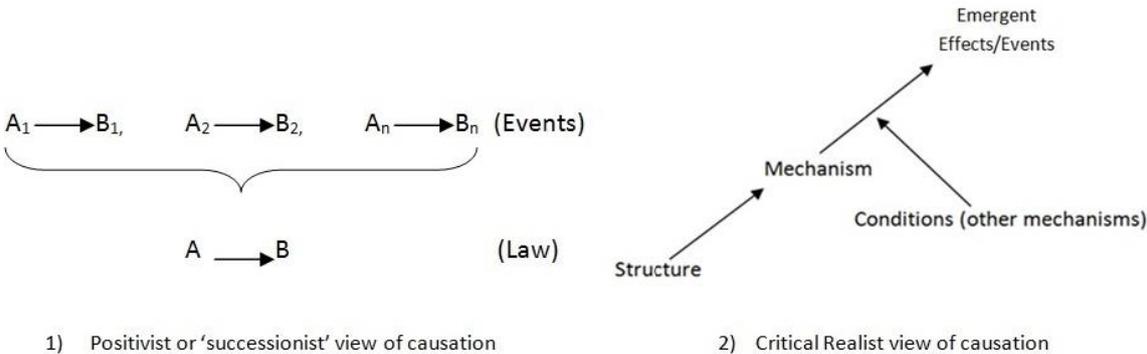


Figure 1 . A comparison between the positivist and critical realist views on causation (modified from Sayer, 2000, pp.14-15, in Boda, 2012, p.28)

<sup>1</sup> This makes them often 'emergent', which describes "situations in which the conjunction of two or more features or aspects gives rise to phenomena, which have properties which are irreducible to those of their constituents, even though the latter are necessary for their existence" (Sayer, 2000, p.12).

For my thesis, this means that showing correlations of organic food consumption at work and at home would not be sufficient. Following the critical realist ambition, I instead aim to convincingly explain through which underlying mechanisms and under which conditions the workplace can positively influence private consumption. I therefore apply *abduction* as my research strategy, which is commonly used in critical realist research (Meyer and Lunnay, 2013). It is the process of repeatedly collecting new evidence while at the same time generating, eliminating and adjusting potential explanations for it, until an explanation that best fits all available information is found (Miller, 2003). Abduction is an iterative process of going back and forth between theory and evidence, so even though my thesis is an empirical work, the theoretical part in the next chapters plays an equally important role for the insights of my study.

## **2.2 The shortcomings of sustainable consumption policies**

The overarching motivation for this thesis is to find more effective ways to promote sustainable consumption patterns. My subject of inquiry is individual behaviour, because in the end this is what exerts unsustainable pressure on the environment. So in my ambition to promote sustainable behaviour of individuals, I follow mainstream sustainable consumption policies.

However, I do not follow the dominant individualistic approach to behaviour change, because it fails to take sufficient account of the social embeddedness of behaviour. Most sustainable consumption policies target individual consumers with information or economic incentives to achieve a change of behaviour independently of their social context. But the reality of ever-increasing impacts of consumption and numerous scientific studies have shown that this is not effective (Bray et al., 2011; Di Giulio et al., 2014; Kollmuss and Agyeman, 2002; Moloney et al., 2010; Redman and Redman, 2014).

I argue that the reason for their lack of success is a too narrow understanding of consumption. Consumer behaviour is commonly perceived to be driven by conscious decision-making based on individual preferences, assuming that individuals fully control their behaviour and make decisions in isolation (Mont and Power, 2013; Shove, 2010). The information approach, in the tradition of the Enlightenment, follows an 'information-deficit model' (Redman and Redman, 2014). It focuses on providing better information and relies on reason and self-restraint (Klintman, 2013). The economic incentives approach, in the tradition of utilitarianism, is based on rational choice theory. Assuming humans to be self-interested utility maximisers, it focuses on providing the right economic incentives

(Heath, 2015; Klintman, 2013). Both rely on individuals to change independently of their social context.

This is in stark contrast to current consumption research, which stresses the complexity of consumption acts and emphasises particularly their *social embeddedness*. Based on evolutionary theory, Klintman (2013) for example emphasises social motivation as the essential driving force of citizen-consumers, rejecting the idea that ecological concern or material motivation could ever become our primary motivation. In her editorial to a recent special issue on consumption, Brown (2014) concludes that “it is now becoming widely accepted that consumption is not a rational individual act” (p.1). Mont and Power (2013) elucidate in a recent review of consumption literature: “In reality, the situation is far more complex, with social norms, cultural traditions, habits and many other factors shaping our everyday consumption behaviour” (p.23).

Finally, as the most important contradiction to the individualistic approach, many authors emphasise that the greatest barriers to change are social. People usually find it stressful to have a lifestyle that is significantly different from their peers (Isenhour, 2010). Changing as isolated individuals, and thereby going ‘against the grain’, has therefore very limited long-term success and cannot realistically be expected from the masses (Mont et al., 2013).

A theory that incorporates social and routine aspects of consumption and adds an interesting perspective on how change takes place is social practice theory. Instead of individual decision makers, it focuses on routinised practices shaped by the socio-technical context as determinants of human behaviour (Shove and Spurling, 2013). Acts of consumption (practices-as-performances) are seen as part of wider practices-as-entities that consist of a distinct setup of competences, meanings and material, which constantly evolves over time through the reiteration of practices-as-performances (Røpke, 2009). Consumption is thus a coevolving mix of individual (semiconscious) agency and structure (Tukker et al., 2010). What we know about it, what meaning we attach to it, and within what material context we act shapes our way of consumption, and our consumption in turn constantly stabilises and changes these elements of consumption-as-entity.<sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>2</sup> It is important to note that many versions of practice theory exist. While having different foci, they however share the general ideas described above. For a detailed description of social practice theory, which builds on Pierre Bourdieu (1977) and particularly Anthony Giddens’ (1984) path-breaking work on structuration theory, see e.g. Reckwitz, 2002; Schatzki, 1996; Warde, 2005. For a concise introduction to the current version that I use, see Shove & Spurling, 2013.

From the practice theoretical perspective, I take three lessons for how to change consumption:

- Systemic approach: all elements need to be changed that stabilise unsustainable practices (meanings, material, competences), otherwise change does not last.
- Change comes with actions: constant replication of new sustainable practices is needed to build and stabilise a new practice-as-entity.
- De-stabilising of routinised everyday practices is needed to then allow for reflection and re-routinisation.

### **2.3 A social take on consumption**

With the aim to find more effective ways of encouraging sustainable consumption patterns and informed by the recent consumption literature outlined above, I focus on the social embeddedness of consumption. In order to make the rather abstract theoretical insights applicable for sustainability policies, I study how the social context can be used to influence consumption.

I expect the *workplace* to be a very interesting leverage point for this. It is a key setting in most adults' daily routines where they spend large parts of their time. Firstly, this means that people can be reached that are normally difficult to engage in sustainability, due to different spare time priorities (Muster, 2011). Secondly, it has the potential to influence everyday practices that are particularly hard to reach with information or incentives. And thirdly, changes at the workplace are comparably easy to achieve and tend to be perceived as less intrusive than attempts to influence private consumption directly. Organisations can often quickly change work routines top-down, which makes my idea easy to scale up.

### 3 Constructing the model

In this thesis, I study the example of organic food practices. The first step of my abductive research strategy is to construct a model of workplace influence on private organic food consumption. I start by conceptualising the processes which lead consumers to purchase organic food products. Based on them, I then develop ideas how and under which conditions the workplace can influence employees to buy more organic food.

#### 3.1 Organic food consumption

Food preferences and habits are shaped by a large range of societal (cultural traditions, norms, fashion) and personal (physiological needs, food experience, availability and accessibility) factors, which together with financial and time constraints influence people's food consumption (Reisch et al., 2013). Organic food, which I in this thesis define as food certified with the KRAV or EU organic agriculture label, is more expensive than non-organic food. So why do consumers buy it, even though price is a particularly important decision criterion? Following a common categorisation in the literature, I see it as a type of pro-environmental consumption (Welsch and Kühling, 2009).

In my conceptualisation, I follow the *model of pro-environmental consumption* proposed by Janssen and Jager (2002). It integrates social and routine aspects well, which current consumption research emphasises as important (see chapter 2.2). It builds on two types of rationale that influence how choices are being made. One is to economise on cognitive effort, which means to repeat choices as long as being satisfied with their outcomes. The other is to evaluate consumption goods not only based on their use value in terms of individual preferences, but also according to their symbolic value in terms of social compatibility and identity (Welsch & Kühling, 2009, p.168).

Their model encompasses four modes of choice (see Table 1 below).

- Repetition: one's own consumption patterns from the past are habitually repeated.
- Imitation: consumption patterns of reference persons are unconditionally imitated.
- Social comparison: consumption patterns of reference persons are imitated if they yield more satisfaction than one's own consumption pattern in the past.
- Deliberation: all consumption patterns are evaluated in order to maximise satisfaction.  
(ibid., p.168)

Repetition and imitation are routine behaviours that are followed as long as people are satisfied with their outcomes, whereas social comparison and deliberation are active decision processes that are used when people are dissatisfied with routines. Imitation and social comparison both involve the behaviour of reference persons serving as a benchmark, whereas repetition and deliberation are entirely individualistic (ibid., p.168).

**Table 1.** Modes of consumer choice for organic food (modified from Welsch and Kühling, 2009, p.168)

	Routine	Active decision
Social	<b>Imitation</b>	<b>Social comparison</b>
Individualistic	<b>Repetition</b>	<b>Deliberation</b>

The relative importance of the modes differs between environmentally-friendly goods and cultural contexts, so I conduct a short review of the literature to determine which modes play a role for organic food consumption. A study by Welsch and Kühling (2009), which compared the four modes of choice with data from a German survey, found that the behaviour of reference persons together with probably shared environmental attitudes has most influence on organic food consumption. This suggests social comparison to be the dominant choice mode, combined with a strong role for self-reinforcing repetition (ibid., p.173). The strong role of social comparison is widely supported in the environmental psychology literature on organic food consumption. Most of these statistical studies find norms to be the strongest predictor of intention to buy organic food, complemented by attitude. See e.g. the meta-analysis by Yan and Hansen (2012), Dean et al. (2012) for a British survey, Redman and Redman (2014) for teachers across the United States, Urban et al. (2012) for a Czech survey, and Ruiz De Maya et al. (2011) for a survey of eight European countries, including Sweden, whose consumers were particularly strongly affected by norms.

The routine aspect is rarely included in the statistical studies, probably because it is harder to measure with surveys. Those studies that try to include it, for example Dean et al. (2012), who found that past behaviour was equally important as attitude but less important than social norms, most likely severely underestimate habits, because they measure only intentions to purchase. However, several qualitative studies emphasise the strong role of routines for (organic) food shopping. From an analysis of 19 Italian consumer narratives and biographies, Naspetti and Zanolli (2014) found that

people become organic food consumers in a largely unnoticed inner development involving word-of-mouth recommendations and personal experiences. Their results support the importance of routines and reference groups. In an interview study with 16 Danish consumers, Hjelmar (2011) concluded that they show both routine and reflective patterns of behaviour during organic food shopping, and that they are strongly influenced by the preferences of their family members. This indicates the existence of all of the modes of choice.

Based on the review of prior research above, I characterise *organic food consumption as a mix-behaviour* that involves all four modes to different degrees (see Table 1 above). Even though it could be expected to be largely repetitive due to its low degree of visibility and decision importance, social comparison seems to be an at least equally important mode of choice due to conversations about it (Welsch and Kühling, 2009) and family dynamics (Hjelmar, 2011).

### **3.2 Influence of the workplace**

After inferring that all four modes of choices can play a role for organic food consumption, I conduct a concise *review of the relevant literature* on diffusion of pro-environmental practices from the workplace. It serves to develop ideas how and under which conditions the workplace can influence employees to buy more organic food.

I found very few studies on the diffusion of sustainable practices from workplace to private life, which indicates that no major change happened since Muster's (2011) observation that "theoretical approaches and empirical research concerning the workplace influence on sustainable consumption patterns are rare" (p.164). To my knowledge, there is no study that specifically analyses the case of organic food. However, I found two studies dealing with recycling in the psychology literature on spillover of environmental behaviour.<sup>3</sup> Redman and Redman (2014) only came across the connection accidentally in a sub-index of their study with teachers across the United States. They discovered an extremely strong significant correlation of frequency of recycling at school and recycling at home, but did not investigate possible mechanisms. A recent Swedish study by Andersson et al. (2012) analysed this in more detail. Their survey with employees of the university and the hospital in Gävle found that those who separated less waste at home increased household recycling once an environmental management system was adopted in their workplace. As a possible explanation for this spillover,

---

<sup>3</sup> In contrast to the specific case of spillover from the workplace, spillover across types of pro-environmental behaviour is much better researched. Summarising the evidence in psychology, Thøgersen and Crompton (2009) conclude that spillover seems to only occur between very similar activities and under the condition that pro-environmental values get activated.

they suggest that separating waste at work might have influenced pro-environmental attitudes, which caused people to recycle at home as well.

Nye and Hargreaves (2010) ethnographic case study did not focus on diffusion to private life, but described interesting effects of a behaviour change programme at the workplace. ‘Environment Champions’ was able to renegotiate the implicit rules of conventional office life, which could encourage employees to follow these new social norms also at home.

Most relevant for my purpose is the Austrian transdisciplinary research project ‘Sustainable Behaviour at Work and in Private Life’ (Schultz and Seebacher, 2011; Seebacher, 2010). From a social practice perspective, it investigates the effects that social learning and routinisation at the workplace has on employees’ private mobility and eating practices. Using interviews, focus groups and workshops with four companies, they firstly inferred that peer-to-peer learning among colleagues seems to be more important than the influence of managers as role models (Seebacher, 2010). Secondly, using the example of fruit baskets, they concluded that especially eating habits can be learned by doing at work and then change routines at home (Schultz and Seebacher, 2011). Based on these results, Muster (2011) recommends to build an organisational culture that promotes a sustainable lifestyle in order utilise socialisation and learning of sustainable practices at the workplace.

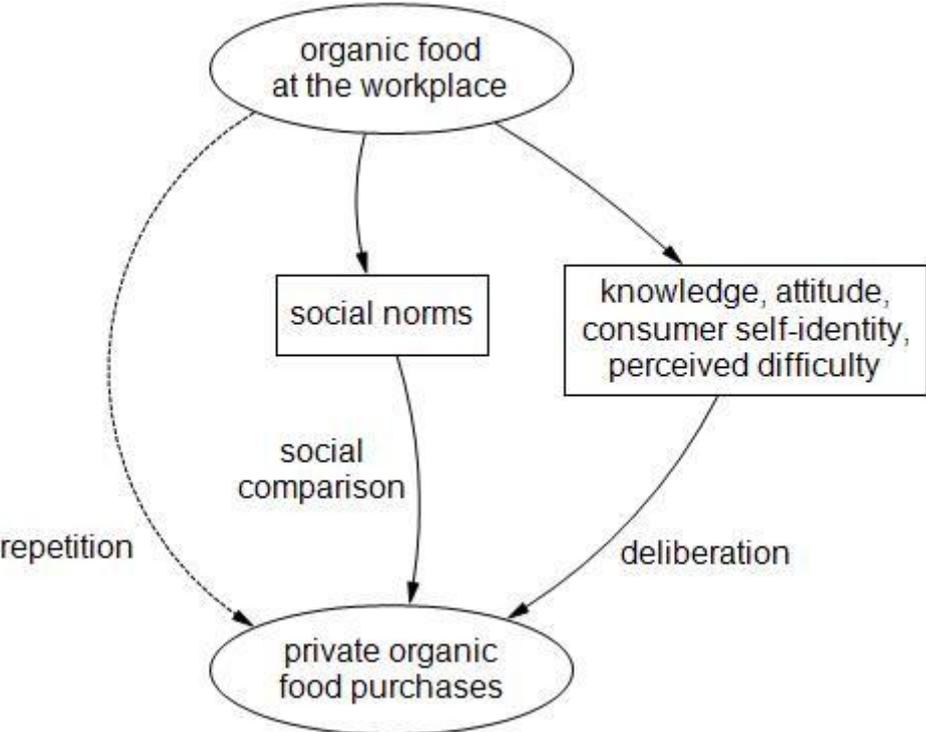


Figure 2. Model of workplace influence on private organic food consumption (own figure)

Based on the studies above and common sense, I hypothesise that organic food consumption at work could influence employees through social comparison, deliberation, and repetition (see Figure 2).

### ***Social comparison***

The workplace could influence employees' socially-driven decisions to buy organic food, if the colleagues are part of their reference group (Welsch and Kühling, 2009). Often seeing them eat organic food, talking about it and hearing them mention it positively could make employees feel expected to buy organic. The normality of eating organic food at work could create a social norm that encourages doing the same at home (Nye and Hargreaves, 2010). I expect that this mechanism might be crucial for the way the workplace influences employees' organic food practices. Its importance depends on how close people feel to their colleagues and how actively organic food is made a topic in conversations.

### ***Deliberation***

The workplace could influence employees' active evaluation of organic food in four ways. Firstly, often eating organic food could make employees see themselves as green consumers, especially if they get positive feedback for it. Secondly, conversations with colleagues and work meetings on organic food could increase employees' knowledge of its environmental benefits and convince them to buy it also in private life (Nye and Hargreaves, 2010). Thirdly, getting the chance to taste organic food could also diminish possible prejudices and make employees develop more positive attitudes to it, as people perceive organic food as more tasty the more they get accustomed to it (Lombardini and Lankoski, 2013). Fourthly, seeing that their workplace is able to serve organic food might demonstrate employees that it is feasible, which is important as many consumers overestimate the costs of change (Scholl et al., 2010). This could persuade them that they can do the same at home. The importance of these mechanisms of deliberation depends mainly on how aware employees are of the organic food at work and how actively it is promoted there.

### ***Repetition***

Employees' routine food shopping could be influenced in two ways. One is that often eating organic food at work could create a habit (Schultz and Seebacher, 2011). However, as eating and purchasing food are quite different types of behaviour, I expect this effect to be extremely limited, if existing at all. The other is that often seeing organic labels on products at work could prime employees, make

them subconsciously aware of the labels, so that they are more likely to pick them in the shop (Butler and Berry, 2001). However, as they usually buy lunch in an already processed form, I expect this effect to be limited as well.

### **3.3 Conditions for change**

Causal mechanisms become active only under the right conditions (see chapter 2.1). As daily food shopping is partly driven by habits (Dibb, 2014), I expect the workplace to be able to exert influence especially under circumstances that make it easier to break them. The literature on behaviour change focuses on *life events*, which have been found to be moments of disruption to routines that can serve as ‘windows of opportunity’ for change (Verplanken et al., 2008). Life events such as moving house, changing jobs, becoming pregnant or retiring all force people to reconsider their daily routines, which makes it easier to influence them (Bamberg, 2006; Thompson et al., 2011).

For the case of food consumption, Southerton et al. (2012) concluded that living with a new partner has an immediate impact on eating habits, Jaeger-Erben (2012) noted that parents in Berlin feel pressured to provide organic food for their babies, and Hjelmars (2011) observed that the arrival of children is a trigger for many Danish consumers to start buying more organic food. These studies suggest that the family, and life events connected to it, could be an important condition for employees’ openness towards getting influenced.

## 4 Operationalising the model

Having constructed a model how the workplace influences its employees' private organic food consumption in the previous chapters (see Figure 2), I am now ready to operationalise it. In order to give an empirical answer to my research questions, I study the case of preschool teachers in Lund with an *abductive mixed-methods approach*. My research strategy thus is to go back and forth between theory and evidence, combining quantitative and qualitative methods, in order to incrementally improve my understanding of the case. In my first round of empirical analysis, I apply quantitative methods. I use municipality statistics and conduct a survey in order to collect data on teachers' organic food consumption at their preschool and at home, which I then analyse for correlations. As statistical analysis does not suffice to understand the complex causal connection that I study, I apply qualitative methods in a second empirical round. I conduct interviews with eleven teachers at a preschool with a strong organic profile, which I then analyse and compare. In my contextual analysis, I develop the general theoretical model step-by-step into a model that more accurately explains the mechanisms and conditions under which organic food consumption transfers from work into private life, and create in-depth knowledge of the case (see Figure 3).

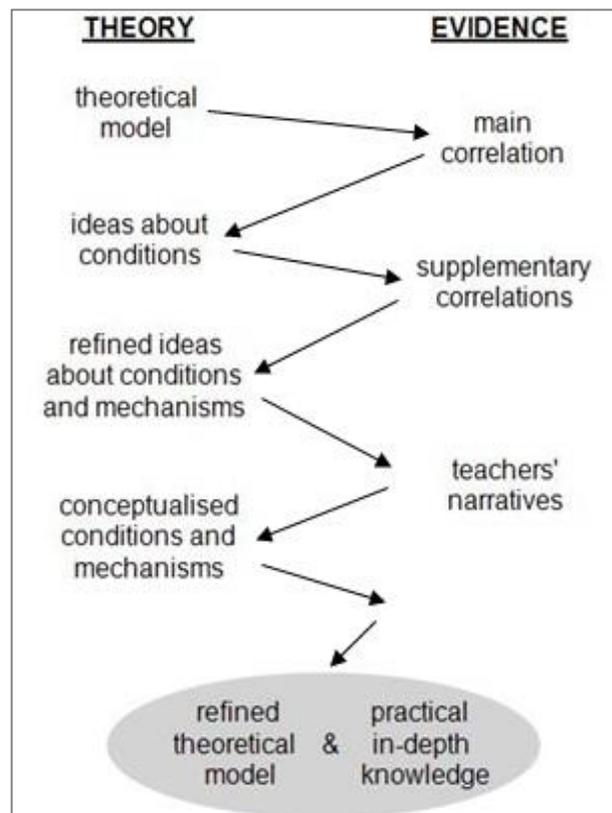


Figure 3. Abductive research strategy (own figure)

### 4.1 Correlation analysis

#### *Research design*

In my first round, I use a cross-sectional research design (Bryman, 2012). I conduct a comparative study of similar individuals working at similar workplaces that differ in their 'level of organic food consumption' (used as independent variable, IV) to study the effect on the 'private organic food

consumption' (used as dependent variable, DV). This is a most similar cases design with my cases being the roughly 600 to 700 preschool teachers of all 60 preschools in Lund stad (Emily Turgman and Maria Ivansson, March 5, 2014).

The logic of a cross-sectional design is correlation. Aiming to hold all factors but one fixed, it allows to calculate the correlation of this so-called independent variable with the dependent variable that it is expected to influence (Bryman, 2012). In my case, this makes it possible to statistically test if employees at workplaces with high organic food shares tend to consume more organic also in private life, which would be a first indication that workplace food practices can positively influence employees' private food consumption.

Preschools are a good workplace to study, because they make it easy to measure the independent variable. All teachers eat with the children as part of their work, so all of them are exposed to the level of organic food at their preschool. Additionally, teachers tend to have the same income and level of education, which helps me to exclude these factors in my analysis.

Lund is a good case, because it is a relatively small city that provides a stable context for organic food consumption. Supermarkets that sell organic food for similar prices exist in all parts of the city, which allows me to exclude physical infrastructure and price levels in my analysis. Additionally, Lund offers high variation in the independent variable, as the level of organic food at preschools varies a lot. Several schools reach more than 90 per cent, helping the city to achieve the highest share of organic food in Sweden, while several others lag behind at around 30 per cent (Ekomatcentrum, 2014). Another advantage of studying preschools in Lund is the possibility to cooperate with the municipality. Their openness to my research interest gives me good access to data and the opportunity to communicate my findings back to them to achieve a practical effect.

### ***Quantitative methods of data collection***

I use *statistics* provided by Lund municipality and conduct a survey to collect my data. Basis for measuring my independent variable 'organic food share at work' is a municipal survey with all preschools (Maria Ivansson, March 18, 2014).<sup>4</sup> It includes the percentage of organic food at each school, calculated as yearly average for 2013. As all teachers eat with the children as part of their work, I take the school's percentage as proxy for the teacher's individual consumption level. This gives me a score between 0 and 100 for each teacher's IV.

---

<sup>4</sup> It is an internal survey of the municipality administration that is unpublished, but available on request.

To measure my dependent variable 'private organic food consumption', I conduct a *survey* with all preschool teachers in Lunds stad, which includes additional relevant variables for complementary analysis. It is a self-completion questionnaire that I send out via email to all preschools headmasters, which forward it to their teachers. The questionnaire consists mostly of closed-ended questions and takes about ten minutes to answer.

My survey design is guided by Bryman (2012). To maximise reliability and validity of measuring my variables, I use multiple indicators for most of them and rely on indices used in previous studies. I thoroughly examine the literature on organic food consumption for studies that use the same variables and adapt the wording of their validated questionnaire items to my needs. To increase measurement face validity, I conduct a pre-test of the English and Swedish version of the questionnaire with study colleagues. To ensure a good response rate, I personalise and carefully word the emails to the headmasters, use a monetary incentive in the form of raffling three cinema vouchers among participants, and use a questionnaire design that starts with an easy question, consists of short and understandable questions, and includes the demographic questions at the end. The questionnaire items to measure my DV are described below. For a description of the other variables and the entire questionnaire, see Appendix 1.

I operationalise 'private organic food consumption' as frequency of past purchase behaviour. Since abstract questions about behaviour are difficult to answer, I formulate the questionnaire items on organic food purchases as tangible as possible to ensure measurement validity. Adapting the items used in Aertsens et al. (2011) and Stolz et al. (2011), participants were asked to estimate how many times they choose an organic product out of five occasions where they buy a certain product.

Following the recommendation of Urban et al. (2012) that the measurement should include a broad range of product groups due to the heterogeneity of factors that influence purchases of different food items, participants were asked to estimate their organic food purchases for seven products. I chose oranges, apples, carrots, lettuce, milk, cheese, and eggs, because they are products that most people buy, that represent different types of product groups and that have comparably high shares of organic sales in Sweden (KRAV, 2015). For the total DV score, I calculate the mean of the seven products.

### ***Quantitative methods of analysis***

I use the statistical software R to analyse the data with Pearson's  $r$ , Spearman's  $\rho$  and two sample t-tests, using Bryman (2012) to select these tests. Pearson's product-moment correlation is used to

analyse the general relationship of IV and DV. It is ideal for testing the correlation of two variables at ratio or interval level, as given for IV and DV. I use Pearson's  $r$  to confirm or reject the null-hypothesis that teachers' organic food consumption levels at work and at home are unrelated. To further explore the relationship and its conditions, I use Spearman's rank correlation  $\rho$  to test correlations with supplementary variables of ordinal level, and two sample t-tests to compare the means of subgroups of respondents. For all tests, I consider results to be statistically significant when p-values are 0.05 or less, and strongly significant when they are below 0.01.

## **4.2 Contextual analysis**

### ***Research design***

As statistical analysis does not suffice to understand the complex causal connection that I study, I do a second round of empirical study. I apply a comparative case study design in order to analyse and compare the organic food consumption of several teachers at a preschool with particularly high organic food level. To study my cases, I use the historical method as described by Stinchcombe (2005), but use Tilly and Goodin (2006)'s term contextual analysis, which better fits the comparatively short timespan that I study.

The logic of the historical method "is to study sequences of conditions, actions, and effects that have happened in natural settings, in sufficient detail to get signs of sequences that are causally connected" (Stinchcombe, 2005, p.5). To uncover causal mechanisms, it emphasises to pay attention to the context in order to identify the boundary conditions under which mechanisms work (ibid., p.16). Studying the way teachers' organic food consumption developed over time, in their respective life situation and conditions, and comparing those processes, makes it possible for me to understand the influence of work practices in more detail.

I choose to study extreme cases – teachers at a preschool with a particularly high organic food share – because it is an effective method of abductive research that makes it easier for me to identify the influence of the workplace (Meyer and Lunnay, 2013; Stinchcombe, 2005, p.33).<sup>5</sup> Within the preschool, I select as many teachers as possible as my cases, depending on their accessibility for an interview. Analysing the narratives of those that increased their organic food consumption will allow me to uncover dominant mechanisms of change in order to answer RQ 2. Comparing their narratives

---

<sup>5</sup> Additionally, this takes into account the results of the statistical analysis, which indicate that workplace practices might exert substantial influence only above a threshold of 80 per cent.

with those of teachers that did not change their organic food consumption will allow me to identify the boundary conditions of those mechanisms in order to answer RQ 3.

### ***Qualitative methods of data collection***

My main method is to conduct *interviews* with the teachers. As “the keys to historical explanation of causal theories are penetration of the details of processes and sequences” (Stinchcombe, 2005, p.6), my objective with the interviews is to get as many details as possible on how their organic food consumption developed over time and what influenced it. Guided by Kvale and Brinkmann (2009), I use a semi-structured interview design to achieve this, which guides answers as little as possible, gives interviewees space to bring up new aspects and allows flexibility in following up on them.

After rather general instructions that tell about my research interest in organic food, but do not give away my interest in the influence of the workplace in order not to lead their answers, I start with a question on their organic food buying habits now and a year ago. Depending on their answer, I follow up with questions on how and why they increased it or why they buy organic at all, usually followed by spontaneous questions encouraging them to tell more about certain aspects they mentioned. Only after letting them develop their narrative of how they started buying organic food and what led them to increase it over time, I ask a few questions more specifically about organic food practices at the preschool and in what way they get influenced by it (for the detailed interview guidelines, see Appendix 2).

The interviews are complemented by observations and interviews with the kitchen personnel in order to triangulate and get more information on organic food practices at the preschool. During my two-day visit I focused on the visibility of organic food and the way teachers and kitchen personnel interacted.

### ***Qualitative methods of analysis***

I conduct a qualitative analysis of the interviews using *meaning condensation, meaning interpretation and path diagrammes* (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009, pp.205-213). After transcribing all interviews, which provides me with a first intuition of common themes, I condense and interpret each of them with RQ 2 and 3 in mind. Following my critical realist perspective, I apply a contextual understanding to their statements in order to work out structures and relations beyond what is directly said. Repeatedly reading through each transcript, I interpret them as to how the respective teacher’s organic food purchases changed over time and whether the workplace played a role in it (RQ 2), and as to which conditions were connected to the change or inhibited it (RQ 3). I collect key

quotes and summarise this information in a table, on the basis of which I then create path diagrammes of change for each teacher (see Appendix 4).

By comparing all the diagrammes, searching for “differences that make a difference” (Stinchcombe, 2005, p.15) in them with my theoretical model in mind, I identify dominant mechanisms of change and the most important conditions for them to work (see chapter 5.2). I conceptualise my results in a refined model of workplace influence on private food consumption that explains all my cases (see chapter 5.3).

### **4.3 Research limitations**

The major limitations of my study arise from the constraints of writing a Master’s thesis. I have to mainly rely on self-reports at one point in time, because a true longitudinal study and more direct ways of measuring behaviour would go beyond the scope. This has implications for the two crucial aspects of causality and quality of measurement.

#### ***Causality***

One of the most important aspects for the logic of correlation, which I use in my first empirical round, is to exclude reversed causality (Bryman, 2012, p.59). In my case, one could imagine that teachers’ environmental attitudes have an influence on the level of organic food at their preschool.

One way how this could happen is if they chose their workplace according to how much organic food or environmental activities it has. To make sure that this is not the case, I asked four of my interviewees why they chose to work at their current preschool. The most common reasons were that they had been allocated their traineeship here and stayed or that it was close to home, and none of them mentioned anything related to environment or food (interviews L6, L8, L9, L10). This is supported by a study on teachers’ criteria for school choice (Lindholm and Nordqvist, 2003), so that I can safely assume that new teachers at all preschools are on average sufficiently similar with regard to their organic food consumption.

The other way how this could happen is if teachers influenced the preschools they work at to buy more organic food. To make sure that this is usually not the case, I interviewed the municipal staff responsible for Lund’s organic food campaign and the cooks at two preschools with a high share of organic food. All of them emphasised the cook and the head of preschool, combined with political and practical support by the municipality, as the decisive factors for increasing the share of organic

food. To ensure acceptance, teachers were included in the process at both preschools, but had no driving role (Emily Turgman and Maria Ivansson, March 5, 2014; Maria Ivansson, May 7, 2014; interviews U1 and L7), so I can safely assume that teachers have no important influence on the share of organic food served at their workplace.

The logic of time order, which I use in my second empirical round, has its strength exactly where correlation analysis is weak, in establishing causality. By studying the organic food consumption of several teachers in detail over time, contextual analysis allows to identify sequences of conditions and actions that are causally connected. However, this method relies on a good measurement of developments over time, which leads me to the main limitation of my study.

### ***Measurement***

By using interviews and a survey at a single point in time, I mainly rely on self-reports to measure past events. These tend to have low validity due to memory problems and social desirability effect (Bryman, 2012, p.271).

Memory problems refer to the fact that most people are not very good at remembering even the recent past. I take this into account by wording my survey and interview questions in a non-abstract way, usually referring to the concrete situation of food shopping, which increases reliability for measuring behaviour.

Social desirability effect means the tendency to answer in a way that will be viewed favourably by others (Callegaro, 2008). As past studies have shown a gap between stated and actual organic food purchases (Niessen and Hamm, 2008), I expect a certain bias towards higher purchases in my survey. Therefore I use anonymous self-administration and ensure confidentiality in the header, which lower social desirability bias (Nederhof, 1985). In my interviews, the main risk is that the interviewees sense and follow my idea of workplace influence. To lower the social desirability effect in this case, I also ensure confidentiality, word the instructions and questions in a neutral way, am careful not to reveal my ideas in my reactions, and put the questions about the workplace last.

Given that a true longitudinal study and more direct ways of measuring behaviour would go beyond the scope of a Master's thesis, interviews and a survey are the most feasible methods to answer my research questions. By taking self-reports' limitations into account during the analysis, and building particularly on the strength of interviews to capture how events are connected from the interviewee's perspective, my study provides useful insights into the influence of the workplace on employees' organic food practices.

## 5 Results of the fieldwork

After I operationalised my model and described my abductive research strategy, I now present the results of my two rounds of empirical analysis. First I describe the most relevant statistical results. Then I move from quantitative to qualitative methods and present my contextual analysis, which I use to develop the general theoretical model (see Figure 2) step-by-step into a model that more accurately explains the mechanisms and conditions under which organic food consumption transfers from the workplace into private life.

### 5.1 Correlation analysis

I sent out the survey to all heads of preschool with personalised emails on 28 March 2014. Between April 3 and 10 I called them to remind them to forward it to the teachers. After the Easter break on April 22 I sent a second personalised email reminder to all heads of preschool, followed by a last telephone reminder to the preschools with no responses and the ones of special importance (very high or very low level of organic food) on April 28 and 29. I closed the survey on May 2.

160 teachers completed my survey, giving a total response rate of around 25 per cent.<sup>6</sup> A certain non-response bias might exist due to the topic of my research (Bryman, 2012, p.205). Teachers that are more interested in organic food might be more likely to answer a survey on this issue. However, as this non-response bias most likely affects all preschools equally, it does not correlate with my IV and thus does not affect the validity of my analysis of the connection between IV and DV.

#### *Descriptive statistics*

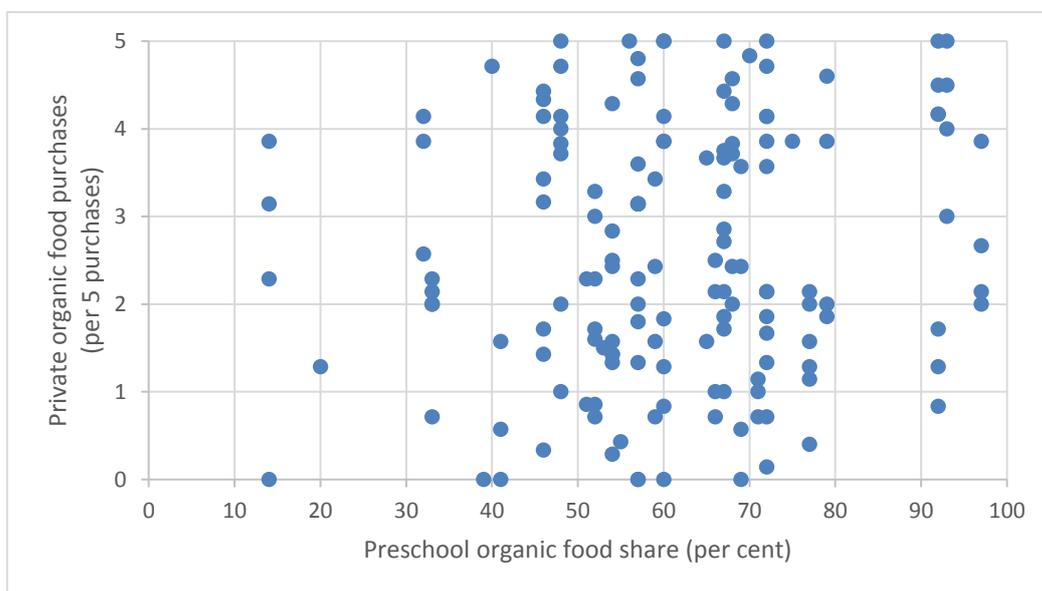
A comparison of respondent and population demographics shows that the respondents are likely to be representative. The survey respondents are on average approximately 44 years old, with a gender ration of 89 per cent women and 11 per cent men. This is very similar to the average age of 45 years, with 95 per cent women and 5 per cent men, of all preschool teachers in Lunds stad (Anita Bengtsson, May 12, 2015).

---

<sup>6</sup> The response rate is difficult to calculate due to the method of distribution. By relying on the heads of preschool to forward the link to the questionnaire, I cannot be sure how many teachers received it. It is further complicated by the fact that some of the teachers are not working for longer periods of time due to long-time illness or parental leave, making the real population lower than in the statistics. I calculate the lowest end of the real response rate by assuming that the questionnaire was forwarded to all roughly 600 to 700 preschool teachers in Lund, giving a response rate of 22.9 to 26.7 per cent.

Figure 4, which plots all respondents according to the organic food share at their preschool (IV) on the x-axis, and their private organic food purchases (DV) on the y-axis, shows good variation for both variables. The responses are distributed well on preschools with the whole range of organic food levels, and represent all levels of private organic food purchases. This is confirmed by the comparably high standard deviations of IV (mean = 60.98, SD = 17.62) and DV (mean = 2.53 and SD = 1.46).

Looking at the descriptive statistics, it is worth noting that the mean of the DV is unusually high. This fits the tendency of people to state higher organic food purchases than actual that was found for example in Niessen and Hamm (2008), but also supports my expectation above that there might be a response bias towards teachers interested in organic food.



**Figure 4.** Scatter plot of survey respondents' organic food consumption at work and at home

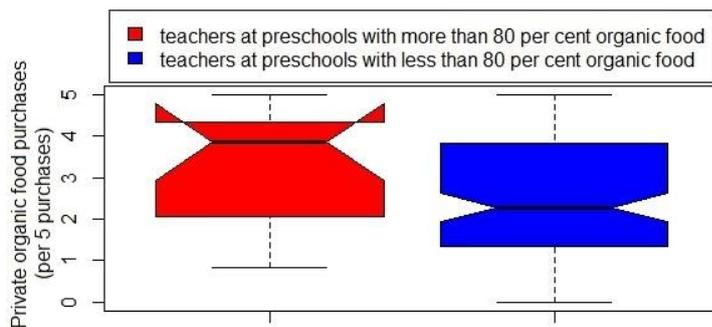
### **Results research question 1: Correlations**

A simple bivariate regression analysis of IV and DV finds *no statistically significant correlation*.<sup>7</sup> This fits the visual impression of Figure 4 above, where no clear pattern is discernible. The lack of correlation is an indication to confirm the null-hypothesis that teachers' organic food consumption levels at work and at home are unrelated.

However, applying a two sample t-test, I find a significant difference of DV means between teachers at preschools with more than 80 per cent organic food and those at preschools with less than 80 per

<sup>7</sup> :  $t = 1.5824$ ,  $df = 149$ ,  $p\text{-value} = 0.1157$ , 95 percent confidence interval:  $-0.03182054$   $0.28248895$ , sample estimates:  $cor$   $0.1285614$

cent. Teachers in the first group buy on average 3.3 out of 5 times organic products, teachers in the second group only 2.5 times, with a significant p-value of <0.05.<sup>8</sup> This means that teachers at the most progressive preschools buy significantly more often organic than those at the rest of the schools, which indicates that there indeed is a connection between IV and DV. Additionally, it indicates that the workplace might exert substantial influence only above a certain *threshold*, when organic food becomes a sufficiently dominant topic at the preschool.



**Figure 5.** Comparison of private organic food purchases: teachers at the most progressive preschools and the rest

To further explore the connection between organic food at work and at home, I include relevant supplementary variables into the analysis. The first one is ‘school influence’, the perceived influence of the preschool on respondents’ food purchases. 43.1 per cent of them answer that they think working at their current preschool has changed their food purchases.<sup>9</sup> 56.9 per cent think it did not change them. This variable is of course only a rough indicator for their felt influence, but the fact that more than 40 per cent answer positively can still be seen as a tentative indication for an influence of the workplace on some teachers. The highly significant moderate correlation of IV and ‘school influence’ points towards an important role of organic food for this perceived influence. Spearman’s rank correlation rho between them is 0.22, with a p-value of 0.005.<sup>10</sup> So the higher the share of organic food at their preschool, the more they *perceive to get influenced* by their workplace, which I interpret as an additional indication for a connection between organic food at work and at home.

An interesting subgroup to look at in order to explore the conditions for such a connection, are teachers that are aware of the level of organic food at their preschool. These are the respondents, whose estimation of the organic food share at work (‘school organic’) is approximately in line with

<sup>8</sup>  $t = 1.9869$ ,  $df = 149$ ,  $p\text{-value} = 0.04877$ , 95 percent confidence interval: 0.004286872 1.561060933, sample estimates: mean of  $x = 3.255556$  ; mean of  $y = 2.472882$

<sup>9</sup> 12.5 per cent ‘quite a lot’, 30.6 per cent ‘a bit’.

<sup>10</sup>  $S = 482571.8$ ,  $p\text{-value} = 0.005405$ , sample estimates: rho 0.222436

the actual percentage (IV).<sup>11</sup> For this group of 72 teachers, so roughly half of the sample, I find a significant moderate correlation of IV and DV. Pearson's  $r$  is 0.23, with a  $p$ -value of  $<0.05$ .<sup>12</sup> I interpret this as an indication that a high level of organic food at work on its own is not sufficient, but if organic food is also *actively promoted*, so that the teachers are aware of it, it influences their private consumption.

However, the perception to have a high organic food share at work neither suffices on its own to influence teachers' purchases. I found no significant correlation of 'school organic' and DV,<sup>13</sup> which means teachers do not buy more organic the higher they perceive its share at work to be. But again, for the subgroup of aware teachers that estimate the share correctly, as expected also 'school organic' and DV are moderately correlated ( $\rho$  0.30) with a high significance ( $p$ -value  $<0.01$ ).<sup>14</sup> This supports my conclusion above that a truly high level of organic food at work and the awareness of it together are a condition for the workplace to influence private food consumption.

### ***Moving from quantitative to qualitative methods***

Despite having been able collect representative data that allows for meaningful statistical analysis, restricting myself to statistical analysis would not allow me to reach the aims of my research. In my case, the correlation results are ambiguous. But even if I had found clear correlations, it would not be sufficient to understand the complex causal mechanisms by which organic food practices at the workplace influence private consumption. For one thing, correlation analysis does not allow inferring about causality, and for another thing, the relationship is dependent on boundary conditions (see chapter 2.1 for the critical realist view on causality, and chapter 6.1 for further discussion of this point). As they operate at the level of events, statistical methods are not suitable to convincingly explain the mechanisms and conditions that I try to study. Therefore, I leave statistics behind and move on to a qualitative way of research in my second round of empirical analysis.

---

<sup>11</sup> I operationalise this as the subsample of respondents that answered: (school organic == "all or almost all food" & IV  $\geq$  80) | (school organic == "more than half of the food" & IV  $<$  80 & IV  $\geq$  60) | (school organic == "half of the food" & IV  $<$  60 & IV  $\geq$  40) | (school organic == "less than half of the food" & IV  $<$  40 & IV  $\geq$  20) | (school organic == "none or almost none of the food" & IV  $<$  20).

<sup>12</sup>  $t = 2.028$ ,  $df = 71$ ,  $p$ -value = 0.04631, 95 percent confidence interval: 0.004152374 0.440356842, sample estimates: cor 0.2339961

<sup>13</sup> Spearman's rank correlation  $\rho$ ,  $S = 428976.2$ ,  $p$ -value = 0.1542, sample estimates:  $\rho$  0.1197672

<sup>14</sup> Spearman's rank correlation  $\rho$ ,  $S = 45353.53$ ,  $p$ -value = 0.009826, sample estimates:  $\rho$  0.300359

## 5.2 Contextual analysis

I conducted interviews with eleven teachers and two cooks, all but one face-to-face. Ten of the interviews took place on 15 and 16 January 2015, three in June 2014 (for a list of interviews, see Appendix 3). I conducted most of them in a meeting room at the preschool, with only me and the interviewee present. This ensured privacy in a surrounding they are used to in order to make it easier for them to speak openly. I experienced the atmosphere during all of the interviews as good and relaxed. The interviews were recorded and transcribed in readable written style.

### ***Results research question 2: Causal mechanisms***

In my contextual analysis, I singled out two main mechanisms by which the workplace can increase teachers' organic food consumption. From the teachers' narratives, I infer that both *deliberation and social comparison* play an important role for the way the workplace influences employees' private food consumption (see Appendix 4 for table of analysis).

1) In the case of U0, L0 and L10, deliberation was the dominant mechanism. It works by increasing their knowledge and creating a more positive attitude towards organic food.

For U0, conversations with the cook were most important. Asked about her contact with the topic organic food at work, she emphasised his role: *"I talk very much with our cook (...) he is extremely interested in this. And that gets me also inspired myself"* (U0, own translation). Complemented by conversations with other colleagues, the close contact with a person that is very interested and knowledgeable made her aware of and taught her a lot about organic food and its effects. The resulting increased knowledge and more positive attitude gave her a strong awareness what she can change by buying organic food.

For L0, a lecture held by the municipality's organic food campaign (EmiL) for the employees at the preschool was most important. Asked why she buys more organic food today, she immediately mentioned the focus on organic food at work and the lecture: *"We had a lecture precisely on organic food at a workplace meeting. So that has changed my thinking quite a lot"* (L0, own translation). Complemented by regular conversations with the cook, the lecture increased her knowledge, which created a more positive attitude and was the main factor for her to start buying more organic food.

In the case of L10 (see Figure 6), EMiL’s lecture about organic food and a close contact with the cook had an equally important positive influence on her knowledge and attitude. Together, they were the main factors for her to start buying organic food.

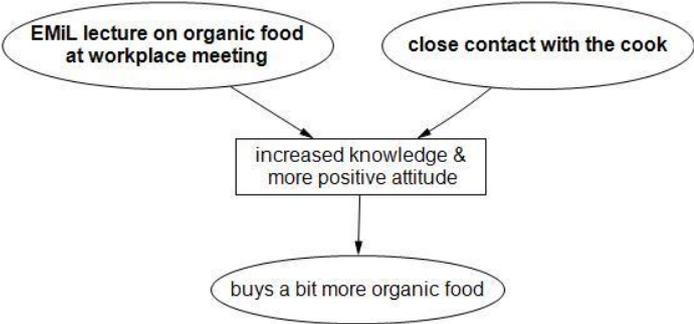


Figure 6. Path model L10

These cases show that one mechanism how preschools influence teachers’ organic food consumption is by increasing their knowledge and creating a more positive attitude, which in turn leads them to buy more organic food. The most important factors that induce this mechanism of deliberation are inspiring cooks with a high interest in organic food, and lectures and trainings by external experts, in my case the municipal organic food campaign EMiL.

2) In the case of L8 and L4, social comparison was the dominant mechanism. It works by raising awareness of organic food and creating more positive social norms around it.

For L8 (see Figure 7), the widespread environmentalism at the preschool was decisive, which she encounters as an environmental focus in pedagogy, presentations about the organic food situation at the monthly work meetings, and regular conversations about organic food with colleagues. Asked why she buys more organic food now than a year ago, she immediately mentioned her work: “We

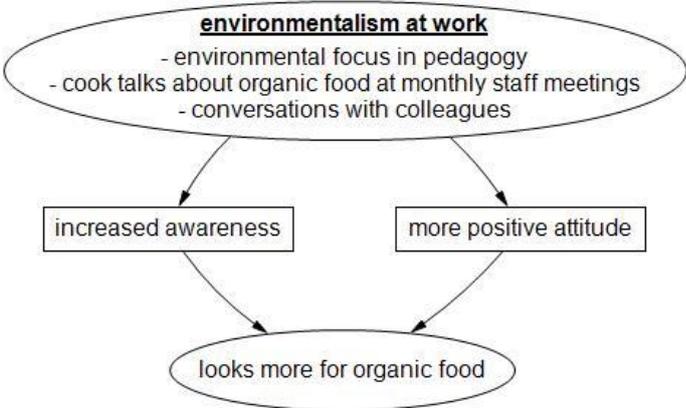


Figure 7. Path model L8

*have such an environmental consciousness here at the preschool. And that has done that I also in private life have gotten more focused on looking for it.” (L8, own translation). The environmental focus at work increased her awareness and led to a more positive attitude, which were the main factors for her to buy more organic food.*

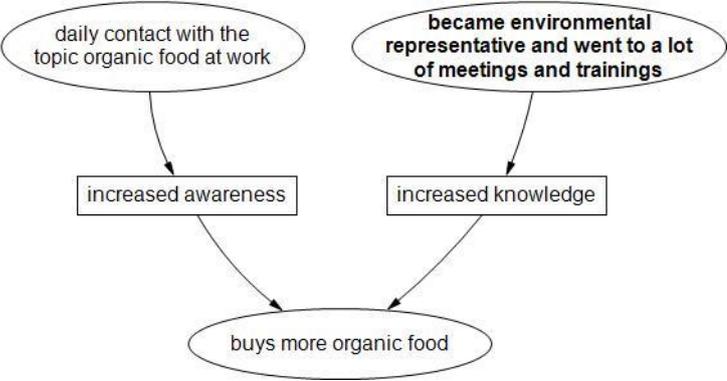
In the case of L4, conversations with colleagues and the preschool’s commitment to organic food were most important. Regularly

encountering organic food at work increased her awareness, and knowing about the commitment reinforced her interest and motivation to also buy organic food herself, which together contributed to her increase in organic food purchases.

These cases show that the other mechanism of preschool influence works by raising awareness of organic food and creating more positive social norms around it, which in turn leads them to buy more organic food. Asked how her work influenced her organic food consumption, L3 described this process of normalisation quite clearly: *“I guess it is, because you get more aware of it. If you don’t have it around, then it is maybe nothing you consider much either. So I didn’t think about it much, before I started working here”* (L3, own translation). The most important way how preschools give teachers that feeling of ‘having organic food around’ is by letting them encounter the topic daily – in presentations on organic food at workplace meetings, as food products with organic logo in the staff room, as certificates of the high organic food share in the hallway, and by frequently mentioning it in conversations with colleagues, cooks and the head of preschool.

3) In the case of L3 and L2, I inferred that both deliberation and social comparison were equally important, which shows that they can work in combination.

L3 became environmental representative and participated in a lot of meetings and trainings, which increased her knowledge on organic food and convinced her of its advantages (see Figure 8). Additionally, daily contact with the topic at work normalised organic food consumption, thus making her more aware of it.



**Figure 8.** Path model L3

Together, the two mechanisms led L3 to increase organic food considerably. For L2, exposure to the topic at work, together with the positive influence of her daughter, increased both her awareness and her knowledge, and induced a sense of responsibility to buy organic food. These cases show that deliberation and social comparison often work in combination and can reinforce each other.

### ***Results research question 3: Conditions***

In my contextual analysis, I identify three main conditions that determine how much the workplace influences organic food consumption at home: 1) level of exposure to the topic at work; 2) supportiveness of the social context; 3) economic situation.

*1) The influence of the workplace varies depending on how strongly the teacher is exposed to the topic at work.*

Even though all of the interviewed teachers were aware of the high organic food share at their workplace, a particularly strong exposure to the topic at work was crucial for many of the cases that got influenced. U0 and L10 had very good contact with the cook and often talked about organic food with them, L3 became environmental representative and participated in meetings and trainings in this role, and L8 talked particularly often with colleagues about environmental topics. None of the teachers that did not get influenced was in such a situation of close contact. Two of them were even particularly weakly exposed, as L1 rarely talked about organic food at work and L6 started as a teacher only a year ago and had not participated in the EMiL lecture on organic food.

This shows that it is not the organic food share in itself that is important for how much employees get influenced, but the exposure to the topic at work, which can differ widely for teachers at the same preschool depending on their specific role and personal relations. This aspect is supported by the statistical results presented above, which showed that awareness of the high organic food share at work is a condition for being influenced by it.

*2) The influence of the workplace varies depending on how supportive the social context of the teacher is for organic food consumption.*

Family, friends and social background of the interviewed teachers differed widely in their attitudes towards organic food. For many of those that got influenced, a supportive social context played a crucial role for their increased organic food consumption. Especially the family turned out to be important, as children with a strong interest in organic food decisively pushed L2, L4 and U0 to buy more organic food.

In the case of L2 (see Figure 9), the positive influence of her 16 years old daughter, who advocates organic food and often accompanies her for food shopping, was a key factor for her increased organic food consumption. The same was the case for L4, whose 18 years old daughter, a vegetarian

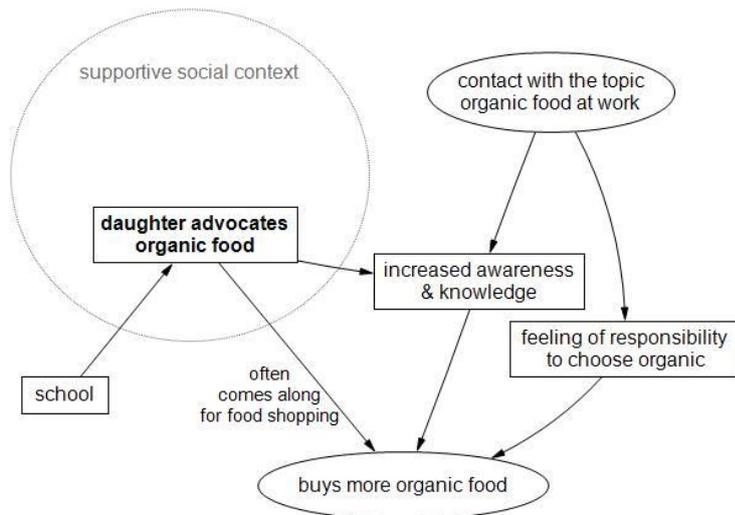


Figure 9. Path model L2

since age 10 with a strong environmental consciousness, convinced and inspired her to buy more organic food. In both cases, exposure to the topic organic food at work supported and reinforced the positive influence of the family context.

For U0 (see Figure 10), a work-induced interest in organic food was the main factor, but the family worked as a strong reinforcement. Children with an environmental interest, probably partly originating from U0's own interest in organic food, shaped her identity as a parent that cares about the future, which made her feel a strong responsibility to buy organic food. The strong influence of her children becomes apparent in the statement: "So I feel as a parent, yes I also do have a responsibility in this, to draw attention to it and listen to my children, and help them build a positive future so to say. So it is surely a lot due to our discussions that my children have also helped me to, yes for god's sake of course I have to consider this." (U0, own translation)

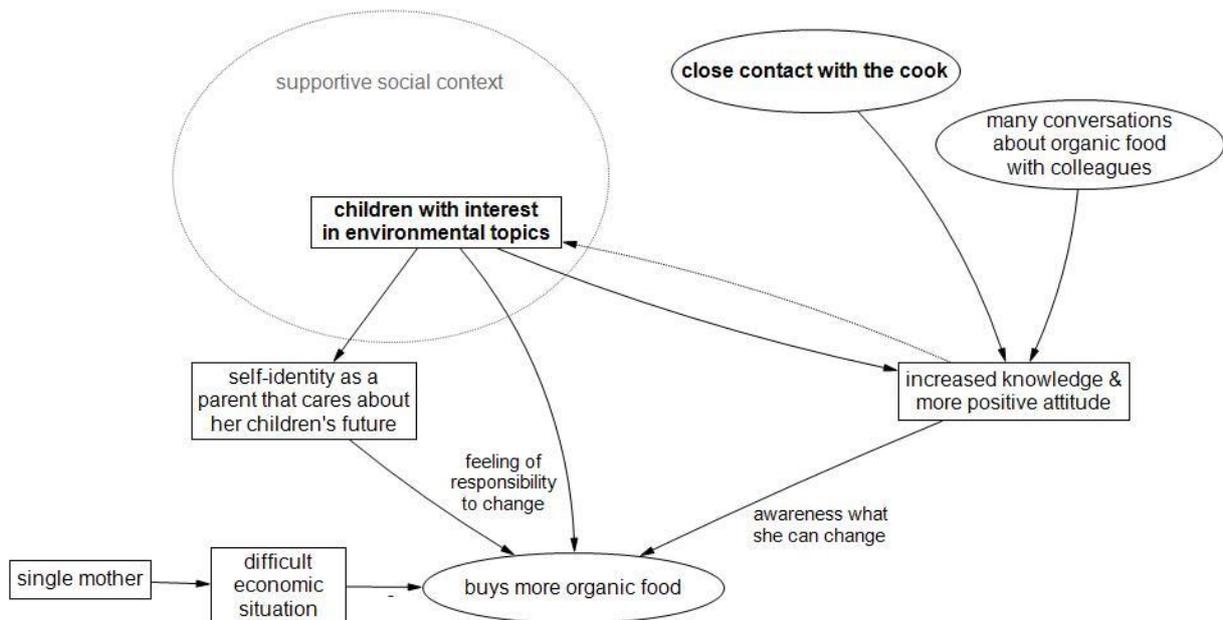


Figure 10. Path model U0

For L0 on the other hand, it was not the family, but the life event of changing residence that made her social context more supportive (see Figure 11). Moving to a house with garden and starting to grow own food reinforced L0's increased knowledge and positive attitude from work, and in this way majorly contributed to her growing organic food purchases.

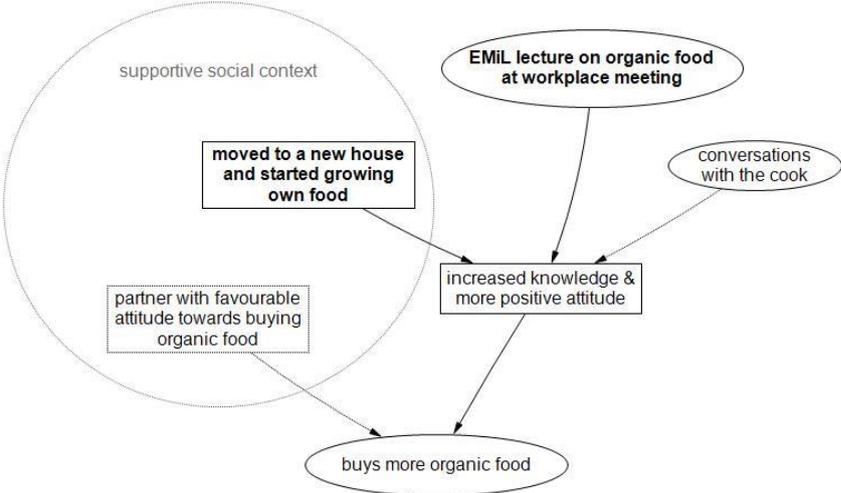


Figure 11. Path model L0

But the social context can also block change. In the case of L5 and L6, upbringing and family background led to inhibiting self-identity and attitude towards organic food, which were too stable to be overcome by the positive impulse from work. For L5 (see Figure 12), it was due to her upbringing on a farm with 'real' organic food. For L6, being raised without contact to organic food created those stable non-organic food habits: "I did not grow up with anyone that pressed organic upon me, so I eat the normal food" (L6, own translation).

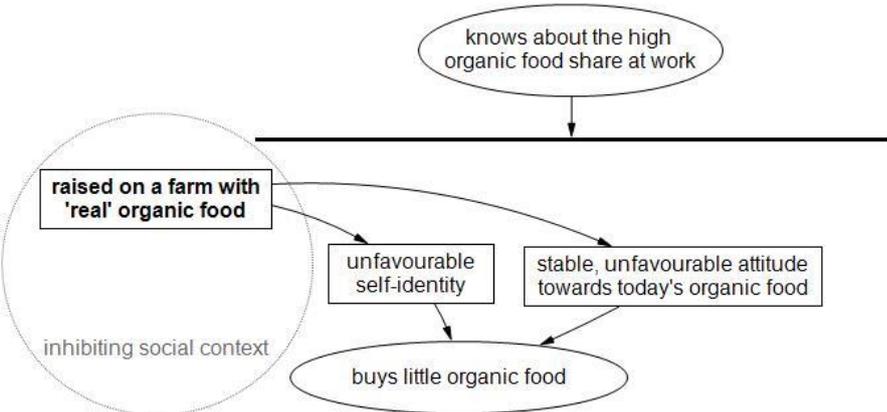


Figure 12. Path model L5

These cases show that the social context, especially children and the family background, is extremely important for how much employees get influenced by workplace practices.

Food purchases are not decided upon in isolation,

they are practices that are deeply embedded in the household and wider family context. This means that any impulse from work to buy more organic food always interacts with the employees' social context, which, depending on its supportiveness, either reinforces or weakens the influence of the workplace.

3) *The influence of the workplace varies depending on how good the economic situation of the teacher is.*

Organic food is more expensive, which a majority of the teachers mentioned as a factor that limits or stops them from buying it (U0, L1, L2, L6, L9, L10). The importance of the price aspect is stressed by the fact that they brought this up without being specifically asked, and supported by L1's observation that colleagues who mention not to buy organic food usually justify it with the higher price.

For U0 and L9, the difficult economic situation of being single parents was the reason to buy much less organic food than they wanted to. In the case of U0, the combined effect of close contact with the cook and children

with strong environmental interest was strong enough to overcome this hinder. In the case of L9, however, the tight budget made it impossible for her to

further increase organic food purchases (see Figure 13).

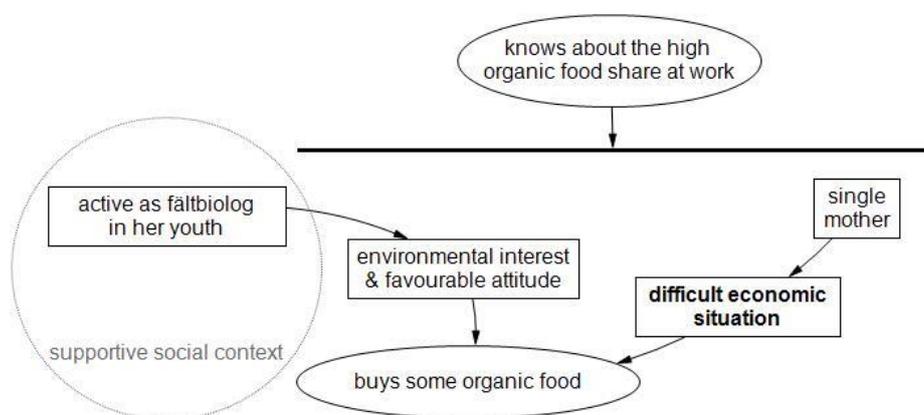


Figure 13. Path model L9

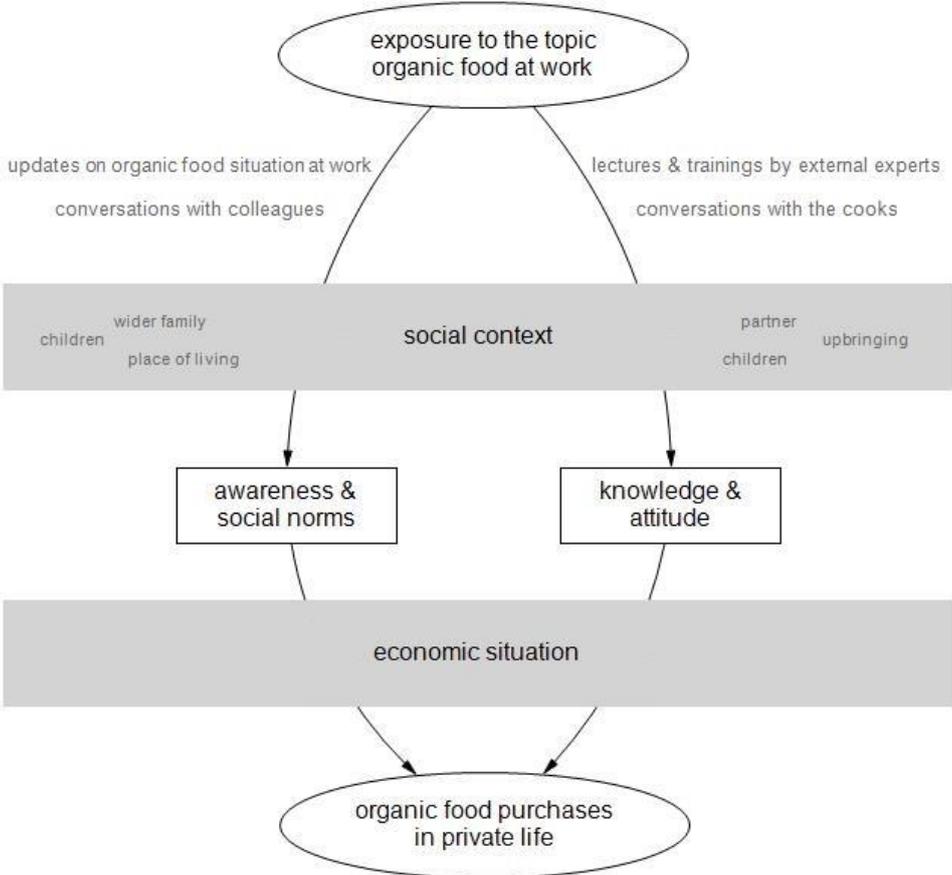
This shows that even though all preschool teachers have roughly the same salary, their ability to spend extra money on organic food differs, for example due to the family configuration. Especially being a single parent considerably worsens the economic situation, which can make it impossible to follow the impulse from work to buy more organic food.

Together, these three conditions explain, why seven of the teachers started buying (more) organic food due to the workplace, while four of them did not get influenced. All four were aware of the high organic food share at their preschool, but none of them was particularly strongly exposed to it. Therefore, the impulse from work was not strong enough to overcome either an inhibiting social context, as in the case of L5 and L6, or a difficult economic situation, as in the case of L9 and L1.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Additionally, L1 already had a very strong willingness to buy as much organic food as possible before starting to work, so the workplace could not increase it any further.

### 5.3 Refined model of workplace influence on private organic food consumption

To summarise my analysis, building particularly on the path diagrammes of change for each teacher, I integrate my insights into a refined model how the workplace can influence private organic food consumption, depicted in Figure 14. The left arrow represents the mechanism of social comparison, the right arrow is deliberation. Both of them are conditioned by three conditions that I singled out. The level of exposure to the topic is depicted at the top as a driver, while social context and economic situation work as context factors that the influence is filtered through.



**Figure 14.** Refined model of workplace influence on private organic food consumption

## 6 Discussing the results

### 6.1 Answering my research questions

Research answer 1: My results indicate that organic food practices at the workplace can influence employees' private food consumption.

As argued above, regardless of its results, statistical analysis would not have been enough to answer my research questions, which makes my contextual analysis crucial this. In my case, the correlation results are ambiguous. On the one hand, there is no statistically significant correlation of 'organic food share at work' and 'private organic food purchases'. On the other hand, the group of teachers at preschools with more than 80 per cent organic food buys significantly more organic food compared to those at preschools with less than 80 per cent. Additionally, after including relevant supplementary variables, I found several correlations of IV and DV that indicate a positive influence of the workplace under certain conditions. However, for the interpretation of these results I have to take into account that a merely weak effect and noisy data had to be expected.

Firstly, the influence of the workplace is limited by economic, cultural and infrastructural barriers to buying organic food in Sweden. Regardless of which preschool they work at, all teachers remain in a society where organic food is more expensive and buying non-organic food the 'normal' choice of the majority of people. Secondly, the choice of independent variable was imprecise in view of the results of the contextual analysis. It showed that it is not the level of organic food in itself, but the contact with the topic at the workplace that influences private consumption – which can differ a lot between teachers at the same preschool. Thirdly, my statistical analysis did include neither upbringing, nor social context or economic situation, which all turned out to be important conditions in the qualitative analysis. The ambiguous results thus come as no surprise. I do not interpret them as refuting an influence of organic food practices at work on teachers' private practices. I rather see them as an indication for such an effect under certain conditions.

More important for answering research question 1 are thus the results of my contextual analysis. On the basis of their narratives, I am able to develop a conceptual model that explains for all interviewed teachers why they did or did not get influenced by their workplace. Therefore I interpret my empirical results as a clear indication that organic food practices at the workplace influence employees' private food consumption under certain conditions.

Research answer 2: My results indicate that deliberation and social comparison are the most important mechanisms by which the workplace influences employees' private organic food consumption practices.

It depends on the role and situation at work, which of the mechanisms is more important for a teacher. A strong exposure to information, for example through trainings or close contact with the cook, seems to favour deliberation, while regular conversations with colleagues about organic food seem to favour social comparison. Even when one of the mechanisms is dominant, they usually work in combination and reinforce each other.

The social embeddedness of behaviour plays an important role for both mechanisms. It is of course central to social comparison, but also important for the transfer of knowledge and attitude in deliberation, which often happens due to a good relationship with the cooks. Additionally, social motivation is to an important extent subconscious (Klintman, 2013, p.12), which means that it is most likely even more important than I could show with my research design that focuses on conscious mechanisms.

Reflecting on these results from a practice theory perspective, they indicate that the workplace exerts influence both via theoretical competences and meanings. The main mechanism is that social interaction at work changes the socially shared ideas what it means to buy organic food. This process of normalisation is what Warde (2005) has called "collective development of modes of appropriate conduct in everyday life" (p.146). In line with Seebacher (2010), my results thus show that colleagues can function as a peer group, which was suggested by several practice theory studies as a way to support each other's change processes (see e.g. Heiskanen et al., 2010; Røpke, 2009).

I can infer no indication for an influence via practical competences. It seems that most teachers already felt sufficiently informed how to buy organic food, which comes as no surprise as it is available in almost all Swedish supermarkets. This interpretation is supported by my survey, where almost all respondents recognise the KRAV label.<sup>16</sup>

Neither can I infer an influence via repetition, but this does not rule out its existence. With its focus on conscious mechanisms, my research design is not suitable to trace repetition. However, in the

---

<sup>16</sup> 65 per cent answer 'seen and know what it means' and 34 per cent 'seen and have some idea about what it is'.

case of organic food consumption I expect no strong repetition mechanism, because the teachers do not buy food themselves as part of their work, so their practices at work are not similar enough to private food shopping. For other practices that are more similar at work and at home, I expect repetition to be more important.

Research answer 3: My results indicate that the influence of the workplace on employees' private organic food purchases varies depending on three conditions: I) level of exposure to the topic at work; II) supportiveness of the social context; III) economic situation.

Against the backdrop of the importance of habits for food shopping, these are the conditions that determine if the 'impulse' from the work setting is strong enough to destabilise their routines and introduce new ones. Following this metaphor, the exposure is the 'impulse', the supportiveness of the social context influences their openness to receive the 'impulse', and the economic situation determines their ability to follow the 'impulse'.

So, speaking in Stinchcombe's (2005) terminology, a combination of drivers and context is decisive, with the exposure to the topic being the driver and social context and economic situation being the context that facilitates or inhibits change. My results show that the workplace can be a very important driver, but they also show that the interaction with the context and possible other drivers in private life determines if and to what degree employees get influenced.

The social embeddedness of behaviour plays an important role for two of the conditions. Firstly, teachers' relations to their colleagues strongly influence how much they get into contact with the topic organic food at work. Secondly, food purchases are usually family decisions. Especially children who get interested into organic food turned out to be an often decisive complementary driver by questioning teachers' routines and demanding more organic food.

General message: My findings demonstrate the importance of social embeddedness for promoting organic food consumption. The analysis has shown that change usually does not happen individually but it is driven by social interaction at the workplace and in the family.

## 6.2 Generalisability

The findings of my correlation analysis are statistically representative only of preschool teachers in Lund and the findings of my contextual analysis are only based on teachers at one specific preschool in Lund. By careful analytical generalisation they can however give insights also for other contexts (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009, p.262).

Firstly, I argue that the findings are to a great extent generalisable to all preschool teachers in Sweden, because they are socio-economically and culturally sufficiently similar and have similar workplaces.

Secondly, I argue that the developed conceptual model is applicable also to other types of workplaces and other countries, but the strength of the effect and the relative importance of different factors and mechanisms will vary greatly depending on the context.

Across types of workplaces, the level of contact with the topic organic food is decisive for the strength of its influence. For jobs with even closer integration into daily work than for preschool teachers, for example in restaurants or in food procurement, I expect a stronger effect. For jobs with less contact, for example only as consumer in the canteen, I expect less of an influence.

Across regions and countries, cultural similarity with Lund is decisive for the extent to which the findings fit. I expect them to be fairly generalisable to the whole of Sweden and Denmark, which were found to be culturally very similar in a cross-country study on organic food consumers (Ruiz De Maya et al., 2011). In other European countries, I expect a weaker role of social comparison, because the same study found social norms to have less influence on consumer decisions than in Sweden (ibid.).

Thirdly, I argue that the logic and general structure of the developed conceptual model are transferable even to other types of sustainable practices that exist both at the workplace and in private life, but the strength of the effect and relative importance of mechanisms and conditions might differ greatly. The more routinised the practice is and the more similar it is at work and in private life, the more important I expect the mechanism of repetition to be. The more visible it is, the more important I expect the mechanism of social comparison to be (Welsch & Kühling, 2009).

### 6.3 Implications

The findings of my thesis have important implications on three levels. Firstly, they give *guidance for the sustainability work of organisations*, which those conduct for example as part of their corporate social responsibility programmes or environmental management systems. My results emphasise the usefulness to focus on internal work routines and to introduce a sustainability perspective into human resource management. They indicate that in order to facilitate the diffusion of sustainable work practices to private life, employees should be closely involved in environmental management, which maximises their exposure to the respective topic. To provide them with information on the environmental benefit of practices can help – and supports diffusion more than framing them in terms of personal gains (Thøgersen and Crompton, 2009) – but is not enough. It has to be combined with a supportive work context that includes sustainable work routines and regular communication of the organisations' own commitment.

Secondly, my findings *strongly suggest to use the workplace to promote sustainable practices*. It has proven to be able to serve as a social context that normalises and diffuses organic food consumption, which makes it a promising leverage point that can be used for all practices that exist both at the workplace and at home. Interesting from a sustainability perspective are for example 'eating vegetarian food', 'using car-sharing' or 'taking the train for longer trips'.

My results support Dibb (2014)'s recent recommendation that "approaches to encouraging individuals to change behaviour are often best delivered at a community or organisational level, making use of networks of trust and influence" (p.12). They provide further justification for existing municipal organic food programmes, and are an additional argument for organisations to start internal environmental management systems and for political actors to support and spread such organisational changes.<sup>17</sup>

Thirdly, the findings are *a call to shift the general focus of sustainable consumption policies* towards a less individualistic, systemic approach (see also chapter 2.2). My study demonstrates that effective actions for change have to take consideration of our social embeddedness. This emphasises the need to build positive social norms and suggests to focus more on mechanisms like social diffusion and group strengthening (Klintman, 2013, p.14). They can be used for example by ethical consumption cooperatives, team-based change interventions and award schemes (Nye and Hargreaves, 2010; Papaoikonomou et al., 2012; Scholl et al., 2010), but above all to mainstream sustainable practices in

---

<sup>17</sup> My findings also once more emphasise the important role of environmental education at schools. It does not only positively influence the students' own behaviour, but also has a strong effect on their parents.

the organisations that are focal points for most people's life – schools, universities and especially workplaces (Muster, 2011).<sup>18</sup>

My results show that information and economic incentives can contribute to the change of practices, but have very limited capability to create lasting change on their own. They need to be part of a systemic approach that addresses all elements of a practice, which also includes social environment, physical infrastructures, and cultural ideas. If we want to really change consumption patterns, we need to create everyday settings and societal structures that make sustainable ways of life the default option.<sup>19</sup>

To put the efforts to change individual practices into a wider context, it is important to mention that they alone are not going to achieve the societal transformation we need. However, structural change needs agency and cultural will. It has to come from somewhere, and that is exactly where this thesis introduces novel opportunities. It provides a realistic leverage point at the meso-level that can help to start a co-evolutionary change of socio-economic, cultural and material structures and citizen-consumers' practices, as conceptualised by practice theory.<sup>20</sup> Workplaces can in this process serve as one of the many starting points that are needed to create support and momentum for structural transformation.

## **6.4 Significance and contribution**

My central contribution to sustainability science is to help tackle the problem of 'science-society-gap' (Boda and Faran, 2013) or 'implementation gap' (Tukker et al., 2006). This gap describes the paradoxical unevenness between our immense scientific knowledge about sustainability challenges and its meagre translation into practice (Boda and Faran, 2013, p.4). By making recent consumption theories practical and applicable, my study helps both on a theoretical and practical level to move towards the effective sustainable consumption policies that are needed to close the gap.

On a *theoretical level*, my thesis has important implications for the focus of these policies (see previous section). It is a novel contribution to the field of sustainable consumption studies, for which a lack of research on effective change management has been diagnosed (Tukker et al., 2010). It adds knowledge on how organisational structures and dynamics can promote more sustainable

---

<sup>18</sup> See e.g. Mont et al., 2013 for a wide range of policy ideas.

<sup>19</sup> Similar to the 'settings approach' in health promotion (Muster, 2011). For recommendations how to address all dimensions in a systemic approach to food consumption change, see e.g. Dibb, 2014.

<sup>20</sup> For an more detailed account on this, see e.g. the empirical study on low carbon communities by Moloney et al. (2010).

consumption patterns, connects to the scientific debate about spillover effects in environmental behaviour, and improves our understanding of the poorly researched diffusion of practices from workplace to private life.

On a *practical level*, my thesis provides guidance for the sustainability work of organisations (see previous section). To make this really happen, I will use my cooperation with Lunds kommun and contact with Malmö stad during the research process. I aim to present my results to the staff working in their municipal organic food campaigns to support their ambitions and provide feedback which aspects work best. The practical contribution to not only generate new knowledge, but also make it 'actionable', is crucial for sustainability science. Research has to be made a driver of positive change in order to fulfil its aspiration to be transformational and guide society along more sustainable trajectories (Kates et al., 2001; Wiek et al., 2012).

The combination of theoretical and practical contributions, of being both 'critical' and 'problem-solving' (Jerneck et al., 2011), characterises my thesis as the type of 'use-inspired basic research' that Stokes (1997) termed 'Pasteur's Quadrant'. Here, it sits in the centre of sustainable science.

## 7 Conclusion

Given unsustainable food consumption patterns and current policies' ineffectiveness to change them, new approaches are needed to promote sustainable food practices. Drawing on recent consumption studies that emphasise the importance of the social context, this thesis focused on the workplace as a leverage point for change. By studying the case of preschools in Lund with a mixed-methods approach that combines statistical and contextual analysis, I abductively developed a model how the workplace influences its employees' organic food purchases. My results indicate that preschools influence their employees through two mechanisms – social comparison and deliberation. These mechanisms are conditioned by the level of exposure to the topic at work, supportiveness of the social context, and economic situation. I interpret my results as a demonstration that change rarely happens individually. I conclude that social interaction, at the workplace and in the family, is an important driver for increased organic food consumption, and that sustainable consumption policies need to better include the relational dimension of behaviour to overcome the existing gap between science and society.

On another level, my thesis offers important lessons in term of research design and strategy. What I learned during my research process is that restricting myself to statistical analysis would not have made it possible for me to reach the aims of my research. As they operate at the level of events, statistical methods are not suitable to convincingly explain the complex causal mechanisms by which organic food practices at the workplace influence private consumption. The results of my contextual analysis show that the mechanisms and particularly their boundary conditions are crucial to understanding causal relationships. Here lies the strength of qualitative methods, which therefore haven proven more useful for improving our understanding of the connection between organic food practices at the workplace and in private life.

In my study, I was able to take first steps towards conceptualising this connection by creating an empirically-grounded model that includes mechanisms and their conditions. I concluded that social interaction plays a key role and was able to demonstrate the potential of using the workplace to promote sustainable consumption patterns. However, my results are not yet practical enough to effectively apply them. This is why future research should strive to create more practical knowledge. My research results call for studies that look deeper into the conditions and mechanisms of the influence by the workplace, so that this can become a new and effective tool of sustainable consumption policies.

## References

- Aertsens, J., Mondelaers, K., Verbeke, W., Buysse, J., Van Huylenbroeck, G. (2011) The influence of subjective and objective knowledge on attitude, motivations and consumption of organic food. *British Food Journal* 113, 1353-1378.
- Andersson, M., Eriksson, O., von Borgstede, C. (2012) The Effects of Environmental Management Systems on Source Separation in the Work and Home Settings. *Sustainability* 4, 1292-1308.
- Bamberg, S. (2006) Is a residential relocation a good opportunity to change people's travel behavior?: Results from a theory-driven intervention study. *Environment and Behavior* 38, 820-840.
- Benton, T., Craib, I. (2011) *Philosophy of social science : the philosophical foundations of social thought*. Houndsmill, Basingstoke, Hampshire ; New York : Palgrave Macmillan, 2011. 2nd ed., 10th anniversary ed.
- Boda, C., (2012) *A Tangible Point of Reference: How to transform the obstructive public attitude towards climate change in the United States?*, LUCSUS. Lund University.
- Boda, C., Faran, T., (2013) *Science-Society Gap in Sustainability Science. How social science can help bridge the gap*, LUCID Seminar Paper.
- Bray, J., Johns, N., Kilburn, D., (2011) *An Exploratory Study into the Factors Impeding Ethical Consumption*. Springer, p. 597.
- Brown, H.S. (2014) The next generation of research on sustainable consumption *Sustainability: Science, Practice, & Policy* 10, 1-3.
- Bryman, A. (2012) *Social research methods*. Oxford : Oxford University Press, 2012, 4. ed.
- Butler, L.T., Berry, D.C. (2001) Transfer effects in implicit memory and consumer choice. *Applied Cognitive Psychology* 15, 587-601.
- Callegaro, M. (2008) *Social Desirability : Encyclopedia of Survey Research Methods*. Sage Publications, Inc. Sage Publications, Inc., Thousand Oaks, CA.
- Dean, M., Raats, M.M., Shepherd, R. (2012) The Role of Self-Identity, Past Behavior, and Their Interaction in Predicting Intention to Purchase Fresh and Processed Organic Food<sup>1</sup>. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology* 42, 669-688.
- Di Giulio, A., Fischer, D., Schäfer, M., Blättel-Mink, B. (2014) Conceptualizing sustainable consumption: Toward an integrative framework. *Sustainability: Science, Practice, and Policy* 10, 45-61.
- Dibb, S.F., Ian, (2014) *Let's talk about meat : changing dietary behaviour for the 21st century*. Eating Better, London.
- Ekomatcentrum, (2014) *Ekologiskt i offentlig storhushåll 2013*.
- Heath, J., (2015) *Methodological Individualism*, in: Zalta, E.N. (Ed.), *the Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, Spring 2015 Edition ed.
- Heerwagen, L.R., Andersen, L.M., Christensen, T., Sandøe, P. (2014) Can increased organic consumption mitigate climate changes? *British Food Journal* 116, 1314.

- Heiskanen, E., Johnson, M., Robinson, S., Vadovics, E., Saastamoinen, M. (2010) Low-carbon communities as a context for individual behavioural change. *Energy Policy* 38, 7586-7595.
- Hjelmar, U. (2011) Research report: Consumers' purchase of organic food products. A matter of convenience and reflexive practices. *Appetite* 56, 336-344.
- Isenhour, C. (2010) On conflicted Swedish consumers, the effort to stop shopping and neoliberal environmental governance. *Journal of Consumer Behaviour* 9, 454-469.
- Jaeger-Erben, M., (2012) Zwischen Routine, Reflektion und Transformation – die Veränderung von alltäglichem Konsum durch Lebensereignisse und die Rolle von Nachhaltigkeit. Eine empirische Untersuchung unter Berücksichtigung praxistheoretischer Konzepte, Fakultät VI Planen Bauen Umwelt. Technische Universität Berlin, Berlin.
- Janssen, M.A., Jager, W. (2002) Stimulating diffusion of green products. *Journal of Evolutionary Economics* 12, 283.
- Jerneck, A., Olsson, L., Ness, B., Anderberg, S., Baier, M., Clark, E., Hickler, T., Hornborg, A., Kronsell, A., Löfbrand, E., Persson, J. (2011) Structuring sustainability science. *Sustainability Science* 6, 69-82.
- Kates, R.W., Clark, W.C., Corell, R., Hall, J.M., Jaeger, C.C., Lowe, I., McCarthy, J.J., Schellnhuber, H.J., Bolin, B., Dickson, N.M., Faucheux, S., Gallopin, G.C., Grübler, A., Huntley, B., Jäger, J., Jodha, N.S., Kasperson, R.E., Mabogunje, A., Matson, P., Mooney, H., Moore, B., O'Riordan, T., Svedin, U. (2001) *Sustainability Science*. *Science* 292, 641-642.
- Klintman, M. (2013) *Citizen-consumers and evolution : reducing environmental harm through our social motivation*. Basingstoke : Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.
- Kollmuss, A., Agyeman, J. (2002) Mind the gap: Why do people act environmentally and what are the barriers to pro-environmental behavior? *Environmental Education Research* 8, 239-260.
- KRAV, (2015) *Marknadsrapport 2015*. KRAV ekonomisk förening.
- Kvale, S., Brinkmann, S. (2009) *InterViews : learning the craft of qualitative research interviewing*. Los Angeles : Sage Publications, cop. 2009, 2. ed.
- Lindholm, E., Nordqvist, P., (2003) *Lärares kriterier vid val av skola: Hur ska den kommunala gymnasieskolan locka till sig lärare i framtiden?*, Företagsekonomiska institutionen. Stockholms universitet, Stockholm.
- Lombardini, C., Lankoski, L. (2013) Forced Choice Restriction in Promoting Sustainable Food Consumption: Intended and Unintended Effects of the Mandatory Vegetarian Day in Helsinki Schools. *Journal of Consumer Policy* 36, 159-178.
- Meyer, S.B., Lunnay, B. (2013) The application of abductive and retroductive inference for the design and analysis of theory-driven sociological research. *Sociological Research Online* 18.
- Miller, R. (2003) *Abduction and retroduction : The A-Z of Social Research*. SAGE Publications, Ltd. SAGE Publications, Ltd, London, England.
- Moloney, S., Horne, R.E., Fien, J. (2010) Transitioning to low carbon communities—from behaviour change to systemic change: Lessons from Australia. *Energy Policy* 38, 7614-7623.

- Mondelaers, K., Aertsens, J., van Huylenbroeck, G. (2009) A meta-analysis of the differences in environmental impacts between organic and conventional farming. *British Food Journal* 111, 1098-1119.
- Mont, O., Heiskanen, E., Power, K., Kuusi, H. (2013) Improving Nordic policymaking by dispelling myths on sustainable consumption / Oksana Mont. Copenhagen : Nordic council of ministers, 2013.
- Mont, O., Power, K., (2013) Understanding factors that shape consumption, ETC Working Paper No 1/2013. ETC-SCP, Copenhagen.
- Moses, J.W., Knutsen, T.L. (2007) *Ways of knowing : competing methodologies in social and political research*. Basingstoke : Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.
- Muster, V. (2011) Companies Promoting Sustainable Consumption of Employees. *Journal of Consumer Policy* 34, 161-174.
- Naspetti, S., Zanolli, R. (2014) Organic Consumption as a Change of Mind? Exploring Consumer Narratives Using a Structural Cognitive Approach. *Journal of International Food and Agribusiness Marketing* 26, 258-285.
- Nederhof, A.J. (1985) Methods of coping with social desirability bias: a review. *European Journal of Social Psychology* 15, 263-280.
- Niessen, J., Hamm, U., (2008) Identifying the gap between stated and actual buying behaviour of organic products based on consumer panel data *Cultivating the Future Based on Science: 2nd Conference of the International Society of Organic Agriculture Research (ISO FAR)*, Modena, Italy.
- Nye, M., Hargreaves, T. (2010) Exploring the Social Dynamics of Proenvironmental Behavior Change. *Journal of Industrial Ecology* 14, 137-149.
- Papaoikonomou, E., Valverde, M., Ryan, G. (2012) Articulating the Meanings of Collective Experiences of Ethical Consumption. *Journal of Business Ethics* 110, 15-32.
- Pretty, J., Pilgrim, S., Sutherland, W.J., Ashby, J., Auburn, J., Baulcombe, D., Bell, M., Bentley, J., Bickersteth, S., Brown, K., Burke, J., Mueller, A., Settle, W., Campbell, H., Chen, K., Crowley, E., Crute, I., Dobbelaere, D., Edwards-Jones, G., Funes-Monzote, F., Godfray, H.C.J., Griffon, M., Gypmantisiri, P., Haddad, L., Halavatau, S., Herren, H., Holderness, M., Izac, A.M., Jones, M., Koohafkan, P., Lal, R., Lang, T., McNeely, J., Nisbett, N., Noble, A., Pingali, P., Pinto, Y., Rabbinge, R., Roling, N., Ravindranath, N.H., Rola, A., Sage, C., Sha, J.M., Shiming, L., Simons, T., Smith, P., Strzepeck, K., Swaine, H., Terry, E., Tomich, T.P., Toulmin, C., Trigo, E., Twomlow, S., Vis, J.K., Wilson, J. (2010) The top 100 questions of importance to the future of global agriculture. *International Journal of Agricultural Sustainability* 8, 219-236.
- Redman, E., Redman, A. (2014) Transforming sustainable food and waste behaviors by realigning domains of knowledge in our education system. *Journal of Cleaner Production* 64, 147-157.
- Reisch, L., Eberle, U., Lorek, S. (2013) Sustainable food consumption: An overview of contemporary issues and policies. *Sustainability: Science, Practice, and Policy* 9, 7-25.
- Røpke, I. (2009) Theories of practice — New inspiration for ecological economic studies on consumption. *Ecological Economics* 68, 2490-2497.
- Ruiz De Maya, S., Lopez-Lopez, I., Munuera, J.L. (2011) Organic Food Consumption in Europe: International Segmentation Based on Value System Differences. *Ecological Economics* 70, 1767-1775.

- Sayer, A. (2000) Realism and social science. London : SAGE, 2000.
- Scholl, G., Rubik, F., Kalimo, H., Biedenkopf, K., Söbech, T. (2010) Policies to promote sustainable consumption: Innovative approaches in Europe. *Natural Resources Forum* 34, 39-50.
- Schultz, I., Seebacher, U. (2011) Transdisziplinäre Nachhaltigkeitsforschung am Beispiel des Projekts 'Nachhaltig Handeln im beruflichen und im privaten Alltag'. (German). *Transdisciplinary research for sustainability using the example of the project 'Sustainable Behaviour at Work and in Private Life'*. (English) 36, 98-108.
- Seebacher, U., (2010) Sustainable behaviour at work and in private life. Companies as a learning place for sustainable patterns of living, *Proceedings M/O/T 2010 – International Conference on Management Learning*, Vienna.
- Shove, E. (2010) Beyond the ABC: Climate change policy and theories of social change. *Environment and Planning A* 42, 1273-1285.
- Shove, E., Spurling, N. (2013) *Sustainable practices : social theory and climate change*. Abingdon, Oxon ; New York, NY : Routledge, 2013.
- Southerton, D., Díaz-Méndez, C., Warde, A. (2012) Behavioural Change and the Temporal Ordering of Eating Practices: A UK-Spain Comparison. *International Journal of Sociology of Agriculture & Food* 19, 19-36.
- Steffen, W., Broadgate, W., Deutsch, L., Gaffney, O., Ludwig, C. (2015a) The trajectory of the Anthropocene: The Great Acceleration. *The Anthropocene Review*.
- Steffen, W., Rockström, J., Cornell, S.E., Fetzer, I., Biggs, R., Folke, C., Meyers, B., Richardson, K., Bennett, E.M., Carpenter, S.R., De Vries, W., De Wit, C.A., Gerten, D., Heinke, J., Mace, G.M., Persson, L.M., Ramanathan, V., Sörlin, S. (2015b) Planetary boundaries: Guiding human development on a changing planet. *Science* 347.
- Stinchcombe, A.L. (2005) *The logic of social research*. Chicago : University of Chicago Press, 2005.
- Stokes, D.E. (1997) *Pasteur's quadrant. [Elektronisk resurs] : basic science and technological innovation*. Washington, D.C. : Brookings Institution Press, cop. 1997.
- Stolz, H., Stolze, M., Hamm, U., Janssen, M., Ruto, E. (2011) Consumer attitudes towards organic versus conventional food with specific quality attributes. *NJAS - Wageningen Journal of Life Sciences* 58, 67-72.
- Thøgersen, J., Crompton, T. (2009) Simple and Painless? The Limitations of Spillover in Environmental Campaigning. *Journal of Consumer Policy* 32, 141-163.
- Thompson, S., Michaelson, J., Abdallah, S., Johnson, V., Morris, D., Riley, K., Simms, A., (2011) „Moments of change“ as opportunities for influencing behaviour: A report to the Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs. nef (the new economics foundation), London.
- Tilly, C., Goodin, R.E., (2006) *It Depends*, in: Tilly, C., Goodin, R.E. (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Contextual Political Analysis*. Oxford University Press.
- Tukker, A., Cohen, M.J., De Zoysa, U., Hertwich, E., Hofstetter, P., Inaba, A., Lorek, S., Stø, E. (2006) The Oslo declaration on sustainable consumption. *Journal of Industrial Ecology* 10, 9-14.

Tukker, A., Cohen, M.J., Hubacek, K., Mont, O. (2010) The Impacts of Household Consumption and Options for Change. *Journal of Industrial Ecology* 14, 13-30.

Tukker, A., Goldbohm, R.A., de Koning, A., Verheijden, M., Kleijn, R., Wolf, O., Pérez-Domínguez, I., Rueda-Cantucho, J.M. (2011) Analysis: Environmental impacts of changes to healthier diets in Europe. *Ecological Economics* 70, 1776-1788.

Urban, J., Zvěřinová, I., Ščasný, M. (2012) What Motivates Czech Consumers to Buy Organic Food? *Czech Sociological Review* 48, 509-536.

Verplanken, B., Walker, I., Davis, A., Jurasek, M. (2008) Context change and travel mode choice: Combining the habit discontinuity and self-activation hypotheses. *Journal of Environmental Psychology* 28, 121-127.

Warde, A. (2005) Consumption and theories of practice. *Journal of Consumer Culture* 5, 131-153.

Welsch, H., Kühling, J. (2009) Analysis: Determinants of pro-environmental consumption: The role of reference groups and routine behavior. *Ecological Economics* 69, 166-176.

Wiek, A., Ness, B., Schweizer-Ries, P., Brand, F.S., Farioli, F. (2012) From complex systems analysis to transformational change: A comparative appraisal of sustainability science projects. *Sustainability Science* 7, 5-24.

Yan, H., Hansen, H. (2012) Determinants of Sustainable Food Consumption: A Meta-Analysis Using a Traditional and a Structural Equation Modelling Approach. *International Journal of Psychological Studies*.

## Appendices

### A1 Survey questionnaire

This is a shortened English version of the questionnaire that only includes the questions I ended up using in my analysis. The complete Swedish version that respondents answered, including a range of psychological variables originally intended for my correlation analysis, can be viewed online at:

[https://drive.google.com/open?id=1nhW\\_MFhcRf-sXDAMI674yrnDclYNSA2621KyxH23g6c&authuser=0](https://drive.google.com/open?id=1nhW_MFhcRf-sXDAMI674yrnDclYNSA2621KyxH23g6c&authuser=0)

### *Survey Preschool Teachers Lund*

Hej!

My name is Lasse Brand and I am a student at Lund University. This survey of preschool teachers is part of the academic research for my Master thesis about organic and fairtrade food in Lund. I am interested in the barriers and incentives to buy organic food for you as a private consumer. Lunds kommun is supporting my research with information and provided me with your email address. Your responses are important to achieve reliable result. They cannot be substituted for somebody else's.

The survey has four pages and takes less than 10 minutes to complete. The responses are anonymous and will of course be treated confidentially and only used for academic purposes. As an additional thank you I will raffle three cinema vouchers among participants.

If you have questions or want to know more about the study don't hesitate to contact me at [ess12lbr@student.lu.se](mailto:ess12lbr@student.lu.se). Thank you for participating in this study!

### **Organic and Fairtrade Food Consumption**

Please estimate and click on the dot that fits your answer best.

*Thinking only of the food you eat at home, how much of the shopping for this food do you do?*

- ( ) All of the food shopping
- ( ) More than half of the food shopping
- ( ) About half of the food shopping
- ( ) Less than half of the food shopping
- ( ) None of the food shopping

*On five occasions when you buy the following products, how often are they organic?*

Organic is understood as certified with the KRAV or EU organic agriculture label.

	0	1	2	3	4	5	I don't buy this product.
oranges	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
apples	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )

carrots	<input type="checkbox"/>						
lettuce	<input type="checkbox"/>						
milk	<input type="checkbox"/>						
cheese	<input type="checkbox"/>						
eggs	<input type="checkbox"/>						

*In comparison to one year ago, how much organic food do you buy today?*

- Much more
- More
- Equal
- Less
- Much less

*How well do you know the label below?*

- never seen
- seen, but don't know what it means
- seen and have some idea about what it is
- seen and know what it means



**Additional Information**

*At which preschool are you working?*

In the thesis, the preschool names will be anonymised as school 1, school 2, etc.

[Drop-down to pick from]

*How much of the food at your preschool is organic?*

- All or almost all of the food
- Most of the food
- Half of the food
- Some of the food
- None or almost none of the food

*Do you think it has changed your food purchases to work at your current preschool?*

- Yes, quite a lot
- Yes, a bit

No, not at all

*Age*

under 20 years

20 - 29 years

30 - 39 years

40 - 49 years

50 - 59 years

60 years or more

*Gender*

female

male

other

**Cinema vouchers and follow-up interviews**

*Would you be available for a short interview?*

Yes

No

*In case you are interested to take part in the lottery for the cinema vouchers, please insert your email address.*

[Text field]

## **A2 Interview guide**

I conducted all interviews in Swedish. I adjusted my questions depending on their answers, so the guide below is just a rough overview of the structure of my interviews.

### ***Inledning***

- Jag är masterstudent vid Lunds universitet. Denna intervju är för mitt examensarbete om ekologisk mat i Lund.
- Intervjun brukar ta 5 till 10 minuter.
- Är det okej om jag spelar in intervjun? Svaren behandlas naturligtvis konfidentiellt och anonymiseras i uppsatsen.

### ***Huvuddel***

1. Vi börjar med vem du är. Vänligen säg ditt namn, ditt ålder och vilken förskola och avdelning du jobbar på.
2. Då kör jag med första frågan, som handlar om dina inköpsvanor angående ekologisk mat. Kan du beskriva hur de såg ut för ett år sedan och hur de ser ut nu?  
(Förklaring om nödvändig: Vilka produkter brukar du köpa ekologiska, vilka inte?)
  - [om de svarade att de höjde eko] Du sa att du köper mer ekologisk mat idag än för ett år sedan. Hur kom det sig? Vad har förändrat dina inköpsvanor?  
(& Fördjupande frågor beroende på situationen)
  - [om de bara svarade att de köper eko ibland] Du sa att du köper vissa saker ekologiska. När började du med det och hur kom det sig att du började?  
(& Fördjupande frågor beroende på situationen)
3. Nu kommer jag till förskolan. Sedan hur länge jobbar du här på förskolan? Och varför valde du den här skolan när du kom hit?
4. Kommer du i kontakt med ämnet ekologisk mat på förskolan? På vilket sätt?  
(Fördjupande frågor beroende på situationen: själva maten och matvanor med barnen ; samtal med kollegor/ chefen/ kökspersonal ; utbildningar i ekologisk mat)
5. Sista frågan: Tror du att det har förändrat dina matvanor att jobba här på förskolan eller ej?  
[Om de svarar att de gjorde det på något sätt] På vilket sätt? Berätta lite mer om det.

### ***Debriefing***

- Har du några vidare frågor?
- Stort tack att du tog dig tiden!

### A3 List of interviews

<b>Respondent code</b>	<b>Role</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Type and length</b>
U0	Teacher	04 June 2014	Face-to-face 13min
L0	Teacher	05 June 2014	Telephone 11min
L1	Teacher	15 January 2015	Face-to-face 16min
L2	Teacher	15 January 2015	Face-to-face 6min
L3	Teacher	15 January 2015	Face-to-face 8min
L4	Teacher	15 January 2015	Face-to-face 8min
L5	Teacher	15 January 2015	Face-to-face 8min
L6	Teacher	16 January 2015	Face-to-face 5min
L8	Teacher	16 January 2015	Face-to-face 8min
L9	Teacher	16 January 2015	Face-to-face 6min
L10	Teacher	16 January 2015	Face-to-face 9min
U1	Kitchen personnel	04 June 2014	Face-to-face 15min
L7	Kitchen personnel	16 January 2015	Face-to-face 11min

#### A4 Table of interview analysis

	<b><u>RQ2: Mechanism</u></b> <b>Did they change?</b> <b>How did they change?</b> <b>Induced or reinforced by their preschool? In what way?</b>	<b><u>RQ3: (Structural) conditions</u></b> <b>What conditions were connected to their change? As a precondition for it?</b> <b>What conditions inhibited change (fixed high/low consumption)?</b> <b>Family/cultural background/upbringing?</b> <b>Other changes in life? (kids/new partner/moved?)</b> <b>Family and friends attitude towards organic food?</b> <b>How well integrated at work? How much contact with colleagues &amp; kitchen?</b>
U0 (++)	<p>             Buys a bit more organic than a year ago (+ also less meat) and probably started after organic at the preschool started.           </p> <p>             Felt increased awareness that she can change and responsibility to go ahead as a good example. Combination of her role as a parent and her contact with the topic at work, mainly through the cook. Maybe started off with the preschool and got reinforced by the family? ("man vet ju inte vad var hönan och vad var egget". Barnen var ju mindre när det ekologiska arbetet på förskolan började.)           </p> <p>             Her role as a parent: Discussions at home with her children who are interested in these topics → "så känner jag som föräldrar, ja men jag har ju också ett ansvar i det, liksom att lyfta det och att lyssna på mina barn, och hjälpa de att bygga en positiv framtid så att säga"              = Interested children reinforce awareness and remind of future           </p> <p>             Contact at work: Talks a lot with the cook, inspired by his interest in organic food, influenced her a lot. Organic food at the preschool is often a topic of conversations with colleagues.              Got aware of and learned a lot about organic food due to it being an important topic at the preschool: "innan dess var jag väl en noll med sånt"           </p>	<p>             Close contact with cook (other person who is interested in organic food).           </p> <p>             Family with positive attitudes towards buying organic food.              = favourable social context (+knowledge)           </p> <p>             Higher price stops her from buying more organic, because she is a single mother (mentioned as one of the first aspects to my question)           </p>
L0 (++)	<p>             Buys more organic than a year ago.           </p> <p>             Combination of her contact with the topic organic food at work and starting to grow own food at her new house.           </p> <p>             Probably started off with getting into contact with the topic at work, especially a lecture on organic food at an arbetsplatsträff where she learned           </p>	<p>             Young, moved to new house (life event) = open to change           </p> <p>             Partner seems to have a favorable attitude towards buying organic food              = knowledge (+ favourable social context + life event)           </p>

	<p>what it means if something is organic and why this is good (done by Emil). Sees on packaging that products are organic. Organic often topic of discussions (with cooks).</p> <p>Got reinforced by moving to a house with a garden, where they started growing own food (“vi började odla egna och fick ögonen för vad det innebär att äta ekologiskt”).</p>	
L1 (-)	<p>Buys more organic than a year ago.</p> <p>Started dumpster diving more, which allows him to spend more money on organic food.</p> <p>NOT due to workplace.</p>	<p>No influence of workplace, because he had very favourable attitudes towards organic food even before he started working at the preschool.</p> <p>Doesn't talk much to colleagues about organic food. Neither much to the cooks.</p> <p>Has been aware since a long time that organic food is better and always wanted to buy it, but the higher price has stopped sometimes stopped him.</p>
L2 (+)	<p>Buys more organic than a year ago.</p> <p>Combination of her role as a parent and her contact with the topic organic food at work. (“Jag hade nog valt köpa ekologisk mat ändå, men det är alltid bra när man har någon som är på en att man ska köpa ännu mer.”)</p> <p>Mainly: 16 years old daughter got more interested in and pushed her to buy more organic food (daughter's interest due to school). (“Så hon följer ofta med mig att handla och då blir det mycket ekologiskt.”)</p> <p>Contact to the topic at work laid the foundation and made her more aware of organic food, its effects and the responsibility to buy it. (“Jag har ju fått upp ögonen mycket mer på alltså vad som är bra mat och inte så bra mat.”) (“...mer ekologiska matvaror på grund av att man jobbar ju faktiskt här och man har ju ett ansvar.”)</p>	<p>Daughter with positive attitudes towards buying organic food.</p> <p>= favourable social context (+ awareness from work)</p>
L3 (++)	<p>Buys more organic than a year ago and started with it after starting to work at the school.</p> <p>Got better informed about organic food and why to buy it, because she became miljöombud at the school and went to a lot of trainings and meetings. (“Så att jag har fått mer information om vad det innebär, vad ekologisk mat är för någonting och varför man ska köpa det. Så det är därför. Jag har fått bättre och mer information helt enkelt.”)</p> <p>The prominence of the topic at work made her</p>	<p>Extra strong “signal”</p>

	<p>more aware of organic food even in private life. (“Det är väl för att man blir mer medveten om det. Om man inte, har man det inte omkring sig så är det heller kanske ingenting man tänker på så mycket. Alltså jag har inte tänkt på det så mycket innan jag började jobba här och nu har jag jobbat här i fyra år, tror jag. Jag kom hit och de, vår skola har ju den profilen bland annat att vi har mycket ekologisk mat, att vi lagar maten från grunden. Och det för ju med, å jag tänker efter lite och börjar tänka på vad köper jag där hemma till exempel. Så att, svårt att säga exakt hur det har påverkat men påverkat mig har det gjort. Det har det, absolut.”)</p>	
L4 (+)	<p>Buys much more organic than a year ago.</p> <p>Mainly due to her role as a parent: 18 years old daughter got more interested in and convinced her to buy more organic food (daughter vegetarian since age 10 and generally conscious). She is proud of her daughter and gets inspired by her (“...är ganska medveten ung dam. Och det, ja, det känns roligt. Hon kan rätt så mycket. Jag tycker det känns kul att prata med henne om detta för jag har frågor som jag kan få svar på av henne.”)</p> <p>Workplace reinforces her motivation to buy organic at home (“Förutom då att så att säga i familjen att vi blev lite medvetna, så kan jag ju säga att jag känner mig ännu mera motiverad eftersom jag vet hur man resonerar här kring den ekologiska maten. Så blir jag ju ännu mera intresserat och motiverat rent privat.”) = reinsures her it is a normal and good thing to buy organic?</p>	<p>Talks about organic food with her colleagues (probably good contact with them).</p> <p>Daughter with very positive attitudes towards buying organic food.</p> <p>= favourable social context (+ awareness from work)</p>
L5 (-)	<p>NO CHANGE, buys the same level of organic as a year ago (not much) and the things she buys (mostly due to regionality) NOT due to workplace or after starting to work at the preschool.</p> <p>Main hinder: She felt she already knows everything about good food from her childhood (“om du menar personligen så har jag ju vetat kanske innan”) (“medans jag från grunden är ju, ja, som sagt, växt upp med riktigt ekologisk mat”).</p>	<p>No influence of workplace, because she had very stable attitudes towards food before starting to work at the preschool, which were mainly built when growing up on a farm.</p>
L6 (-)	<p>NO CHANGE, doesn't buy organic food.</p> <p>She knows about the organic food at work (and even knows about its positive image in society and at work), but that doesn't make her question her own food buying (“jag vet om att det vi äter är ekologisk mat här, men det är ingenting som har fått mig att börja fundera på varför jag själv inte</p>	

	<p>gör det så mycket hemma.”)  “Jag är inte uppvuxen med någon som har proppat på mig ekologiskt, så jag äter den vanliga maten.”  = for her the normal food is the norm?</p>	
L8 (++)	<p>Looks more for organic food when she goes shopping than a year ago.</p> <p>Environmental consciousness at the preschool (“miljötänk”) has made her more open to and aware of organic food. That she teaches environmental awareness to the children, the monthly personalmöten, that she talks about it with her colleagues, etc.  (“genom mitt jobb så tycker jag nog att jag har fått mer öppenhet”) (“vi har sånt miljötänk här på Ladugårdsmarken. Och det har gjort att jag även privat har blivit mer, alltså fokuserat på att titta efter”)</p>	<p>Seems well-integrated at work. Says she has (much) contact with kitchen and colleagues.</p>
L9 (-)	<p>NO CHANGE, buys the same level of organic as a year ago (some things, those that are not overly expensive compared with conventional).</p> <p>More influenced by children’s friends, some of whom are vegetarian and therefore need veggie food when they come over.</p>	<p>No influence of workplace, because she had stable, favourable attitudes towards organic food even before she started working at the preschool, which were mainly established in her youth. (“där jag växte upp när jag var liten så hade jag, jag har åtta syskon och allihopa har också, de har varit fältbiologer allihopa och så. Så vi har alltid tänkt på det, miljön”)</p> <p>Higher price stops her from buying more organic, because she is a single mother of grown-up children that live in her household (mentioned as one of the first aspects to my questions)</p>
L10 (++)	<p>Buys a bit more organic than a year ago.</p> <p>Started buying organic food mainly due to information she got at an EmiL lecture at an arbetsplatsträff at her preschool about a year ago and due to her close contact with the kitchen. (“framförallt här på jobbet så har vi ju haft människor som har varit här och berättat de fördelar och nackdelar med den ekologiska maten”)  (“eftersom jag är pooltjänst så jobbar jag ju rätt mycket i köket med Helena. Och hon och jag pratar ganska mycket ekologisk mat”)</p>	<p>Close contact with the kitchen</p>