MASTER’S THESIS

MYTH ABOUT ALTRUISTIC ORGANIC CONSUMPTION:
Values influence in perceiving organic meat consumer

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ABSTRACT

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Abstract:
The aim of this study was twofold: Firstly, to find out whether organic meat consumers are perceived pro-social as defined by Griskevicius et al (2010) with attributes: Caring, Altruistic and Nice. The second theme was to find out what values of the perceiver influence that judgement; a glimpse to who finds the organic bacon consumer as pro-social. Quantitative methods were used in this study and an internet survey was conducted within students of University of Helsinki and Aalto University as well as a pre-quired Food West panellists. As anticipated, the results show that the organic bacon consumer is indeed perceived significantly more pro-social than the user of conventional bacon. The results indicate that conservational values: conformity, security and tradition best explain the pro-social perception on the organic bacon consumer although also hedonism was found influential in forming the perception. Further the analysis reveals that the conservational values importance to the person influence the perception on organic bacon consumer especially within women. Thus, based on the results it could be hypothesised that the person who perceives organic bacon consumer as pro-social is a woman who cherishes conservational values and that the strength of the values determines her perception. This study contributes new insight to the theory about the influence of values in forming a perception on organic food (meat) consumers. The implications drawn from the study can also be used to benefit organisations and producers in the organic food sector. Empowerment of consumers could be one way to guide consumers for more pro-environmental consumption behaviour as it could trigger both, the conservational values as well as hedonism from the self-enhancement value domain. The rapid growth of alternative agro-food networks such as local food and urban agriculture suggests that consumers are looking for ways to participate in the food system and through participation empower themselves; Resulting in more pro-environmental consumption behaviour.

Keywords: Pro-environmental consumer, Sustainable consumption, Organic food, signalling, perception, values

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1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Topic background and discussion

Eating is the way we are in the world (Lang, Barling & Caraher 2009), and the way we are doing it is causing major threats to the environment. The present consumption trends and patterns and the current food system cause both environmental and social problems. Food system refers to all the processes and relations that define what, how much, with what kinds of methods and to whom food is produced and distributed to. In Finland on average third of the consumption orientated emissions to the climate are due to the food we eat (Ministry of the Environment 2011). Meat consumption especially has a large environmental footprint because of the current production process: Feeding of animals requires vast land areas for growing maize and soy for fodder which is also fed to the Finnish livestock in conventional farms. The multiple concerns are the climate change, clearing of rain forests, the degradation of biodiversity and pollution from pesticides, herbicides and antibiotics to air and water as well as wastage of natural resources.

Widely recognised claims have been made about the need for consumption levels of meat to decline. According to Lihatiedotus (2014), meat consumption in Finland in 2013 was around 77.1 kilograms per capita. In the U.S.A as well as in Luxembourg the consumption in 2012 exceeded over 120 kg per person (Food and Agriculture Association 2012). The consumption in the developed countries has stagnated currently although the levels per person are quite staggering. Instead in the emerging economies, especially in the BRIC-countries (Brazil, Russia, India and China), the development is opposite as the growing middle-classes have steadily increased meat in their diets resulting in total increase of meat consumption on a global scale (FAO 2010).

Methods for sustainable food systems have recently become important and are under research and development. Sustainable consumption has become an aspiration in policy on a global scale since the world summit 1992 (Seyfang, 2005; Hinton & Goodman 2009). Consumption habits as part of the system have
been recognised as an important mediator and they have been studied in plenty. This assigns the responsibility of sustainable food consumption to the individual level as well as policy level. Categories of different kinds of consumption behaviours have been defined such as ethical consumption, sustainable consumption or green consumption (See e.g. Sheth, Sethia & Srinivas 2011; Hargreaves 2011; Hinton & Goodman 2010). The research has provided information, among other things, on typing of different consumer types. Barriers and motivations for more ecologically sound food consumption patterns have been defined.

The discussion on altering consumption can be seen to have three levels: The first emphasizes that production should green itself and there’s no need for consumption on citizens half to change (Seyfang 2005) the other level is that sustainable consumption awareness and consumption behaviour change will be required from citizens and industry both (e.g. FAO, Engelman 2011; Kanerva; etc.) The third level is over-all frugality (e.g. Pepper et al. 2009; Heinrich Böll Foundation & Friends of the Earth 2014) by which is meant active decisions made to decrease or even to avoid consumption altogether.

The modern capitalist view of consumption that emphasizes the availability of choice of the consumer and is based in optimising individual benefit (Haanpää 2009) is controversial to FAO’s appeal on food consuming. The availability of choice also brings about increasing individual responsibility for the consumer (Haanpää 2009): A responsibility of the environment and of other people. According to FAO the rich in the world need take action in decreasing meat in their diets and favour locality and traditional foods so that healthy diets are possible for the poor also without endangering the environment and the needs of the future generations (FAO 2010). The World Watch Institute is on the same lines with FAO highlighting the importance of small scale farming and stating that the issue is “... largely a matter of rethinking meat at both ends of the production-consumption trail.”(Engelman 2011) Organic production is however heatedly debated in the farming industry as well as public discussion.

Whether it is possible to increase sustainability on a societal level through individual consumption habits is an interesting question. Making a difference on a large scale requires that pro-environmental behaviour is valued by others in the society. Pro-environmental behaviour is defined as “behaviour that consciously seeks to minimize the negative impact of one’s actions on the natural and built world” (kollmus & Agyeman 2002, p.240). In food context this means advocating a sustainable diet, by which is meant low environmental impact of food as well as its cultural acceptability, accessibility, affordability, and fairness as well as that it is nutritionally adequate, safe and healthy for the present – and for the generations to come (FAO 2012).
1.2 Motivation for the research

Organic consumption has a controversial status within public discussions. References to even superstition have been made (Siltaoja et al. 2015). However, organic consumption is growing along with the raising awareness about environmental issues. The motivation for sustainable consumption or the shunning of sustainable consumption could be influenced by reference groups in order to sustain or to build up social status.

Recently different theoretical perspectives have gained popularity in research on sustainable consumers. Signalling theory, theory on conspicuous consumption and competitive altruism have surfaced status motives as influential in sustainable consumption (Haanpää 2009; Griskevicius et al. 2010; Griskevicius, Cantú and Van Vugt 2012). Status means the social position that a person holds in society or in his social group. It is based on social hierarchy and usually means that a person with high status is able to influence or control others by holding important offices or if their behaviour or personal attributes are esteemed by others. Status is tied to cultural context. In Finnish context as in most Western urban-industrial societies, status is usually gained with attributes such as education, a respected occupation, material wealth, the way we behave in social situations; manners and etiquette as well as the way one dresses (Encyclopedia Britannica 2015). In short, in this study by status is meant having socially admired and complimenting qualities that emphasise wealth and achievement.

Attitudes towards pro-environmental behaviour have been studied in plenty as have values and their influence behind the attitudes. Instead motives and values behind consuming organic meat is a less studied area, even though meat in particular has a well-recognized controversial but high position in sustainable- or pro-environmental consumption.

There seems to be a void in previous research where conceptions about a consumer of organic meat is studied together with observations about the perceivers own values that influence the build-up of this judgment. Motivation for this study is to provide insights to the discussion and thus for its own part, contribute to filling that void.

The unsuccessfulness of increasing the share of organic food in consumption and the recent perspectives on consumer behaviour suggests that there is room for more research and new insights regarding the subject. It is intriguing to study whether purchasing environmentally sustainable products convey information about their consumers to other people status wise. From the organizational point of view it is also interesting to study how the users of organic products are interpreted by others as it has been argued that status could count as a motive for pro-environmental consumption, it is important to know if the message is perceived as intended. This information is important in finding a cue whether it is possible to find an attribute in organic products that would trigger value based behaviour.
The producers, marketers and merchandisers in the organic food supply chain can use the information in assessing their strategies to guide peoples’ consumption habits towards more sustainable patterns. The issues are of importance to small scale (farmers who wish to develop or just to stay in business) as well as in large scale: the whole supply chain and stakeholder network in the organic food and organic meat industry.

The study attempts to gain insight about how pro-environmental consumers (consumers of organic meat products), are perceived and secondly how do peoples’ values influence their interpretations on pro-environmental consumers. There seems to be a void of published research where these two areas: assessment of another consumer and values influence on that assessment are combined. Thus the setting for this study is quite unique.

Consumption can be studied with many different methods. The routes of consumer studies are in economics and behavioural studies (Laaksonen 2005). This study reflects in addition to those sociological, as well as cultural scopes in field of consumer studies. The study examines signalling individual attributes through consumption and can be categorized also as study of transformational consumption in that organic consumption can, as highly value associated form of consumption, offer a person a way to alter his/her social image or position. (Kleine et al. 2009). Transformational consumer research concentrates on how consumption trends and practices affect consumer welfare. The approach is practical enhancement of individual and societal wellbeing (Mari 2011).

This study provides academic novelty value by drawing from and combining different scopes of consumer- and marketing research in a way that has not been done previously: Values theory by Schwartz, signalling theory and the theory on competitive altruism. Understanding the influences behind individual’s pro-environmental consumption motives is important in order to accommodate ecologically friendly food into peoples’ lives and remove barriers that inhibit their use. The information that this study provides in the discussion of these motives is important because our society has developed to be widely brand and status orientated. In modern society where status is not inherit, people build their own identity and status by consuming products and brands that fit to the image they wish to signal to others.

The study contributes to the theoretical discussion on signalling as it assumed that values do influence the way one perceives others. The information is important in understanding also how organic meat is perceived and further how to demarginalize organic meat products. It is hoped that the results would benefit in rethinking pro-environmental strategies in the organic food production that motivate people towards more sustainable consumption behaviour and by means of the development, hopefully regenerate more sustainable food industry.
1.3 Aim of the research and research questions

Organic meat products are chosen for the study as a particular interest because of the important role of meat consumption in the pro-environmental food discourse and because the general public conversation seems to be highly value loaded. Food consumption also differs from other styles of consumption in its mundane quality. Many studies have been conducted using environmentally friendly products such as cars, electronics, clothing etc. but only a few studies are concerned about food or meat consumption.

As it is commonly accepted that many of us make purchasing decisions in order to send certain signals to others, in other words consumption is to an extent based on the image we want to give to other people about ourselves. Interesting is whether these signals are perceived as such. As values have already been studied to an extent in decision making context, perhaps even more interesting are the findings of the strength of individual values in context of forming a judgement about someone-else’s consumption behaviour.

There is clearly a shortage in previous studies taking into consideration the view of the perceiver and his/her values identification. What values do people who perceive organic consumption positively have? What kinds of people resonate to the positive signals? By examining their values it could be possible to examine also the role of the public discussion about meat consumption, which is so highly value loaded at present, on consumer behaviour. For this purpose the values of the respondents are compared to the results of Puohiniemi (1995) on Finnish consumer values. Based on these issues the research questions are formed in the following subchapter.

1.3.1 The research questions

Researchers have found a perceived connection in behaving responsibly and status seeking behaviour. Giskevicius et al. (2012) explain the trendiness of responsible consumption with pro-social behaviour being desirable in society in general. Humans are social animals and norms of consumption are born with in societal values and respect. Pro-environmental consumption is a good example of this. With the increase of information on environmental issues, the norms of the present day society have been shaped to value the environment; making conspicuous consumption frowned upon hence making responsible consumption an important form of competitive altruism; Being nice and doing good deeds to gain status and enhance the position of socioeconomic status (Giskevicius et al. 2010; Griskevicius et al. 2012). This research draws from these findings and their insight.

Therefore, to examine the successfulness of signalling pro-sociality with organic food consumption and to whom the signal is resonating as intended; two questions are formed to clarify the aim of the study.
1. To what extent does people’s food consumption signal pro-social and pro-environmental behaviour?

2. How do a person’s values influence the way s/he interpreters pro-environmental consumption habits?

Researchers claim that the status value of green products is based on competitive altruism. In this study pro-social behaviour is observed through three elements of behavioural characteristics which Griskevicius et al. have defined in their study on perception of people owning green and non-green products: caring, altruistic and nice. The adjectives are examined in descriptions of a user of organic bacon and thereby used in interpreting a pro-social tendency in a person who uses pro-environmental foods.

Schwartz’s theory on basic values and his model of values structure is used in order to find whether there exists a correlation between a person’s values and the way he or she interprets pro-environmental consumption in others. Schwartz’s theoretical framework of values will be discussed in the literature section page 25.

1.4 Outline of the study

The study is organised as follows. The literature from where the research draws from is discussed in chapters two, three and four. The second chapter discusses sustainable consumption and the sustainability trend of Finnish consumers. Chapter three concentrates on the evolutionary perspective and explains the signalling theory and the theory of competitive altruism reflecting those in the tendency for consuming sustainably and consuming organic food. The values theory by Shalom Schwartz (1992; 1996; 2012) is defined and explained in the fourth chapter. At the end of the four the theories are put into context of the research.

The fifth chapter is dedicated to describing and discussion of the methodological choices of the study. The research method is addressed. Quantitative research method, the survey used in the study and the population of the study are discussed. This will lead the reader to the research results which are presented next. Analysis based on the results follows. The results are further discussed in context of corporate environmental management; what are the theoretical and organisational contributions of the study. The result can be seen to reflect the concerns of the current societal circumstances. The position of organisations in these circumstances is distinguishable. Also managerial implications are mediated in the discussion in consideration of the results and phenomena: What should or could be done in order to encourage people in more sustainable food consumption. Also the limitations and reliability of the
study are acknowledged and ideas for further study suggested. The conclusion part will summarise the research shortly and present ideas gathered from the implications of the results.
2 SUSTAINABLE CONSUMPTION

In the following the concepts of organic production, sustainable consumption and pro-environmental consumption are explained. Their relation to the general attitudes of Finns is discussed using a recent study of Salonen et al. (2014). The section continues to discuss the attitude action or value action gap that exists between the pro-environmental attitudes and values of people and their actual behaviour. This will give guidance to the understanding of the topic and further more to understanding the motivation of this study and explain its salience within recent research.

2.1 Pro-environmental consumption and consuming organic food

Organic production operates according to principles and objectives defined to ensure sustainable production and safe food (European Commission 2015). The European Union organic label for example ensures that the production follows certain regulations concerning the environment and animal husbandry. For instance the animals must be freely grazing and they are allowed to behave in a natural way to the species. Genetically modified organisms are forbidden and the use of pesticides and herbicides are strictly controlled (European Commission 2014). In the European Union (EU) “Organic” consequently signifies a product that has been certified against certain directives and has gained the organic-label. In this study organic food and organic produce refers to products or production methods that have gained the European Union organic label.

This study concentrates on pro-environmental food consumption especially consumption of organic meat. Organic meat consumption, as it is discussed in this study, can be placed under the umbrella concept of sustainable consumption and production (SCP) by which is meant “the use of goods and services that respond to basic needs and bring a better quality of life, while minimizing the use of natural resources, toxic materials and emissions of waste and pollutants over the life cycle, so as not to jeopardize the needs of future
generations.” (Symposium: Sustainable Consumption (Oslo 1994). The consumption: Buying and using organic meat is referred in this study also as pro-environmental consumption. In literature, terms such as ethical consumption, green consumption and sustainable consumption are used to mean basically the same as SCP with differences in nuances and emphasis on social aspects or ecological aspects. Pro-environmental consumption can thus be seen as a component of sustainable consumption and a component of pro-environmental behaviour, which means “behaviour that consciously seeks to minimize the negative impact of one’s actions on the natural and built world” (Kollmus & Agyeman 2002, p.240). Pro-environmental consumption involves making an active decision about consuming environmentally sustainable goods and services. In this study pro-environmental consumption simply means the buying and using of goods and services that are produced using sustainable environmental practices and minimizing the use of natural resources over their life cycle.

2.2 The organic trend

There are indications that sustainable awareness and pro-environmentalism including organic produce and consumption is trendy nowadays: Policy makers in EU support organic produce with funding and new “greener CAP”, (Common Agricultural Policy). (European Comission 2014) Also countless universities globally are offering environmental management or sustainable management courses and the fact that more than 8000 multinational corporations are participating in the UN Global compact program can be seen as a sign of a rising trend. Corporations are answering to demands from their consumers for more ethical and sustainable practices. Also supermarkets are gradually increasing their product range in organic products. According to Luomutietopankki (2012-2015) and Pro Luomu (2014) people are interested in organic products and in survey of Luomutietopankki (2012) consumers hoped for larger choice of organic products. People are increasing their organic food consumption in fruits and vegetables (Evira 2015) and according to YLE news article (30.9.2014) especially the range of organic meat foods is in the increase in supermarkets as consumers’ wishes are acknowledged. This could reflect the fact that people have been noticed to be willing to pay premium price for organic foods (Aarset et al. 2004), making the organic products also more attractive to the retailers.

The global growth rate of organic food purchases has been a steady 4 to 5% despite the economic recession. Also in Finland production of organic food has grown steadily although gradually. The growth is lacking behind the global average some-what, with growth rate of 2%. One fourth of consumers in Finland report buying organic products often and think that they are going to increase the amount of organic purchases. A sign of a positive trend is that in 2013 the growth of organic food consumption was bigger than the growth of
food consumption on average. Similar trend of gradual growth is visible also in
the number organic livestock farms in Finland. The availability of organic meat
products in shops reflects the number of farms (Pro Luomu 2015).

The general attitude about organic consumption seems positive and the
consumption is increasing, however still half of Finns say they never buy
organic produce and are sceptical towards it (Pro Luomu 2013, 2015).

2.3 Finnish sustainable consumer

Salonen et al. (2014) have categorised Finnish consumers in eight groups
according to their attributes and attitudes towards sustainable consumption. They are from the largest group down: the Caretakers (23, 6%), Bystanders (18, 8%), Devoted (14, 2%), Ambitious (13, 9), Dreamers (11, 2%), Uncompromising (9, 4%), Curious (4, 6%) and Autocrats (4, 4%). According to Salonen et al. there is a small group of hard core, laud sceptics of autocrats, who question nearly everything. The autocrats are an interesting group also in the context of this study in considering the status value of organic food. They are egoist and extrinsically motivated, meaning that they are not very concerned about issues outside their immediate family or inner circle and their behaviour is dependent on mainstream culture, approval and recognition of others. They like to stand out from the crowd and are likely to be trendsetters. This group is likely to consume sustainably if they consider the product luxurious or genuine. According to Salonen et al. this group of people can enlighten us to recognise also egoistic motivations towards sustainable consumption. The importance of this group is that however small they are in numbers they are the trendsetters: they are likely to act against the norm, they are loud and people listen to them (Salonen et al. 2014, p. 69).

The general outlook for organic consumption according Salonen et al. is
positive in a sense that 47.2% of the Finnish consumers fall into categories of
caretakers, uncompromising and devoted. They are positive towards
sustainability and think about their influence on the environment and society. Also the group of ambitious is sustainably orientated. (See Salonen et al. 2014)

Salonen et al. (2014) placed Finnish consumers on an axis of four
motivations: Intrinsic motivation, extrinsic motivation, egoistic and altruistic
motivations. They found similarly that rationality is not often a motivation for
sustainable consumption. The only group they found to be clearly motivated
by intrinsic rationality were the small group of the curious. Supporting
Magnusson et al. (2003), Salonen et al. found that egoistic motivations do
influence peoples’ sustainable consumption however there are people who are
also motivated by intrinsic altruism. More than half of Finns are extrinsically
motivated belonging to four groups: the caretakers, bystanders, and the
dreamers) thus their motivations towards sustainable consumption and organic
food consumption could be influenced with issues such as removing daily barriers considering practicalities like the visibility, availability and price of organic foods which are often mentioned in surveys as factors inhibiting use of organic products. However the status value of organics seems to appeal to people on both motivational categories: intrinsic and extrinsic. Especially the ambitious, the autocrats and the dreamers in Finnish population seem to be interested in luxury and status attributes (Salonen et al. 2014). These groups are also found to appreciate hedonistic attributes.

2.4 Status and pro-sociality motivating sustainable consumption

Researchers have found a variety of motives for organic consumption over the years. Often the reasons are practical but do indicate the presence of social motives and values motivating them. The reasons include health, perceived taste, environmental concern, food safety, animal welfare and support for the local community and local economy.

Motives for environmental conservation have been studied in order to find out ways to promote greener consumption with strategies traditionally including cost benefit and informing and education people about the state of the environment (Griskevicius et al. 2010). These strategies lean on the assumption that consumers are rational decision makers, although their decisions are influenced by their demographics, values and attitudes (Haanpää 2009; McDonald et al. 2012; Peattie 2010; Hargreaves 2011)

It has recently been noticed however, that these methods have not been very successful (Bamberg & Möser 2006). Environmental concerns, even if recognised, are not prompting organic consumption. In order to induce pro-environmental behaviour, awareness has to be associated with feelings of guilt and moral norm (Bamberg & Möser 2006, p.22). Moral norm and guilt are extrinsic motivations and behaving according to norms of one’s reference group are found to guide pro-environmental behaviour (Terry, Hogg & White 1999) and are related to pro-sociality and status enhancement. Pro-sociality is positive and helpful behaviour that aims to contribute friendship and social acceptance (Oxford dictionary).

Egoistic reasons, such as health has been noticed to be a better predictor for ecological food purchases and Magnusson et al. (2003) assert that instead of altruistic motives, egoistic ones attend to the decision making. Keeping fit and being healthy are valued attributes and can be motivated by both outside peer pressure or one’s own intrinsic values.

Hinton and Goodman (2009) emphasize similarly to Griskevicius et al. (2010) that more people would engage themselves into sustainable consumption if it weren’t culturally perceived as much as giving up on something. While Griskevicius et al. accentuate that giving up; frugality is associated with lowering once status, Hinton & Goodman refer giving up pleasures to
associations to moral superiority and to fighting the hedonistic self-indulgence. However, both state that if people were allowed to behave in a self-interest manner and to indulge in life the outcome would be better considering sustainability (Hinton & Goodman 2009, p.18). This reflects also the findings of Salonen et al. (2014) about hedonism playing part in sustainable consumption.

Favouring of organically produced foods can also be associated with caring of one’s wellbeing but also of others welfare and a holistic view on life which means seeing oneself as part of a bigger picture and understanding that one’s actions have an influence on everything else. This is clearly shown in the study of Salonen et al. (2014) in the case of the groups the uncompromised and the devoted who are intrinsically motivated and to whom sustainability is a way of life. Organic production as a concept is altruistic. It is based on four principles: Principle of Health, -Ecology, -Fairness and -Care (International Federations of Organic Agriculture Movements, IFOAM), of which all but the principle of ecology include also the human and social dimensions. Altruism, the unselfish concern for others and acting towards helping others is commonly considered socially desirable and could be influencing the decision to purchase organic foods. Thus altruism can also be an extrinsic motive for sustainable consumption. Bratanova et al. (2012) state that pro-environmentalism can align with pro-sociality in situations such as preventing air pollution in highly populated areas (p. 540).

Recent studies and experiments suggest that social motives such as reputation, status and following the example of others might have more influence on peoples’ aptness for conservational behaviour. Status motives encourage people to behave pro-environmentally and purchase green products over more luxurious nongreen products.

These social dimensions (status, altruism and pro-sociality) of consuming organic products is intriguing and a central theme in this study. The concepts are linked in a way that by behaving in an altruistic manner one hopes to be seen as pro-social and to gain status. In order to gain status by buying organic products requires however, that others appreciate the behaviour, or rather, that they appreciate what the behaviour signals. The theory behind these notions is discussed in the literature section 3.2: Competitive Altruism.

2.5 Value-action gap in sustainable consumption

Although, the attitudes of society today are seen more pro-environmental: Responsibility and naturalness are perceived as trendy and food as well as cooking are also trendy, the increase in the consumption of organic products in Finland is, as mentioned before, growing slowly. Luomutietopankki (2012 - 2015) reports a continuous but rather gradual growth rate of 2%. Finland is lacking behind to the global average growth rate of 4 to 5 percent. One of the main factors restricting purchasing of organic food is often reported to be the
high price of the goods. Vermeir & Verbeke (2005) also note quality, convenience and familiarity of brands as restricting issues. Factors people felt that would increase their consumption of organic products were product placement in shops and information about choice of products (Luomutietopankki, 2012; Tapionlinna 2010).

The difference between peoples’ values/attitudes and pro-environmental behaviour is found in many studies. In surveys people tend to score their environmental values and attitudes higher than their actual environmental behaviour. (See e.g. Pickett-Baker & Ozaki 2008; Vermeir & Verbeke 2005) Definitive answers to why the value-action or attitude-action gap exists have not been found. Vermeir & Verbeke assert that in purchasing organic food significant issues that encourage purchasing are perceived consumer effectiveness (PCE), certainty, social norms and perceived availability, the reasons that are mentioned also in the Finnish studies. (See e.g. Salonen et al., 2014; Pro Luomutietopankki, 2010-2015) Inhibiting factors to purchase organic products are their seasonality, difficulties in accessibility because of the small amount of producers and scarcity of farmers markets. Also organic products are not necessarily placed in visible places or promoted adequately in shops, which indicates that organic products are not yet the norm of everyday consumption.

Social norm is an important influencing factor in decision of sustainable foods (Vermeir & Verbeke, 2006). The finding is interesting because the relevance of social norm seems to be higher when the person’s attitude towards buying sustainable food is found lower. Similar founding was also made by Salonen et al (2014) in a case of Bystanders who reported to be quite responsible in recycling for the reason that is what a good citizen is supposed to do (Salonen et al. 2014, p.75). This can be seen as an indication that societal pressure or on the other hand the possibility to gain social approval are important to some consumers.

### 2.6 Value of food

In this century also values have gradually gained more visibility in research of sustainable consumption as base for attitudes and motives. However research on values relation to pro-environmental food consumptions could still be considered rather scarce. This applies especially to meat consumption. Food differs from other consumption sectors that have been studied in the context of pro-environmentalism in that it is of course vital to everybody but it is also mundane compared to buying a car, solar energy equipment or other relatively large or expensive commodities.

An important notion is also that, besides its mundane quality, food has still always had status value and people can be defined by what they eat and how they eat (Haanpää 2009). This applies to eating at restaurants as well as eating home and where one shops. Many think that the chosen food product
represents an image that is wished to be given to other people about one self: it can be used as building an identity or status. Food consumption is strongly culture specific and food cultures change rather slowly (Mäkelä, Palojoki, Sillanpää 2003), although globalisation has made the change more dynamic (Mäkelä et al. 2003). Throughout times certain foods such as caviar or lobsters have been perceived luxurious. Also pasta not to mention meat has been a festive rarity in Finland only a century ago. Food choices are used nowadays to signal who you are and what you are capable of. It can bring people together but it also divides people. Nowadays the diet of an average Finn is widely different to that a generation ago and food culture can vary also within one culture (Mäkelä et al. 2003). Mäkelä et al. also associate feeling of security with acceptance of new types of food and changes in diets.
3 SIGNALLING THEORY

This study draws from the theories of signalling theory and theories of conspicuous consumption and competitive altruism which are theories based on signalling one’s attributes and trades in order to gain some kind of social advantages. These theories are fairly new in research of consumer behaviour. The main theoretical areas of the study concern the discussions about conceptualising people and signalling ones identity to others especially through symbolic consumption.

The base for the discussion is that consumption of organic food is assumed to be symbolic consumption loaded with symbolic value, with which the person is signalling to others ones values, identity, trade or some other symbolic capital possessed by him or her (Bird & Smith 2005). This study draws especially from the work of Griskevicius et al. (2010; 2012) and their findings on people being perceived prosocial on account of owning green products. The study also benefits from the concept of competitive altruism introduced by Hardy and Van Vugt (2006) to reflect pursuit of status and desirability enhancement in relation to purchasing organic food. Grocery goods are not necessarily seen as much visible form of consuming as for example clothes or cars and are therefore also interesting as conveyers of signals meant for status building.

The signalling theory is central to the study as it aims to find out what kinds of attributes an individual is signalling to others with his/her consumption of organic meat. Relying on previous research it is assumed and accepted that organic food consumption can be used to signal pro-social attributes in one self, but are the pro-social attributes conveyed to the people around us useful?

The signalling theory provides insight into human behaviour from an evolutionary point of view adding to the understanding why people consume the way they do. Griskevicius et al. (2007; 2010) reason that people are motivated to green consumption more on social account than because of environmental reasons. This perspective accentuates the signalling value of consumption as an act: What do we communicate to others with our consumption habits? According to research in a case when status motive is
activated, a person is likely to behave in pro-environmental way and choose an ecological product over more luxurious conventional product. Ecological products seem to have signalling value and people are inclined to associate responsibility with status seeking.

Signalling theory as it is used in pro-environmental behaviour research combining economic, social and evolutionary approaches examines communication between individuals or individual and society. The signalling theory aims to provide information how certain actions might signal hidden traits or attributes that provide benefits to both, the signaller as well as to the receiver in honest communication (Bird & Smith 2005; Han, Nunes & Dreze 2010).

The interest in this study also relates to signalling value of food. Food is social and as well as cultural experience it also has had ideological and symbolic value in cultures and religions throughout the times. “Taste classifies, and it classifies the classifier.” Bourdieu, (1984, p. 6) elegantly formulates. Bourdieu’s view on signalling is based on social learning. According to this view green goods are consumed as an expression of taste, which signals social status and possession of cultural capital (Elliot 2013). Often favouring organic foods, meat especially requires more effort than consumption of conventional foods. For the effort a person has to have gathered certain amount of knowledge about the products. They could be assumed to have certain ethical values and attitudes and gained knowledge about the link between environmental conservation and consumption habits (cultural capital). So even mundane sustainable products can convey certain attributes of the consumer, and provide a classification of the consumer to the person who is able to decode the signal. Meaning that how the signal is perceived also depends on the ability of the perceiver to decode it.

Thus there could be many different perceptions on people consuming organic foods depending on the perceiver’s ability to decipher the cipher code. More elaborately: If the perceiver and the sender of the signal (for example consumer of organic bacon) possess similar taste the signal is perceived correctly. If the perceiver however has different taste s/he might form a different concept of the person than what was intended.

3.1 Sending costly signals with organic meat

In this sub-chapter conspicuous consumption is looked at more closely. It is a theory pursuing to explain why people consume lavishly and in what kinds of situations they do so. Bird & Smith (as cited by Sundie et al. 2011) note that conspicuous consumption is not a phenomenon born with the capitalistic culture but has been witnessed across eras and cultures globally although the negative results to the environment are getting clear and the topic has been gaining the increasing attention of researchers and public recently. According to Costly signalling theory particular traits are evolved because they signal to
others about the individuals hidden qualities. A classic example of this is the peacock’s tail, which is difficult to grow and makes escaping from predators very difficult. The signal is considered more reliable, the costlier it is (Iredale, Van Vugt & Dunbar 2008; Sundie et al. 2011). Buying organic meat is not that difficult in Finland today but still it cannot be found in every supermarket and the price of organic meat is much higher in supermarkets than the price of conventionally produced meat. In this context buying organic meat products can be associated with costly signalling as the consumer is willing to incur the cost of time and energy to find the product and then also incur the cost of higher price (Griskevicius et al. 2010). Consequently the consumer of organic bacon is signalling the ability to do so as in having the money, the time, the knowledge or good taste. Griskevicius et al. found that pro-environmental behaviour is perceived as altruistic and thus assert that an “altruistic act is a communicative signal.” (Griskevicius et al. 2010, p. 394)

People do seem to be inclined to distinguish responsibility with status seeking. Here a note should be made about the difference between conspicuous consumption and status consumption however. O’Cass & McEwen (2006) assert that although there is a relationship between conspicuous consumption and status consumption the two are different constructs. They explain that with status consumption people seem to be buying goods that are status laden, well known prestige brands for example, but status consumption does not require showing off the products as a signal of wealth but is more motivated by fitting in to the environment or situation. It seems that in the status concept, owning the status laden product is emphasized in a personal level where as in the conspicuous consumption concept the importance is in the showing off the product and consuming more lavishly when there is an audience and according to researchers referred earlier, audience that is receptacle.

As the discussion is about food and meat products which use is not necessarily as conspicuous as for example carrying a Gucci handbag it might be short sighted to claim that buying organic meat is straight forwardly intently conspicuous. Elliot (2013, p 298) emphasises non-deliberative social positioning in consumption of green products, especially mundane products that are not consumed visibly or lavishly. She assesses status signalling of green consumption through Bourdieu’s (1984) concept of habitus.

Habitus is formed by social learning and is unconscious paradigms and behavioural patterns constructed through the person’s economic capital meaning wealth and cultural capital, which is derived from education, family, history and cultural institutions in that society. These both types of capital can be inherited and be passed on as well as accumulated (Elliot 2013, p. 300). Habitus generates the person’s taste which in turn defines the way s/he classifies and appreciates certain manners and products (Elliot 2013). This view does not deny the existence of status signalling or even the existence of conspicuous consumption but rather emphasises unintentional qualities of status signalling, the naturalness of the practices and choices of products to the person. Whether status signalling is intentional or unintentional could be product specific (Elliot 2013) and perhaps also situation- and culture specific as
there are also claims that postmodern consumers have more subtle ways of signalling status than before when consumption was more set to social hierarchy (Trigg 2001).

Griskevicius et al. (2010) found that people tend to prefer green products over conventional ones when their status motives were activated. According to costly signal-ling theory, the purchase of green products signals to others that a person is altruistic for being willing and able to incur costs of a product that is beneficial to others rather than to only him or herself. Hence status leads to pro-environmental behaviour especially when others are there to see it. Griskevicius et al. call this behaviour conspicuous conservation. Conspicuous consumption, or conspicuous conservation, in green consumer context is meaningful in social relationships. It signals good qualities in a person as they are able to bare costs of environmental conservation (Griskevicius et al. 2010; 2012; Sexton & Sexton 2011). From the sociological point of view it implicates social status in a way that allows a consumer to differentiate oneself in social space (Elliot 2013).

### 3.2 Competitive altruism

The introducers of the theory of competitive altruism, Hardy and Van Vugt (2006) explain the term as a “process through which individuals attempt to out-compete each other in terms of generosity.” (Hardy & Van Vugt 2006, p. 2). Generosity as a trait is desirable because it enhances our status and with status we are able to gain benefits that would otherwise not be available to us (Hardy and Van Vugt 2006).

Conspicuous consumption has become a form of competitive altruism. In this chapter the concept of competitive altruism is looked at more closely in relation to purchasing organic food for pro-social reasons and to enhance desirability. Groceries is not necessarily seen as visible form of consuming as for example clothes or cars and is therefore interesting as conveyer of signals meant for status building. Griskevicius et al. (2010) suggest that organic products can be used as agents of costly signalling. Not only are organic products usually more expensive than conventional goods but they are also “…ideationally difficult and so can only be consumed by those few who have acquired the ability to do so” (Holt, 1998, p. 4) and indicate accumulation of cultural capital awareness, good education and altruism which are all admirable attributes and will secure the respect of others (Holt, 1998). Elliot (2013, p. 312), whose research is much based on the above notion, has found that green consumption, like other forms of consumption implicates social status, and even mundane products are able to signal, the taste of the consumer, at least in the U.S.

Organic products are often more expensive than the ordinary or conventional product. Sometimes they are hard to find or they might be of lower performance (for example the shelf life of lemons). By purchasing the organic product the individual is showing that they are able to bear the costs of attaining the product by investing extra resources such as money and time.
Following this theory, purchasing of organic food could be interpreted as costly signalling in the same way as buying a Porsche. More elaborately, the unselfish altruistic signals (such as behaving pro-environmentally and buying organic food) advertise the hidden qualities of a person and thus increase status and enhance their social position (Hardy and Van Vugt 2006). Van Vugt and Iredale (2012, p.2) add in reference to Farelly (2010) that positive personality traits such as trustworthiness, caring and nurturing qualities can be signalled through pro-environmental behaviour.

Van Vugt and Iredale argue that while buying an expensive and flashy car will signal wealth of a man, a public contribution of doing good also signals that not only is this person a wealthy one but he is willing to share the wealth. Buying organic bacon may signal status when with status is meant admirable qualities in a person: having financial attributes, because organic meat products are very expensive at present, as well as signalling positive personal qualities of being caring, responsible, and altruistic for having the ability to acknowledge environmental or/and animal welfare issues.

According to researches the reasons people purchase organic food are personal: health, food safety, taste and ethical: animal welfare and concern for the environment (Harper & Makatouni 2014; Aertsens, Verbeke, Mondelaers & VanHuylen-Broeck 2009). These issues have become popular and are associated with altruistic trades and behaviour. Status has traditionally been associated with wealth or position in society but it can in our contemporary society also be associated with possessing altruistic trades. According to Lundahl (2012) people have two kinds of status based motives for pro-environmental consumption: The other group considers ecological goods and responsible consumption important and close to the self while the other group is more prone to follow trends and consuming ecological products is based on a want of being part of a trend and signalling attributes of being wealthy, empathetic and well educated as well as trendy (Lundahl 2012).

### 3.3 Indirect reciprocity

Hardy and Van Vugt (2006) propose that an altruistic person is rewarded by a community for doing unselfish acts. They call this the indirect reciprocity theory which suggests the reward is given to the altruist in order to keep the person part of the community and keep on doing the good deeds. This however, according to O’Cass & McEwen (2006) seems to be dependable on the individuals’ self-monitoring tendencies, context as well as gender.

A growing phenomenon resembling indirect reciprocity is Fair Trade Towns. Municipalities and cities strive for being more sustainable in their public purchases. 12 towns and municipalities in Finland have gained the title and globally there are 1500 Fair trade towns (Reilu kauppa Ry 2012). The Fair Trade City resembles indirect reciprocity behaviour in that municipalities wish...
to answer the expectations of their residents and perhaps in future attract more residents as well as businesses and is about building a brand as well as the community gaining status of being responsible. Madrigal & Boush (2008) have found that consumers are willing to reward a company if they perceive it or its products socially responsible. They emphasise the reciprocity between a brand and a consumer. Reciprocity means that when a brand signals responsibility a person who perceives the signal as an implication of a value that is important to them, they will follow “norm reciprocity” and feel compelled to provide something in exchange for the good efforts of the brand (Madrigal and Boush, 2008, p. 539). This can be seen as a similar phenomenon to the Fair Trade Towns. The towns expect to be awarded by community for making responsible and caring choices.
4 VALUES

The interest in this study concerning values is the relationship of values and perceptions formed from signals sent with organic food choices. As mentioned before food is social as well as a cultural experience. It also has had ideological and symbolic value in cultures and religions throughout the times. This chapter discusses values in relation to pro-environmental behaviour and more specifically values in relation of consuming organic meat products. The shaping of pro-environmental values is first looked into based on definitions of Rokeach (1968, 1979) as well as other newer research on the issue. The data collection of this study was gathered with a survey which included a values questionnaire formulated by Schwartz (2001) and in the analysis his value model is used as guidance to the values of the participants. Therefore the theory of basic values by Schwartz is introduced in more detail in this chapter. Also the role of values in pro-environmental behaviour and consumer context is reflected on. The chapter concludes with summary of the key literature.

4.1 How are values shaped

This study takes the psychological perspective on values which examines values from the viewpoint of motivation for personal behaviour. Rokeach’s (1968, p. 161) view on values is that value is” ... a centrally held, enduring belief which guides actions and judgments across specific situations and beyond immediate goals to more ultimate end-states of existence." This study follows the psychological definition of values and benefits from the Basic values theory of Schwartz in the data examination. This chapter begins with studying the shaping of values and defining what values are continuing to explore why values are so important and what are they used for in general, in context of pro-environmental consumer behaviour and in the context of this study.

Values are shaped throughout a person’s life. They form through socialization and education (Rokeach 1973). Life circumstances shape values but
values are also involved in the choices featuring life. (Schwartz 2012) Many background variables are involved in shaping of a person’s values. Commonly values are adapted to the circumstances. Those values which are easily attainable are often upgraded in importance to a person and those values which are difficult to pursue, or even impossible, are downgraded. However, there are some values such as power and security that act the other way around. Scarcity of material wellbeing and living in an unsecure environment makes people regard security and power values more important than those who are comfortable off and live in a relatively safe environment. (Schwartz 2012, p. 5) Thus the society is also found to have influence on peoples’ values.

Changes in a person’s self-awareness and self-conception, age as well as changes in situation, life circumstance and in society can result to a shift of personal values. Value shifts are central to a person and consequently may lead to drastic changes in (a person’s as well as societies) cognition and behaviour. (Rokeach 1979; Schwartz 1996; 2012) So although values are long lasting guiding principles in life, they are not set in stone.

Schwartz (2012) elaborates the reciprocal influence of values and life circumstances. He lists among other things gender, age and education as background variables which can be seen to determine life circumstances which in turn affect prioritisation of values. Age has an effect on physical attributes as well as the stage in life: People in early adulthood have different life circumstances and pursuits in life than people in mid-adulthood, whom often have started their own family or the elderly, to whom according to Schwartz stimulation and hedonism values are of lesser importance and tradition and security values are upgraded in comparison to the younger. Schwartz recounts in reference to Inglehart (2010) that there are also generational differences in value prioritising. The societal situations are used to explain these differences, for example war experiences.

Chawla (1999) found that life experiences are very important in influencing shaping of environmental values. Personal experience of loss or degradation of a valued place in nature is reported to be very influential in formation of pro-environmental values. Chawla mentions especially childhood experiences, extended time spent outdoors in nature with parents or other family members. The role of teachers or friends as role models and involvement in environmental organizations later on in life, as well as books is found to have effect. In early childhood the role of family and parents is important in shaping environmental values. Education and friends are influential in adolescence and during adulthood pro-environmental organisations are found to influence values shaping (Chawla 1999).

Gender and education also influence the values priorities. Women are found to be slightly more concerned with in-group wellbeing (benevolent) and the environment where as men are alleged to be associated with power and status. (Puohiniemi 1995; McCright 2010; Schwartz 2012) Education seems to have a linear and positive correlation with Openness to change values as well as
achievement and universalism, which traditionally is especially associated with pro-environmentalism.

4.2 Schwartz’s theory on basic values

In this chapter the basics of the Schwartz’s values theory is described and discussed in relation to the study. One of the central themes in the discussion on pro-environmental behaviour is values as they are used to explain motives for sustainable consumption behaviour. The implication of values for pro-environmental issues is that environmental problems are generally regarded as social problems: they ultimately concern everybody (Pepper, Jackson & Uzzell 2009). It has been noticed in many studies (see e.g. Puohiniemi 1995; Grunert & Juhl 1995; Gilg, Barr & Ford 2005) that consumers of green products cherish more altruistic, pro-environmental and pro-social values. However many studies also find that the main influential criteria in purchasing organic foods are taste and health issues.

Taste and concern for one's own health does not indicate altruistic values of universality or benevolence which usually in literature comprehend pro-environmental and pro-social values, but rather hedonism, self-direction, achievement and even security. It is to be noted that many studies also find that consumers of organic foods are often mothers of young children who are concerned also for the health of their offspring. This group does not constitute the whole group, and these contradictive associations indicate that research on values in reference to pro-environmental consumption particularly organic food consumption is not complete as yet.

In previous decades researchers have mainly studied the connection between attitudes and behaviour in responsible consumption although the attitude-action gap seems to be difficult to explain with the attitude -behaviour theories as Casimir and Dutilh (2003) assert. The rational choice approach which is based on the attitude and behaviour theories often ignore the limitations of daily lives as well as social environment which are components that according Schwartz form our values. Schwartz indeed makes a distinction between values and attitudes in how they can be observed and measured: When attitudes tend to evaluate objects (people, events, behaviour or specific objects) on scale of positive and negative, values "underlie our attitudes” (Schwartz, 2012 p. 16) We have a positive attitude towards something if it "promotes or protects" the achievement of the life goal or goals that are important to us, in other words, what we value (Schwartz).

Schwartz’s values survey (SVS) has been conducted in 82 countries (Schwartz 2012) and can be referred as universal. The theory has been developed from samples that have been gathered from 67 countries. According
to Schwartz, people differ in how they accredit different values of which the 10 basic values are comprised of but the structure of the values model with the motivational oppositions and compatibilities seem to be similarly organised universally. The way Schwartz has organised values enables measuring the importance of values and analysing their meaning as well as comparisons between groups and individuals (Puohiniemi 1995). In this study data on participants’ values was collected using the portrait values questionnaire (PVQ) (Schwartz et al. 2001) which a shorter version of the SVS. The use of PVQ will be further discussed in chapter methodological choices.

Values are a guiding principle of peoples’ beliefs, attitudes and behaviour. The values that are important to a person motivate action towards fulfilling a goal or goals they represent and if a person is able to live according to the values important to one, one feels happy. A person valuing excitement in life feels fulfilment and feels happy when doing extreme sports or when travelling, while someone who values security more would feel uneasy or stressed in similar situations but ease and happiness in familiar surroundings and being able to plan her/ his day ahead.

In the following sub chapters the ten basic values are first defined and the theory is reviewed in reference to literature and the way it has been used in previous research. The theory is then further explicated and discussed in context of this study.

4.3 Defining values

The theory (Schwartz and Bilsky 1987; Schwartz 2012) conceptualizes values according to six main features distinct to values as phrased and explained in the following

1. Values are beliefs and linked to emotions: If one is able to live according to his or her values, one feels happy.

2. Values indicate to desirable goals which motivate action: People are motivated to live according to the values that are important to them.

3. Values transcend actions and situations: People act motivated by their cherished values across different situations and social circumstances

4. Values serve as standards or criteria as a person evaluates others or situations as good or bad or whether some things are worth doing or not.
5. Values are ordered by importance: They are hierarchical as to some values are more important to individuals than others. This feature differentiates values from attitudes and norms.

6. The relative importance of multiple values guides action. Values are adjacent and contradictive and may compete with each other depending on the context. Person's behaviour and attitudes are influenced by values that are relevant in certain situations. Thus values can be defined as “the criteria people use to select and justify actions and to evaluate people (including the self) and events” (Schwartz 1992, p.1). The feature of values as criteria against how a person evaluates others is the basis for the research questions of this study aiming to find out the values that influence perceptions on pro-environmental consumers.

Values are subjective and individual. They are goals directing our behaviour and life. “High-priority values are central to the self-concept. Sensing an opportunity to attain them sets off an automatic, positive, affective response to actions that will serve them.” (Schwartz 2006, p.13) One value might be of great importance to one but insignificant to someone else. Still people might have the same values, but as to their hierarchical nature these values can play a different role in motivation in perception of situations and people, signifying the individual ranking of values.

Schwartz’s theory of basic values unifies other theories of human motivation, needs and goals. The theory comprises 10 basic values, which, according to Schwartz, help people to manage their day to day needs, “requirements of human existence” which include individual biological needs, social interaction and the welfare of groups. The values are described here as Schwartz (2012) has defined them:

- **Self-direction** value motivates independence, freedom, creativity, intelligence, curiosity and a person who values self-direction appreciates choosing one’s own goals and privacy.

- **Stimulation** value type’s defining goals are excitement, novelty, and challenge in life. A person cherishing stimulation looks for variation and excitement in life and can be described daring.

- **Hedonism** is defined with motivations to seek pleasure and sensuous gratification and hedonistic people are associated with self-indulgent.

- **Achievement** motivates for pursue of personal success and demonstrating ones competence in accordance to social standards and gaining social approval (Schawartz 2012). This value type value associates (along with power) with status pursue as it is understood in this study- in form of social recognition and influence.

- **Power** values defining goals are social status and wealth as well as dominance over people and resources. It is associated with maintaining public image and social recognition. Social esteem is present in both values types Achievement and Power though achievement accentuates successful
performance demonstration and power values highlight prestige and being at the forefront in society.

Security values goals are harmony, safety and stability within oneself, in individual relationships as well as in society in general. It is associated with moderation, healthiness and the sense of belonging.

Conformity values are defined with inhibiting of actions and impulses that violate social norm. Conformity also considers restraining from action that upsets or harms others. Conformity is associated with self-restraining behaviour, being responsible and obedient and honouring elders.

Tradition is a value type which is defined by a person’s commitment and respect to his/her cultural ideas or religion. It is associated with practices and symbols as well as beliefs which become valued as customs and traditions as a way to express shared experiences, solidarity of that group. Tradition values are often typified with humbleness, devotion and accepting one’s role in life. Tradition and conformity values have similarities in that both require subordination of one in order to fulfil social expectations. The difference is in for whom one restrains one’s behaviour. In case of conformity the object is parent, teachers and bosses for example. In tradition values the objects are more abstract: religion, cultural customs and ideas. Conformity demands subordination to current expectations which can also vary and change whereas tradition values require behaving according to invariant norms and expectations set in the past.

Benevolence values are concerned about enhancement and preservation of welfare of one’s in-group, the ones whom a person is in frequent contact with: Family, friends, colleagues and so on. It motivates helpful, responsible, forgiving and honest behaviour and is associated with true friendship and mature love as well as finding the meaning in life. Benevolence has some parallel features with security and conformity values. The sense of belonging is part of benevolence as it is of security values. Benevolence and conformity have similarities in emphasising co-operation and supporting social relationships. The difference is however, that benevolence’s concern for others and sustaining social relations is voluntary and intrinsic motivation whereas in the case of conformity the motivational base is in avoidance of negative outcomes for one self. However both can result in same constructive behaviour.

Universalism values defining goals are understanding, tolerance and appreciation and protection for the welfare of all people and nature. The difference between benevolence and universalism is the focus on in-group of benevolence values. Universalism is associated with broadmindedness, egalitarianism, unity with nature, protecting the environment and wisdom.

The 10 basic value types are presented in the table below to clarify the different levels of motivations and the universal domain that the value belongs to. This domain enables examination of the values in cross cultural contexts (Puohiniemi 1995). The motivational goals are listed next to value type as description of the value and in the third column are the four types of underlying motivations which are: Openness to change, self-enhancement,
conservation and self-transcendence and the domains which are divided into two: individualistic; valuing independence and freedom of thought: concerns persuasion of one’s own interest. The other domain is collectivist referring to cultural notion of feeling duty towards one’s in-group and concerns interest of others. In the table is noticeable that two value types: Security and Universalism are overlapping both domains. These values mainly relate with concern for others but do also regulate seeking of one’s own interests.

Table 1 Values, motivational goals of value and the value domain. Table modified from Schwartz 1992; 1996

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Value types</th>
<th>Motivational goal</th>
<th>Underlying motivation (motivation type)</th>
<th>Domain</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Self-direction</td>
<td>creativity, independent thought and action, choosing own goals, freedom, exploring</td>
<td>openness to change</td>
<td>individualistic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stimulation</td>
<td>excitement in life, novelty and challenge in life, taking risks</td>
<td>openness to change</td>
<td>individualistic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hedonism</td>
<td>pleasure and sensuous gratification for oneself</td>
<td>Openness to change/ self-enhancement</td>
<td>individualistic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Achievement</td>
<td>personal success through demonstrating competence according to social standards</td>
<td>self-enhancement</td>
<td>individualistic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Power</td>
<td>Authority and social status and prestige, control or dominance over people and resources</td>
<td>self-enhancement</td>
<td>individualistic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Security</td>
<td>Social order, safety, harmony and stability of society of</td>
<td>Conservation</td>
<td>individualistic and collectivist</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Relationships and Self

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conformity</th>
<th>Obedience, restraint of actions, inclinations, and impulses like to upset or harm others and violate social expectations or norms</th>
<th>Conservation</th>
<th>collectivist</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tradition</td>
<td>Humility, respect, devoutness and acceptance of the customs and ideas that traditional culture or religion provide the self.</td>
<td>Conservation</td>
<td>collectivist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benevolence</td>
<td>helpfulness, preserving and enhancing the welfare of those with whom one is in frequent personal contact (the in group)</td>
<td>Self-transcendence</td>
<td>collectivist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Universalism</td>
<td>Social justice and equality, understanding, appreciation, tolerance and protection for the welfare of all people and for nature,</td>
<td>Self-transcendence</td>
<td>individualistic and collectivist</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The relations of values, their motivational compatibilities and contrasts underlying them form a circular pattern. Through this circular model the contrasts of values can be examined.

The circular form allows the examination of the opposing dimensions and value types: Self-Transcendence values Universalism and Benevolence oppose the Self-Enhancement dimension which includes the value types Achievement and Power. The former two values represent for example concern...
for others equality and unity with nature whereas the latter value types involve the pursuing one’s own interests.

Openness to Change with the values of self-Direction and Stimulation and Conservation including the values Conformity, Tradition and Security are the other two opposing dimensions. The conservation values emphasize self-restriction and objection to change whereas the values in the Openness to Change dimension emphasize Independent thought and seeking new experiences in life. For example a person who cherishes Self-Direction: Creativity and freedom in life probably does not regard Conformity associated with obedience as a very important value.

Motivations are powered by the conflicts that people experience in the interface of values adjacent and also opposing. Our behaviour then is fuelled by the sparks created between values and their priority positions within ourselves. Depending on the strength or the priority of the values and external influences and life situations participate also in the motivations and in the resulting behaviour (Schwartz 2012).

The ten value types arranging in the circular form creates and predictable model where a positively correlative value and behaviour or attitude will correlate less in descending order around the circle in both directions. (Schwartz 2012, p. 4-6)

![Schwartz circumplex, circular model or values construction. Figure from Schwartz 2012](image)
4.4 Values and pro-environmental behaviour

In previous decades researchers have mainly studied the connection between attitudes and behaviour in responsible consumption although the attitude-action gap seems to be difficult to explain with the attitude-behaviour theories as Casimir and Dutilh (2003) assert. The rational choice approach which is based on the attitude and behaviour theories often ignore the limitations of daily lives as well as social environment which are components that according to Schwartz form our values. Schwartz indeed makes a distinction between values and attitudes in how they can be observed and measured: When attitudes tend to evaluate objects (people, events, behaviour or specific objects) on scale of positive and negative, values "underlie our attitudes" (Schwartz 2012, p. 16) We have a positive attitude towards something if it "promotes or protects" the achievement of the life goal or goals that are important to us, in other words, what we value (Schwartz). In recent years values have been studied as motivators of consumption and of pro-environmental consumption behaviour although Pepper, Jackson and Uzzel (2009) note that values are quite distant when it comes to actual consumer behaviour but that they are important in studying the strength of the influence of values on behaviour. Especially the theory of basic values and values survey, created by Schwartz, has been used in research of consumer behaviour and sustainable consumer behaviour successfully in single cultures as well as cross-culturally (e.g. Puohiniemi 1995; Grunert and Juhl 1995; Gilg et al. 2005; Joronen 2009; Pepper et al. 2009).

Some sustainable consumer studies also include food consumption. For example Grunert & Juhl (1995) state that buying of organic food is linked to environmental concern. They found in their Danish study concerning buying organic food that environmental attitudes are positively associated with value types: Universalism and Benevolence. Universalism includes motivational goals: Social justice and equality, understanding, appreciation, tolerance and protection for the welfare of all people and for nature, accounting for feeling of unity with nature. Benevolence stands for: helpfulness, preserving and enhancing the welfare of those with whom one is in frequent personal contact (the in-group). Puohiniemi (1995) has verified the correlation between Universalism and pro-environmental action in his research on Finnish consumers’ values, attitudes and behaviour. Indeed, Schwartz has described Universalism with, among other things with protection of nature (see Schwartz’ SVS 1992). The underlying motivation for universalism and benevolence is self-transcendence.

Puohiniemi also confirmed that the value type Power is associated with attitudes and behaviour which are regardless of nature. In which case the person's individualistic desires rise above those of the collective. Power value is then disassociated with pro-environmentalism. Power value includes motivational goals of authority and social status and prestige, control or
dominance over people and resources and its underlying motivation is self-enhancement. Also Gilg et al. (2005) have confirmed that the values cherished by green consumers are the altruistic and unity values emphasizing equality with nature and non-environmentalists value more power, wealth and personal influence.

Thus based on the findings of researchers, it seems that there is a positive relation between altruistic attributes and the positive attitude towards environmental protection and buying organic food (Grunert and Juhl 1995; Puohiniemi 1995; Vermeir & Verbeke 2005; Joronen 2009, p. 55). As a rule, sustainable consumption is associated in literature with universalism, benevolence, equality, freedom and also with self-direction and idealism. Whilst the less ethical or non-sustainable consumption is associated with values: hedonism, power, tradition, security and conformity (Vermeir & Verbeke 2004).

Altruistic people are clearly more interested in environmental issues where as egoistic and hedonistic people are found to be least interested in the environment (Puohiniemi 1995). Puohiniemi specifies that according to his findings the value base for pro-environmental behaviour is narrow although it is concrete. The narrow-ness refers to his finding that only two value items of Universalism (Unity with nature and protecting the environment) could be seen to be involved with pro-environmental behaviour. Also only one Power item (Wealth) clearly correlated negatively in his research (Puohiniemi 1995, p. 99-101). Joronen (2009 p. 58) also notices that in order to motivate and realise the action the values need to be strong enough.

The researchers above have measured the values of people who report pro-environmental consumer habits or intentions but as discussed in the previous sections concerning the postmodern society’s trends on naturalness and ethical consumption including the good life, good food, healthiness and combining these in social circles with status pursuit, draws attention to contradictions between findings of researchers emphasising either social-psychological principles or evolutionary psychology principles. The contradictions concern the role of hedonism which motivational goals are pleasure and sensuous gratification and the concept of status pursuit in conspicuous consumption and competitive altruism. Status pursuit is associated with egoism, achievement and power values that have been found to be possible motivations for pro-environmental consumption decisions (See e.g. Salonen 2014: Hinton & Goodman 2009).

Joronen (2009) acknowledges another issue in reference to Lähteenmaa that sustainable consumption could also be explained with hedonistic altruism which means that serving the common good can give the person a sense of gratification and satisfaction. Joronen further asserts that motives for sustainable consumption are not necessarily descriptions of their altruistic tendencies but can also rise from concerns about one’s own health and wellbeing thus accounting also security as one of the value types associated with sustainable consumption, in this case particularly buying organic food. Her study reflects the state of peoples’ apprehensions of the safeness of food
globally nowadays. People are increasingly and globally aware and worried about spread of animal borne diseases such as foot and mouth, bovine spongiform encephalopathy (mad cow disease) or avian flu. The harmful effects on people that pesticides in crops and excessive amounts of hormones and antibiotics used in animal husbandry were also found to be motives for buying organic food. (Joronen 2009, p. 59) Pepper et al. (2009) recount that pro-environmental consumption, (frugality as their interest) seems to express conformity/tradition and universalism values.

4.5 Summarising key literature

Studying the perceptions on organic consumers is hoped to offer a peak through the narrow opening of understanding people’s motivations for organic food consumption. For the understanding the motivational basis for pro-environmental consumption the signalling theory provides a way to study the behaviour as it is seen by others. This is important because of the missing information and contradictions found when values and attitudes have been studied as motivators. On the other hand pro-environmental consumption is strongly associated with altruism but in recent research also with status pursue which are alluringly bipolar.

There are notions about changes in cultural values and shifts in ways people pursue status in our postmodern society where consumption on the whole is so highly emphasized. In case of status motive being activated: in situations where one can find it beneficial to be perceived as altruistic, responsible, trendy or wealthy, a person is more likely to act pro-environmentally and in a consumption context, choose an ecological product over more luxurious conventional product (Hardy and Van Vugt 2006; Van Vugt and Iredale 2012). Griskevicius et al. (2007, 2010) find that people are inclined to distinguish responsibility with status seeking.

The signalling theory provides information on how certain behaviour can signal hidden attributes, for example status and the ones mentioned above, that provide benefits to the signaller but also to the receiver. The theory emphasizes honesty in communication (Bird & Smith 2005; Han, Nunes & Dreze 2010). Signalling theory examines communication between individuals and between individual and society. It is used in research on pro-environmental behaviour by combining economic, social and evolutionary approaches as is done also in this study.

Conspicuous consumption is a theory in the evolutionary psychology principle aiming to contribute to explaining reasons why people consume lavishly and in what kinds of situations they do so. According to research, people seem to find lavish consumers more trustworthy, attractive and successful (Bird & Smith 2005). These traits are associated also with values: power, self-enhancement, hedonism and stimulation according the Schwartz’s
values model. The values are motivated by openness to change and self-enhancement and belong to the individualistic domain (Schwartz, 1992-2012; Puohiniemi 1995), indicating self-interest, narcissism and hedonism (Sundie et al. 2011). The evolutionary theory explains these winning attributes with evolutonal survival of individuals and highlights the importance to try to find ways engaging these features to promote sustainable consumption.

With the increasing awareness of the consumption patterns of our society’s and individual’s influence to natural world and other people, conspicuous consumption has become a form of competitive altruism. Competitive altruism is a “process through which individuals attempt to out-compete each other in terms of generosity.” (Hardy and Van Vugt 2006, p. 2).

Generosity as a trait is desirable because it enhances our status and with status we are able to gain benefits that would otherwise not be available to us. By purchasing the organic product the individual is showing that they are able to bear the costs of attaining the product by investing extra resources such as money and time. Purchase of an expensive and flashy car will signal the wealth of a man but a public contribution of doing good will also signal that not only is this person a wealthy one but he is willing to share his wealth. Thus signalling personality traits such as trustworthiness, caring and nurturing beneficial both in personal relationships and status pursue or preservation.

Lundahl (2012) separates two kinds of status based motives for pro-environmental consumption: considering ecological goods and responsible consumption important and close to the self and the other one based on being part of a trend. Casimir & Dutihl (2008), note that our culture is built on consumption. It is impossible to return to a past culture where seasonal vegetables were consumed and purchased locally. This could influence people’s desire for local and organic foods and also have an effect on how people perceive consumers of local or organic foods. The low accessibility of fresh home-grown food may influence both the desire to purchase those products as well as the perceptions are more tuned to pro-sociality. They also point that mundane daily shopping is based on routines, beliefs and values (p. 323).

One area of interest in this study is in signalling potential of pro-social attributes with organic meat products. It is accepted that organic food products are used to signal pro-sociality and this study attempts to find out whether the signals are perceived correctly with pro-social attributes: caring, altruistic and nice defined by Griskevicius et al (2010). Based on competitive altruism and conspicuous conservation, it is assumed that organic food especially organic meat is perceived pro-socially. The other area of interest is the values influencing these perceptions.

Purchasing organic food is linked to environmental concern (Grunert & Juhl 1995) which is linked to certain values that a person cherishes. Schwartz’s theory of basic values has been successful in research on, generally consumer behaviour as well as sustainable consumer behaviour in single cultures as well as cross-culturally. (e.g. Puohiniemi 1995; Grunert and Juh 1995; Joronen 2009; Pepper et.al 2009).
Values are defined by Schawartz (1992, p.1) as “the criteria people use to select and justify actions and to evaluate people (including the self) and events.” Values are subjective and individual. They are goals directing our behaviour and life. Values are hierarchical in nature meaning that even if people have same values their importance in influencing behaviour and perceptions on situations and people around differs from person to person. This notion is interesting in consideration of this study as correlations between the respondents’ values and their perceptions on organic consumers are examined. Although, values are considered to be very stable throughout life, according to Schwartz values are formed with development of life circumstances and can change as life situations change. Societal changes and changes in culture also influence the value priorities. Also culture and generation influence value shaping. Schwartz (2012) lists among other things gender, age and education as back ground variables which can determine life circumstances which in turn affect value prioritizing. Women for example are found to have stronger pro-environmental values compared to men (Xiao & McCright 2015).

The theory of basic values categorizes 10 value domains: self-direction, stimulation, hedonism, achievement, power, security, conformity, tradition, benevolence and universalism. The relations of values, their motivational compatibilities and contrasts underlying them form a circular pattern. Through this circular model the contrasts of values can be examined. The circular form allows the examination of the opposing dimensions and value types. Traditionally environmental attitudes are positively associated with motivational domains Universality and Benevolence. (Puohiniemi 1995; Grunert & Juhl 1995). Universalism and benevolence belong to the dimension of self-transcendence. They oppose the values achievement and power belonging to the dimension Self-enhancement. The other two dimensions opposing each other are openness to change and conservation. Openness to change includes values self-direction and stimulation and has also reflection on hedonism. The latter includes conformity, tradition and security.

According to Schwartz (2012) motivations to behaviour are powered by conflicts people face in the interface of values that are either adjacent or opposite. The circular model enables prediction where a value and behaviour (or an attitude) that correlate with each other are adjacent to each other. The correlation then decreases in descending order around the circle in both directions. Values influence the forming of perception on others in a similar way that they motivate behaviour. This study is interested in influence that values have on perceptions about other people in pro-environmental consumer context to examine to whom the pro-environmental signal resonates positively. The circular model created by Schwartz can be used to locate the values domains of the respondents and to make comparisons to values of Finnish consumers’ in general as Puohiniemi (1995) has defined them.

The areas of interests in this study are in signalling potential of pro-social attributes with organic meat products. Organic food products can convey pro-social signals and this study attempts to find out whether the signals are
perceived correctly by asking the respondents their perceptions on organic food consumers. The other interest is in finding out about the values of the perceiver. Because it is assumed that organic bacon consumer is perceived pro-social based on previous literature, it is hoped that the values will give insight into understanding the motivations for sustainable consumption being perceived in such a manner and give a glimpse of who are those positive perceivers. The image below demonstrates the combination of theories on which this study is based on: The theory of basic values and the signalling theory that emphasises the mutual benefits of honest signalling to both, the signaller and the signal receiver.

Figure 2 The combination of signalling theory and theory of basic values in this study
5 METHODOLOGICAL CHOISES

5.1 Research design

Because the study is used as pilot research for more comprehensive research done by the universities of Helsinki, Jyväskylä and Vaasa, the research method was already established for the pilot. The method influenced the form of the research questions although the overall aim and the concentration to meat products were composed from the author’s interests, literature and the current prevalence of the topic. All the data gathered with the survey form is not used in this study but serves the purposes of other researchers.

The two main substance of interest in this study is pro-social / pro-environmental behaviour and values. The manner of approach is to examine peoples’ perception about those who favour organic meat products. The meat product chosen for the study is a more mundane meat product, bacon. Bacon as product is very different to the products Giriskevicius et al. (2010) used in their study as they were expensive products, and most of them would need consideration when purchased whereas bacon is an ordinary grocery good. Bacon is also very unappealing to some people. However, the results were expected to support the findings of Griskevicius et al. (2010) that users of organic bacon would be interpreted pro-social (Findings emphasising attributes, caring, altruistic and nice).

Secondly the interest was to find any significant values or combinations of values which correlate with the sum variable pro-social that was combined from the three attributes: caring, altruistic and nice. A visible pattern formed from the correlations between values and perceptions were hoped to find. This chapter will go through the research explaining what was done and why the methods were chosen as well as how the study and the analyses were conducted.
5.2 Quantitative research

Quantitative research methods are used in this study to collect data and to analyse it. Quantitative research is defined by Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill (2009 p.145) a synonym for any data collection technique (such as a questionnaire) or data analysis procedure (such as graphs or statistics) that generates or uses numerical data.” Creswell (2009, p. 4) itemises that the collection of data in quantitative research is done either by experiments or surveys. The collection of data in this study is carried out by two sets of internet surveys, which produce numerical data. A survey fits to the purpose of the research well as it provides numeric description of trends, attitudes or opinions (Creswell 2009 p.145). The perceptions that are measured in this study can be measured and treated in a similar way to attitudes and opinions. Also examining values hierarchical importance and their correlative relationship with the perceptions is most convenient and reliable by using numerical data.

Quantitative methods were chosen because numerical data allows calculations of average values finding out correlations and repetitions that could form groups or a pattern and then provide descriptions for the research questions and comparisons of the findings between respondents as well as with previous research. Also the quite large size of the population influences the use of quantitative methods and using numerical data collection rather than qualitative methods as numerical data is easier and quicker to treat than verbal data.

5.3 Data collection

Data was collected through internet survey with survey program SPSS MrInterview in October 2014. Internet provides a way to collect a wide range of data at minimal costs. As the population that was wanted for the pilot study are people in the Helsinki area and the author of this study is based in Jyväskylä, it was convenient to conduct the survey on the internet. The SPSS MrInterview is well suited for collecting data from large populations. Analysing was done with SPSS analysing programme. MrInterview is convenient tool as it converted the data from the survey to SPSS data form.

The study was distributed to the students of social sciences of University of Helsinki as well as students of International business student of Aalto University. 10 gift vouchers worth 20 Euro to grocery stores in the Helsinki area were raffled among the participants in order to attract more respondents. The gift vouchers were paid by the University of Jyväskylä. Those respondents who were willing to participate could leave their contact information at the end of the questionnaire.

The other part of the data used in this study was collected during the summer 2014 with the same survey form using the FoodWest (FW) panel in the
Helsinki area. FoodWest is a developing company owned by companies in the Food industry and municipalities in the Southern Ostrobothnia. The panellists are pre-recruited by FW and they conducted the survey with their own internet based survey program.

5.4 Survey as a method

A survey can be used to collect and examine data about different phenomenon in the society such as human behaviour and action, opinions, attitudes and values. The survey form works as an agent between the researcher and the respondents. The survey is also a versatile measurement tool that can be used in many different situations from opinion polls conducted on the high street to aptitude tests conducted in application situations or on the internet as is the case often today and also with this study. A survey form can be used also as an interview. And in the English language the word survey is used to mean both an interview and questionnaire. In the case of a questionnaire survey, the form itself has to work on its own (Vehkalahti 2014). The researcher or interviewee is not necessarily present to give guidance to how to fill the form or clarify the questions to the respondent. So the questionnaire form has to be well prepared and designed very simply and clear in order not to confuse the respondents and to motivate the respondents to answer to all the necessary questions. In this study the word used is a survey.

Survey as a measurement tool means the collection of questions and claims that aim to measure for example attitudes or values to a social phenomenon. Measurements can be developed for the survey in question or ready measurements and scales can be used (Vehkalahti 2014) Vehkalahti recommends caution in using ready indicators for their operability is not self-evident in changing societal situations and phenomenon. Questionnaires are usually tools for quantitative research and the questions are answered in numerical form. Verbal answers can also be given to further explain some answers or for additional information. Even though the collection of data and the data handling is often quite mechanical in quantitative research, the analysing process and applying the information gained requires manual work and understanding and embracing the analysing programs and ability to analyse the results conducted by the programs used (Vehkalahti 2014).

Internet survey allows a larger sample of the population to be examined with minimal costs. Using an internet survey is also practical when the population is far or geographically diverse. Internet based surveys also facilitates reaching demographically diverse populations as well as very specific groups of the population (Whitley & Kite 2013; Maronic 2011). An often used form of internet survey, used also in this study, is to convert a paper form to a web-based survey. This kind of survey is called a translational approach in which the potential participants are directed to a link to the survey and the interested people can then with a click go on to new pages where the data is
collected. The participants then submit the data and a debriefing page becomes visible through which they can exit the survey (Whitley & Kite 2013). Data validity of internet based surveys has been discussed and research encouragingly suggests that the data collected via the internet is of the same or sometimes even superior quality to well conducted paper and pencil surveys (Whitley & Kite 2013, p. 505).

The internal validity in internet survey or experiment is according to literature not a problem as the participants are not in interaction with the experimenter or survey conductor. With internal validity is usually meant the confidence that a study results are due to the effects of the independent variable in the study (Whitley & Kite 2013, p. 186). In the case of a survey or an interview this would mean the specifically the interaction; exchange of thoughts or body language between the survey conductor/interviewee and the participant which can conclude to participants feeling pressure of social desirability and response bias (Maronic 2011; Whitley & Kite 2013, p. 507). What should also be noted with validity of online surveys is that people are often found to behave in a freer manner on the internet which may result in different kinds of answers to a survey where an interviewee or a survey conductor is present. Some studies suggest that the response rate to sensitive or socially difficult questions is better in internet studies because of the anonymity (Whitley & Kite 2013, p. 508).

The limitations and disadvantages of an internet survey concern, according to Whitley and Kite, sampling of participants, which often in Internet studies over represent whites, young people and parents. The other issue is the lack of control over the data collection environment. Neither of these factors are not really an issue in consideration of this study as the sampling of the study was hoped to be quite homogeneous meaning Finnish people living in the Helsinki area. The pilot was supposed to have students as participants although in consideration of only this study as an individual case, also representation of also elder people would have been an advantage. The control over environment usually concerns experimental research thus raises no problem in this survey study.

5.5 Population

The sampling design of the population resembles cluster sampling but is not straightforwardly definable as one. In cluster sampling or multistage sampling the first step is to identify clusters (groups or organisations) acquiring the names of the individuals in those clusters and then sample them (Creswell, 2009 p. 148) In this study the clusters were defined but the individuals could not be identified nor was there need to do so as the study could and was meaningful to conduct anonymously using an internet survey.

The survey invitation was sent to all students who belong to the faculty of social sciences in the University of Helsinki and all international business
students of Aalto University in the Mikkeli Unit. The number of people that the
survey invitation was sent to is not known as it was distributed through
mailing lists and for privacy reasons the faculties would not give out the any
details about the students.

The population was chosen for it was assumed that the social sciences
students form a group that is quite homogeneous in consideration of age,
geography and knowledge about the foodstuffs presented in the questionnaire.
The University of Helsinki is a popular university it has students from various
geographical back-grounds, although nearly all of them would be living in the
Helsinki area. Living in the Helsinki area was assumed to give an advantage in
being familiar with the organic products in the survey as Helsinki as a large city
in Finnish context and probably offers more organic product alternatives in
shops than smaller towns.

The business students of Aalto University were chosen to give a
possibility to com-pare the results between two kinds of student groups. Unfortunately the business students were not very keen on taking part in the
survey (14 participants) so the comparisons between educational choices cannot
be considered a valuable variable in this research although it can be examined
for interest and guidance. The survey was in Finnish so it is assumed that the
participants are Finnish or are at least Finnish speaking and therefore
customised in Finnish culture. It is noted that the population living in the
Helsinki area does not represent the population in the whole of Finland.

The first round of the questionnaire did not provide sufficient amount of
responds to some of the forms because of the alphabetical sampling for the
questionnaires. The overall amount of responds was 120 which could be
considered a sufficient amount of data but variation between the forms was
wide. For example the form 6 only got five responds because the instructions
for the participants were to open up a link to a survey that represented the first
letter of their surname.

- Form 1: A-E
- Form 2: F-J
- Form 3: K-N
- Form 4: O-R
- Form 5: S-X
- Form 6: Y-Ö

The survey was there for repeated and on the second round the sufficient
amount of data was collected (n= 20 at least for each form). The forms gathered
answers as following:

- Form 1: 36resp
- Form 2: 27resp
- Form 3: 44resp
- Form 4: 32resp
Because of the low respond rate of men in the survey, the data was combined with data gathered using the same survey but from a different group. The group of FoodWest (FW) (n=259) who were pre-recruited participants. Using this kind of panellists as participants is common and effective because they often provide higher response rates, for the incentives for the participants (Maronic 2011). The survey was similarly an internet survey.

From the students 187 responded to the survey (altogether 6 forms). Unfortunately the rate of people who did not respond is not known and this is one of lacking of internet surveys.

In this population females are over represented (female n=156 and male=31). The gender representation in the population of Food-West is quite even (female n=132 and male n=127). The two data were combined because of the unevenness of the gender distribution in the student data and the use of even smaller population in examination of organic bacon specifically. Because of the design of the data collection one third of the participant answered the questions concerning meat products. So out of 446 participants’ altogether, 164 people answered the questions where bacon was the interest (88 responds for organic bacon / 76 responds for conventional bacon). After combining the two data from FW and students, the gender distribution is still uneven with 109 female respondents and 55 male respondents but using both data will give more meaning to examine the results.

5.5.1 Background information on the participants

The sample considered in this study is separated from the overall population of the survey, because the interest is only on the respondents who answered the surveys number 3 and 4 which contained the questions about the organic bacon (survey form: 3) and the conventional bacon (survey form: 4). The sample is the sum of the student respondents and the respondents of the FoodWest panel to those two forms. The background information of the respondents to those two survey forms is presented below.

The most common year of birth in participants answering the organic meat form (form3 both student and FW data) was 1991 (7 people). The youngest person was born in 1995 and the oldest person was born in 1946. Nearly half of the participants were born between 1995-1986 (47, 7%). Most of the population were in their 20’s at the time of the survey. The other half of the group were more dispersed; 23, 6% of the participants were born between 1984-1961 and the rest of the people 21, 5% were born between 1959-1946. The ages least represented in this population were the people in their 30’s (only 6 people)

According to the postcodes, nearly all participants lived in Helsinki or in the Helsinki area, which was the target area for the research. 44% of the participants lived in a household of 1 person and 38.5% lived in households of
two people in the student data and on average 23% lived alone in the FoodWest data. The FoodWest participants mostly lived with one other person or with a family. The student participants were mostly low-income female students who lived alone or with one other person.

Most common income category was the lowest one: 0-14999€ in the student data and in the FoodWest data the most common one was the fourth category earning 40000-69999€ in a year.

In the Student data, only five persons reported being vegetarian. In the FoodWest data this was not specified.

In the table below are presented the background variables of the respondents. The values are reported in percentage.

Table 2: Background variables of participants in percentages. Students n=76, FW n=88, combination of organic and conventional bacon forms: 3&4 n=164, organic bacon data: students and FW n=88

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Students</th>
<th>FoodWest</th>
<th>Questionnaires</th>
<th>Questionnaires</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n=76</td>
<td>n=88</td>
<td>3&amp;4, students</td>
<td>3 (organic</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&amp; FW n=164</td>
<td>bacon), students &amp; FW n=88 *</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gender (people)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>male</td>
<td>14,5</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>33,5</td>
<td>29,5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>female</td>
<td>85,5</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>66,5</td>
<td>70,5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Most common year of birth</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989 (13, 2%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1953 (6, 8%)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1989 (6, 1%)</td>
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<tr>
<td>1991 (8, 0%)</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Size of household</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1person</td>
<td>47,4</td>
<td>22,7</td>
<td>34,1</td>
<td>37,5</td>
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<tr>
<td>2persons</td>
<td>34,2</td>
<td>39,8</td>
<td>37,2</td>
<td>35,2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 people or more</td>
<td>18,4</td>
<td>37,5</td>
<td>19,3</td>
<td>27,2</td>
</tr>
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<td>pre-tax income of household in a year /€</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>0 - 14999</td>
<td>44,7</td>
<td>5,7</td>
<td>23,8</td>
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<td>18,2</td>
<td>20,1</td>
<td>20,5</td>
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<tr>
<td>40000 – 69999</td>
<td>7,9</td>
<td>26,1</td>
<td>17,7</td>
<td>15,9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5.6 The survey

The questionnaire consisted of two main parts. In the first part the participants were asked to give their interpretations on how they perceive a person who consumes certain types of food products. In the second part, the participants were asked to describe themselves as a person and a consumer. The survey was divided further into parts from A to F altogether as follows:

A) Background information
B) Perceptions on a regular consumer of five different food products.
C) Conspicuousness/identification of the products
D) Attitude towards the product
E) Diet= vegetarian or mixed food
F) Food Related Lifestyle Survey
G) Values
Additional questions and contact information

For this study the parts A, B, D and G were examined.

Participants answering to the questions of interest in this study answered the surveys number 3 and 4. Survey number 3 contained the question about perceptions on a consumer of organic bacon and survey number 4 contained the question about perceptions on a consumer of conventional bacon. In other parts the surveys are identical.

5.6.1 Measuring perceptions with Osgood scale

All questions, excluding the last question in the forms where the participant could write his/her thoughts about the survey, were closed questions. The perceptions on the consumer of organic bacon and on consumer of conventional bacon were measured on the Osgood scale which asks the respondent to choose a number that best describes their attitude or opinion between two opposing adjectives. Measurement scales are used in hope to find differences between observation units or respondents. Osgood scale is a traditional attitude measurement scale used in business and market research for example in product and business description studies (Vilkka 2007). The Osgood
scale is an ordinal measurement scale, which allows groupings and defining order of differences (Vilkka 2007). It is a fitting scale for defining the extent to which people perceive other consumers’ pro-sociality.

In the table below are presented the questions in the survey in Finnish and translation in English about the perception on regular consumer of HK American bacon organic (HK:n Amerikan pekoni luomu) and the other one measuring the perceptions on the regular consumer of conventionally produced HK American bacon (HK:n Amerikan pekoni).

Table 3 Original questions and the English translations about the perceptions on organic bacon user and conventional bacon user

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original question in Finnish</th>
<th>English translation of the question</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>the description</td>
<td>In the next section you get to answer How would you perceive a person regularly favouring the following food products? Tick in every 8 adjective pairs on scale 1-9 the option that best describes the favourer of the certain food. Please be honest.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Question B1</strong> (survey form: 3) HK:n amerikan pekoni luomun vakiokäyttäjää voi mielestäni luonnehtia: …See image (No: Organic bacon) below</td>
<td>A regular user of HK American bacon organic can in my opinion be described as: …See image (No: Organic bacon)below</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question B1 (Survey form: 4) HK:n Amerikan pekonin vakiokäyttäjää voi mielestäni luonnehtia: … See image (No: Organic bacon) below</td>
<td>A regular user of HK American bacon can in my opinion be described as: …See image (No: Organic bacon)below</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Below is an image of the question on perception about a user of organic bacon as an example of how the questions were presented in the MrInterview internet survey.

1. HK:n Amerikan pekoni luomon vakiokäyttäjää voi mielestäni liuonnichtia:

As discussed earlier the adjective pairs Nonchallant/ Caring (välinpitämättömäksi/välttäväksi), Self-centered/ Altruistic (itsekkääksi/epätsekkääksi) and Unpleasant/Nice (epäystävälliseksi/ystävälliseksi) were chosen for the survey in accordance to findings of Griskevicius et al. (2010). The other five adjective pairs are filler questions. In the fillers the Aaker’s scale on brand personality dimensions were used (See Aaker 1997). The method copied directly from Griskevicius, Tybur and Van den Bergh (2010) could not be used in this study because they only used three different products including a wide product description per participant group. This method does not allow examination of wide range of products that was required from the study as a pilot study and it would also give away the researchers’ interest in specifically perceptions on the users of organic products. This detail was not given to the participants as it might have altered the answers respondents gave and thus not given enough and valid information. This notion is based on the observations on the emotionality in the prevailing discussions about organic food and meat consumption.

After answering to the question B1 on bacon the respondents continued to answer the same question on four other products which were filler questions. The other products in both survey forms were: Chiquita bananas, Juustoportin kevyt leipäjuusto (Juustoportti’s Finnish squeaky cheese light), Rainbow Natural A-B yogurt (in form 3 the yogurt was the organic version of the same product) and Atria Sirloin steak. The filler products were same in all the survey forms. The fillers were chosen on the grounds of being regular products that people would recognize. There were also status products such as the sirloin...
steak as well as light products such as the Juustopartti kevyt leipäjuusto for to disguise the fact that organic products were the special interest in the study.

5.6.2 Portrait Values Questionnaire (PVQ)

The setting for the second research question was more complex. How do a person’s values influence the way s/he interpreters pro-environmental consumption habits? In order to find out the values the respondents cherish a concise form of the Schwartz Values Survey, the Portrait Values Questionnaire (Schwartz et al. 2001) was conducted as part of the survey (part G). The PVQ was a logical choice for this study as the theory behind this research uses Schwartz’s values model on which the PVQ is based. The PVQ is also widely used in values research. For example the European Social Survey uses it in its biannual research that aims to identify and explain attitudes towards issues concerning culture as well as social and political issues within European people (European Social Survey 2013).

The PVQ was developed as there was no consensus on the content and structure that the values relations have and the lack of reliable tool for their measurement (Data Database, 2015). The PVQ is based on the ten basic values under which portraits of the specific values are given in social explanatory phrases. For example the value BENEVOLENCE is portrayed with the following phrases: Preservation and enhancement of the welfare of people with whom one is in frequent personal contact. (helpful, honest, forgiving, loyal, responsible). The respondents are requested to give an answer on scale 1 to 7 on how important the values are to them: 1 not important and 7 very important. (see appendix NO for the values questionnaire)

The PVQ was used in this study to find out motivational values that are present in forming perceptions on other people (in this case, the organic bacon consumer). In this study 49 Portrait value items altogether were used to explain the 10 value types. As the survey was conducted in Finnish (appendix is also in Finnish), the questions in the survey are in English below

How important the following values are to you? Respond on scale 1 to 7 in which 1–1 = Not important and 7 = extremely important. Mark “X” for the right alternative.

1. POWER: control or dominance over people and resources, Prestige, social status, wealth

2. ACHIEVEMENT: Personal success, competence, ambitious, hardworking, successful, capable, influential

3. HEDONISM: Pleasure and sensuous gratification for oneself, self-indulgence, enjoying life
4. **STIMULATION:** Excitement, Novelty and challenge in life, daring, a varied life

5. **SELF-DIRECTION:** Creativity, freedom, curious, independent, Choosing own goals

6. **UNIVERSALISM:** broadminded, a world of beauty, social justice, a world at peace, equality, wisdom, protecting the environment

7. **BENEVOLENCE:** helpful, honest, forgiving, loyal, responsible, friendship

8. **TRADITION:** respect for tradition, humble, accepting my portion in life, devout for religion, moderate*

9. **CONFORMITY:** obedient, honoring parents and elders, self, discipline, politeness

10. **SECURITY:** national security, family security, social order, clean, reciprocation of favors

* Moderate translates in Finnish as kohtuullisuus, maltillinen both words were used in the survey.

### 5.6.3 The pilot survey

Before the initial data collection a pilot survey was conducted in August 2014 to see how the survey form would work out. To find out whether it was too heavy with seven different parts and being 12 pages long, as well as to see how the analyzing program SPSS could process the data. The pilot was sent to 60 students of Jyväskylä School of business and Economics (JSBE) by email in July. As the students of JSBE are culturally diverse group and many do not speak Finnish as a first language, two slightly different versions were sent out. In the English version of the survey the variable of interest used were Atria Sirloin-steak-Organic and HK’s American bacon (conventional product) and in the Finnish version HK’s Organic American bacon and Atria Sirloin steak (conventional product). Otherwise the content of the survey was the same. The actual survey that was conducted later in the autumn of 2014 the language is Finnish and there 6 different survey forms which each contain different variables of interest.

Six students responded to the survey which was far less than expected. Also respondent number 3 had to be deleted because of uncompleted questionnaire. The reason for the low respond rate might have been the poor timing as July is the height of the holiday season. In addition to find out how the form worked, from the pilot was also expected to see whether there was any reference to consumers of organic meat products raising stronger feelings of
being more caring, altruistic, nice or sincere than the consumers of non-organic meat products. The results from the six respondents did show a difference as consumers of organic meat products did score higher in all 4 parameters than the consumers of non-organic meat products. Because of the low respond rate, the data from the pilot could not be considered having valid value. Still the data was analyzed to see if any guide of the results could be gathered in expectation of the survey to be conducted with the larger sample later on. The data was not run through an analyzing program SPSS but was calculated in a very simple manner manually and using Windows Excel. As mentioned the pilot survey holds no scientific value because of the low respondent rate, but still it did affect positively to the expectations of the survey to be conducted. Some mistakes in the layout were found in the pilot survey distributed to the University of Jyväskylä students and those were made sure not to enter the initial survey.

5.7 Research results and analysis

5.7.1 Organic bacon perceived pro-sociality

The first research question: “To what extent does people’s food consumption signal pro-social and pro-environmental behaviour? “ was examined with a question in the survey where people were asked to rank their perceptions on regular consumer of organic bacon or a regular consumer of bacon on scale 1 to 9. The interest was in the adjective pairs that formed the sum variable perceived pro-sociality: Organic Bacon Perceived Pro-sociality (OBPS) = Caring + Unselfish + Nice / 3. The reliability of the sum variable was tested with Cronbach’s alpha and found reliable with the value of, 752.

The closer the score is to number 9 the more caring, altruistic or nice the person evaluates a consumer of organic meat. The results were measured on each variable (attribute) independently and then the sum variable was calculated from the results.

Nonchalant (Välinpitämättömäksi) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Caring (Välittäväksi)
Self-centered (Itsekkääksi) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Altruistic (Epäitsekkääksi)
Unpleasant (Epäystävälliseksi) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Nice (Ystävälliseksi)

The tables (4, 5, 6 and 7) show the perceived Pro-sociality of people who regularly use an organic meat product (bacon) (university students n=44 + 32) The bigger average value is bolded. Significant statistical differences are marked with a star and the differences are written in brackets on the left. The statistical differences found using T-test. The Sum Variable = Caring + Unselfish + Nice / 3
From the results it is clear that the users of organic products on the whole and especially users of an organic meat product (bacon, in the middle) are perceived as more pro-social (sum variable) and also in singular attributes more caring and altruistic than users of conventional meat products and is in line with the findings of Griskevicius et al. (2010) of green consumer perception being pro-social as altruistic tendencies are associated with pro-sociality as discussed in the literature section. The results show significant statistical differences in variables caring and unselfish. With students also the variable unselfish scores significantly higher in the case of organic bacon user than in the case of conventional bacon user. In the FoodWest data there is a slight difference but it is not statistically significant. Users of organic bacon are also perceived slightly nicer but there is no statistical significance in that singular attribute.

The differences between men and women were analysed using t-test. Both men and women perceive the user of organic bacon more caring and unselfish. The difference between organic bacon user and conventional bacon user is more significant within women.

Table 4 Perceived pro-sociality of organic bacon users \( (n=40) \) and conventional bacon users \( (n=25) \) within female students

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Forms 3+4 ((n=40+25)) Women Students</th>
<th>Form 3 (2xorganic)</th>
<th>Form 4 (2xconventional)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Caring ( (n=40) )</td>
<td>5.15 (.000)*****</td>
<td>3.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Altruistic ( (n=40) )</td>
<td>4.85 (.001)****</td>
<td>3.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nice ( (n=40) )</td>
<td>5.20 (.261)</td>
<td>4.84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sum variable</strong> ( (CronAlp=.xxx) )</td>
<td>5.07 (.000)*****</td>
<td>3.95</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5 Perceived pro-sociality of organic bacon users \( (n=4) \) and conventional bacon users \( (n=7) \) within male students

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Forms3+4 ((n=4+7)) MEN students</th>
<th>Form3 (2xorganic)</th>
<th>Form4 (2xconventional)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Caring ( (n=4) )</td>
<td>5.50 (.006)****</td>
<td>2.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Altruistic ( (n=4) )</td>
<td>5.75 (.038)*</td>
<td>3.57</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 6 Perceived pro-sociality of organic bacon users (n=22) and conventional bacon users (n=22) within FW male panellists

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form: 3+4 (n=22+22) FW men</th>
<th>Form 3 (2xorganic)</th>
<th>Form 4 (2xconventional)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Organic bacon (HK) (n=22)</td>
<td>Conventional bacon (HK) (n=22)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caring</td>
<td>5.77 (.002)**</td>
<td>4.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Altruistic</td>
<td>5.14 (.364)</td>
<td>4.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nice</td>
<td>5.45 (.145)</td>
<td>4.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sum variable</strong></td>
<td>5.45 (.030)*</td>
<td>4.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(CronAlp=.xxx)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7 Perceived pro-sociality of organic bacon users (n=22) and conventional bacon users (n=22) within FW female panellists

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form: 3+4 (n=22+22) FW women</th>
<th>Form 2(xorganic)</th>
<th>Form 4 (2xconventional)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Organic bacon (HK) (n=22)</td>
<td>Conventional bacon (HK) (n=22)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caring</td>
<td>6.41 (.000)**</td>
<td>4.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Altruistic</td>
<td>5.45 (.101)</td>
<td>4.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nice</td>
<td>6.18 (.024)*</td>
<td>5.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sum variable</strong></td>
<td>6.02 (.001)**</td>
<td>4.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(CronAlp=.xxx)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The difference in students finding organic bacon consumers considerably more altruistic than the FW panel (no significance in the attribute in FW panel) raises a question whether there is a definable dependent variable that influences the difference in the result. The FW participants’ level of education is unknown so the variable altruistic was correlated with independent variable age. However, there was no significant correlation between the age groups and the attribute altruistic.
5.7.2 Values correlations

The second question: “How do a person’s values influence the way s/he interpreters pro-environmental consumption habits?” For the values measurement was used the Portrait Values Questionnaire as discussed earlier which is designed on Richter scale from 1 to 7. The respondents were requested to answer “How important are the following values to you? Answer on scale 1-7, where 1= not important and 7= very important.

To find out any correlations between values and the positive perception on organic bacon user the sum variable Organic Bacon Perceived Pro-sociality (OBPS) consisting from the attributes Caring, Altruistic and Nice was examined with nonparametric correlation analysis with all the ten values: Benevolence, Security, Hedonism, Self-direction, Universalism, Conformity, Stimulation, Achievement, Tradition and Power using Spearman correlation and two tailed significance. For this the two data FW and student data were combined producing n=88.

Four value types were discovered correlating with the pro-social perception on organic consumers. They were Hedonism, Tradition, Conformity and Security. The results were different to what could have been expected according to the literature: Competitive altruism, Conspicuous consumption and findings of recent research on status motives (see e.g. Griskevicius et al. 2010; Van Vugt & Iredale 2012). However, some research has found associations with hedonism and security values in decisions on consuming organic food and the results were expected to reflect security to some extent. The strength of the combination of the conservations values was a surprise however.

The results of the correlations between the ten values and the sum variable are shown in the table below in table 8. Because of the results were quite different and strongly pointing to other direction from the literature examined for the study, the data was split (students and FW) and rerun also separately. These results were indicating to the same values.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Value</th>
<th>Organic Bacon Perceived Pro-sociality/Correlation coefficient</th>
<th>sig.(2-tailed)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>88</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Power</td>
<td>-0.018</td>
<td>0.864</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Achievement</td>
<td>0.000</td>
<td>0.999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hedonism</td>
<td>0.249*</td>
<td>0.019</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stimulation</td>
<td>-0.040</td>
<td>0.711</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-direction</td>
<td>0.069</td>
<td>0.524</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
When the values correlations between the ten values and perceived altruism of *conventional bacon* were done with the same pattern (non-par, Spearman’s two tailed sig.) as the correlations with organic bacon, no significant correlations were found (see appendix 4). Thus it can be claimed that organic food discussion is very value laden issue and that consumption of organic meat is not yet mainstream consumption, nor is it something that is of no consideration in people’s lives. The results favour the arguments that values do play a role in influencing perceptions in the issue and are present in associations and reflections that people have about organic food.

The correlation with Org. Bacon Perceived Altruism and Hedonism was significant with value: .249*. The correlation with OBP and security values was very significant: 294**. Also tradition was very significant with value of .296**.

Conformity correlated very significantly with highest value: .322**.

The correlations are strong and rather equal, conformity showing clearly the strongest correlation however.

Conformity, security and tradition are adjacent value types in Schwartz’s circular values structure, which is organised by motivational similarities and dissimilarities. The closer the value types are to one another in the circle the closer their underlying motivations. The three value types mentioned form a motivational ground for conservation values which emphasises self-restriction, order and resistance to change and belong to the collectivist domain.

The fourth value type correlating significantly with the pro-social perception about organic meat consumer is hedonism, which represents a contradiction in the values circle as an opposing value to the conservation values. Hedonism emphasises self-indulgence and enjoyment in life and shares components from underlying motivations of openness to change and self-enhancement which emphasise e.g. individualism, self-interest and readiness for new experiences.

Next correlations were done separately between the significant values and the three attributes caring, altruistic and nice in order to see whether there was any correlation between any of the specific variables. The correlations were done with Spearman’s rho and with two tailed significance. The table below show a significant positive correlation between the attribute *caring* and the values *tradition* (.299**), *conformity* (.306**) and *security* (.358**). There was no correlation between the attribute caring and value type hedonism.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Value Type</th>
<th>Correlation</th>
<th>Significance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Universalism</td>
<td>-.065</td>
<td>545</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benevolence</td>
<td>.091</td>
<td>399</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tradition</td>
<td>.296**</td>
<td>.005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conformity</td>
<td>.322**</td>
<td>.002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Security</td>
<td>294**</td>
<td>.005</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Perception about an organic bacon user being nice correlated positively with all the four values: hedonism (.257*), tradition (.318**), conformity (.351**) and security (.322**).

The attribute altruistic did not independently show a significant correlation with any of the four values.

Table 9 Correlations between the four significant values and the three attributes that form the sum variable OBPS with Spearman’s rho correlation coefficient (sig. 2tailed) n=88

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Hedonism</th>
<th>Tradition</th>
<th>Conformity</th>
<th>Security</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Caring</td>
<td>.151 (.161)</td>
<td>.299** (.005)</td>
<td>.306** (.004)</td>
<td>.358** (.001)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nice</td>
<td>.257* (.015)</td>
<td>.318** (.003)</td>
<td>.351** (.001)</td>
<td>.322** (.002)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Altruistic</td>
<td>.140 (.195)</td>
<td>.075 (.490)</td>
<td>.094 (.385)</td>
<td>.027 (.805)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2tailed)
* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2tailed)

In order to find out whether any status value relations were found influencing the perceptions, value frequencies were run on SPSS. The respondents of form 3 (organic bacon), n=88, were examined. Table 10 below presents the mean importance of every value. The low score of status values further supports the finding which excludes the influence of status values in the perception on organic meat consumer. (See appendix 5 for the values table)

Benevolence is the most important value with mean value of 6.13 and power value being the least important with mean score of 3.23. In the organic bacon data however, the second most important value seems to be security, mean: 5.72 and after that comes hedonism, mean: 5.57. The low importance of the status values within the respondents further suggests that the status values have not been of importance in making the pro-social perception on the organic bacon user in this population.

The values important to the people in this population placed in the Schwartz’s values structure, in the circular model, are all adjacent and part of domains self-transcendence and conservation which means that they are compatible with each other. An exception in the pattern is hedonism which is quite congruently reported to be quite an important value, but could be explained with the young age of the population. Hedonism opposes the benevolence, conformity and tradition values and shares motivations from openness to change and self-enhancement as it is situated in the middle of stimulation and achievement.
Figure 4 the distribution of values within participants in the values circumplex, mean values (forms 3, n=88)

Placing the values of the respondents in the values structure enables an easy way to visualise that the distribution of values importance within the participants is quite even between the domains of collective interests and individual interest. There is however quite distinctive difference between individual value types and the motivation types, such as self-transcendence (universalism and benevolence) and self-enhancement (power and achievement). Puohiniemi (1995) has defined his own typology on Finns according to which the altruistic group is clearly dominant to the group of self-interests. Dividing the people in this study according to the typology was not considered important. In the Puohiniemi’s study 30% of the Finns were conservatives and 30% altruistic. The third largest group with 14% were hedonists. The results are not one to one with this study but it is visible that altruism and hedonism have an important position in both. The strength of the security value is also poignant as a representation of the conservational motivation.

Finnish consumers in 1995 and the population in this study both seem to stand on grounds of being well-meaning hedonists. The population of this study perceive the organic meat consumer rather pro-social. It allows examining the time-scale and societal change influences in the values and reflections on the positive perceptions. It has to be noted however, that the population in this study being mostly from the Helsinki area, cannot be seen to represent the population of the whole of Finland.
5.7.3 Grouping the positive perceivers by their values

To examine whether support for the correlations existed, and to further determine any groups/characteristics of those who find organic bacon user as pro-social, a hierarchical cluster analysis was conducted with Ward method standard 2 scores. Differences were found and three groups could be identified. However, at this point it was noticed that the cluster analysis did not give indicative results from the data which could be further analysed and the method was abandoned.

The next step in the analysis was to create sum variables based on the results from correlations between values and OBPS (see Table 8). Four sum variables were created based on the values: Status seeking, Responsible, Experiencing and Conservational. The four sum variables resemble the value domains of Schwartz, but are more descriptive for the use of this study. In order to measure that the four sum variables were reliable in measuring the same construct Cronbach’s alpha was tested. All the values from these were above 0.6 so it can be determined that the sum variables are reliable. The values groupings and their Cronbach’s values are presented in the Table 11 below.

Table 10 Cronbach’s alpha’s of the four groups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sum Variable</th>
<th>Cronbach’s alpha</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Status seeking</td>
<td>.716</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Responsible</td>
<td>.623</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Experiencing</td>
<td>.783</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conservational</td>
<td>.801</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The analysis continued with regression analysis where the dependent variable was organic bacon perceived pro-sociality (OBPS) and the explanatory variables were the four values sum variables: Status seeking, Responsible, Experiencing and Conservational. The regression analysis found that the conservational values indeed were the best explanatory variable and the only statistically significant explanatory variable in the pro-social perception on organic bacon consumer (significance <.01 and the t value >2) (Karjaluoto 2007). Table 12 below shows the results.

Table 11 The regression analysis results of values sum variables explanatory significance in the pro-social perception of organic bacon consumer.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Model</th>
<th>Unstandardized</th>
<th>Standardized</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>


In order to bring the examination to a group level, to identify possible groupings, the four value sum variables were split in three groups according to the importance of that certain value to them. The groups were divided to high, neutral and low according to the scores they had given in the PVQ on scale 1 to 7. The table 13 presents the sizes of the groups. The distribution of high and low scores with in all the four groups is quite even.

Table 12 the frequency of high, neutral and low scores in the value groups and the mean score of each value group

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Value Group</th>
<th>Size of group</th>
<th>Mean of the value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Status seeking</td>
<td></td>
<td>2.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neutral</td>
<td>45</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>low</td>
<td>24</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Responsible</td>
<td>2.02</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>24</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neutral</td>
<td>38</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>low</td>
<td>26</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Experiencing</td>
<td>2.07</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neutral</td>
<td>46</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>low</td>
<td>24</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conservational</td>
<td>2.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>21</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neutral</td>
<td>46</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>low</td>
<td>21</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Next the one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) was done on the value groups. ANOVA analysis revealed that only the conservational value group’s
scores vary in their pro-social perception on user of organic bacon within the value groups created. The F-value of Conservational being 4,776, which is considerably more than 1, in which case the nil hypothesis about the equality of means between the explanatory variables can be abandoned. The significance of Conservational values is 0,11 which means that the result is significant. (Sig=0,000= very significant) (Karjaluoto 2007). Table 14 presents the F value and significance of the ANOVA analysis.

Table 13 ANOVA analysis OBPS by value group

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Value group</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>Sig</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Status seeking</td>
<td>0,556</td>
<td>0,575</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Responsible</td>
<td>0,007</td>
<td>0,993</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Experiencing</td>
<td>1,038</td>
<td>0,358</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conservational</td>
<td>4,776</td>
<td>0,11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In order to find in which groups (high, neutral and low) differences could be found, Post Hoc tests were done to the value group Conservational. All the Post Hoc tests used, LSD, Bonferroni and Tukey point to that those people who have given high scores for conservational values and those who have given low scores for conservational values have had a different perception on the prosociality of the organic bacon consumer. Table 15 below shows the significant differences between the three groups.

Table 14 The Post Hoc -tests of ANOVA analysis, values group Conservational. Significance in italics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>(I)Low-</th>
<th>(J) Low-</th>
<th>Mean Difference (I-J)</th>
<th>Std. Error</th>
<th>Sig.</th>
<th>95% Confidence Interval</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tukey HSD</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>1,07937*</td>
<td>,30504</td>
<td>,36608</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>,31241</td>
<td>,594</td>
<td>,011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>-30504</td>
<td>,77433*</td>
<td>,31241</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>,31241</td>
<td>,594</td>
<td>,040</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>-1,07937*</td>
<td>,31241</td>
<td>,36608</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>,31241</td>
<td>,594</td>
<td>,040</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LSD</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>1,07937*</td>
<td>,30504</td>
<td>,36608</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>,31241</td>
<td>,332</td>
<td>,004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>-30504</td>
<td>,77433*</td>
<td>,31241</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>,31241</td>
<td>,332</td>
<td>,015</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The gender difference was tested in the conservational value group with splitting the data by gender and doing the ANOVA and the Post Hoc tests. The results show that specifically women bring about the differences found. Table 16 and 17 below summarises the findings. In table 17 the group neutral has been left from the table because the interest is mainly on the difference between the high and low scores at this point.

Table 15 ANOVA analysis between men and women in the Conservational group

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Mean Square</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>Sig.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Between</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>groups</td>
<td>1,225</td>
<td>,997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Whit in</td>
<td>1,229</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>groups</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>Between</td>
<td>5,515</td>
<td>3,567</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>groups</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Whit in</td>
<td>1,546</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>groups</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 16 Post Hoc tests of ANOVA analysis values group Conservational on women and men

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Sig.</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Sig.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tukey HSD</td>
<td></td>
<td>Tukey HSD</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>,799</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>,351</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>,351</td>
<td>Low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>,570</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### LSD

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>LSD</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>LSD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>1,527</td>
<td></td>
<td>1,452</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>0,171</td>
<td></td>
<td>0,017</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>Bonferroni</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>Bonferroni</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>0,514</td>
<td>0,051</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 5.7.4 Summary on the findings

The consumer of organic bacon is found to be perceived pro-social and also in singular attributes more caring and altruistic than users of conventional meat products and is in line with the findings of Griskevicius et al. (2010) of green consumer perception being pro-social. Both men and women perceive the user of organic bacon more pro-social. The difference between organic bacon user and conventional bacon user is more significant within women.

*Four value types were discovered correlating with the pro-social perception on organic bacon consumers.* They were Hedonism, Tradition, Conformity and Security. Recent research has found associations with hedonism and security values in decisions on consuming organic food and the results were expected to reflect security to some extent. The strength of the combination of the conservation values was a surprise however.

*There were no significant correlations found between the ten values and perceived altruism of conventional bacon.* The results favour the arguments that values do play a role in influencing perceptions in the issue and are present in associations and reflections that people have about organic food.

In order to find out whether any status value relations were found influencing the perceptions, values importance within the respondents (n=88) were run on SPSS. *Benevolence is the most important value* with mean value of 6.13 and *power value being the least important*. The low score of status values excludes the influence of status values in the perception on organic meat consumer. However the conservation values strongly correlate with the pro-social perception.

Next correlations were done separately between the significant values and the three attributes caring, altruistic and nice in order to see whether there was any correlation between any of the specific variables. Results show a significant positive correlation between the attribute *caring* and the values *tradition, conformity and security*. Perception about an organic bacon
user being *nice* correlated positively with all the four values measured. The attribute *altruistic* did not independently show a significant correlation with any of the four significant values. The correlations give an indication that being nice and caring is associated with values that motivate behaving in harmonious ways and respecting continuity of one’s community.

According to the regression analysis and the one-way ANOVA analysis the conservational values best explain the pro-social perception on the organic bacon consumer and that the importance of the value is related to the perception as those people who find conservational values important to them have a different perception on the organic consumer than those to whom the conservational values are not so important. Further splitting up the data by gender revealed that specifically women were behind these differences.
6 DISCUSSION

6.1 Theoretical contribution

The results from the study were interesting and also surprising. There are multiple issues to deliberate both from the theoretical point of view and organisational point of view. The discussion will start with the theoretical contribution.

The consumers of organic meat are perceived pro-social according to this study. The results are consistent with findings of Grikevicius et al. (2010). Women found consumers of organic bacon more pro-social than men. In studies about use of organic foods and generally on pro-environmental behaviour, women are found to be more positive towards pro-environmental behaviour. (See e.g. Puohiniemi 1995; Xiao & McCright 2015) This has been associated with women being more concerned about the wellbeing of their offspring as well as their close ones, in other words valuing benevolence more than men. It is noted that in the population of this study females were overrepresented. However, also men did find users of organic bacon significantly more pro-social.

The inspiring find in the results was the indication that organic meat consumption is signalling conservational values: conformity, security, tradition and in contradiction also hedonism from the self-direction domain. More elaborately the pro-social perception on consumer of organic meat is influenced by conservational values. All these values found here to relate with a positive judgement on organic consumer have been traditionally associated with less ethical and non-sustainable consumption (Verbeke & Vermeier 2004) which makes the find interesting.

Pro-environmental consumption has traditionally been associated with Universalism and benevolence values which belong to the self-transcendence domain and these values are often also associated with pro-social behaviour. The consumers of organic meat might cherish universalism and benevolence as is associated in many researches in which the consumers' values have been studied. Often in research the participants are self-reported sustainable
consumers, where as in this study the interest was on the values of the perceiver who might or might not be a sustainable consumer. This layout gives guidance to who the pro-environmental signal of organic bacon consumer resonates as pro-social.

The results urge thinking the role of sustainability in people’s lives, values and behaviour, out of the box. The results on the perceptions on organic meat consumer and the significance of values give reason for a claim that organic meat can be used to signal positive attributes about one self in accordance with signalling theory. This finding in itself is substantial. Bacon as product seems to be controversial and divides people in taste and in whether it is found to be a status product or a low-status product. In this study bacon is considered to be a more mundane product in a sense that it is not a festive food such as champagne or caviar. In light of these results organic bacon is loaded with symbolic value and for an everyday grocery product the finding is interesting. Eating meat and production of organic meat is visibly a valued loaded topic also in the public discussion as mentioned in the introduction of this study.

Whether organic bacon carries the signal of status of its user, is multi-fold and depends on the definition of status. The results in this study do not simplistically support status signalling as lavish spending or contribution of wealth to signal pro-sociality (Griskevicius et al., 2010:2012), even though organic bacon is more expensive than conventionally produced bacon. According to Bourdieu (1984) the perceiver of the signal has to be sensitive to the signal or have the same taste so that the message can be perceived as intended. The strength of the conservation values correlations and the weakness of status values correlations with the pro-social perception imply that the status values consisting power an achievement are not in a priority position when a perception on organic meat consumer is formed.

The implication is that in a case of organic bacon consumer the pro-sociality of a person is not associated with status attributes: power and achievement. Rather the conservational perceiver who regards the organic meat consumer caring, altruistic and nice connects those attributes with security, conformity, tradition and hedonism.

It is also possible to speculate with the definition of status the other way around. If status is defined untraditionally: leaving out the power and achievement attributes and thinking status through attributes that are valued within that culture or society, it could be gathered that in the case of organic bacon, it is perceived to carry elements of status. In this case status would mean more broadly having socially admired and complimenting qualities or attributes. So whether the organic bacon consumer is perceived as a status signaler depends on the definition of status and the defining characters of status. Organic bacon consumer is not according to the results of this study found to be signallers of wealth, a good education or as fashionable, which is the definition of status in the dictionary and how it was defined in the beginning of this study. Organic bacon consumer appeals to people who perceive conservational values as carriers of socially complimenting qualities or
attributes (more in the lines of Hardy and Van Vugt 2006). It could be assumed from the values distribution of the participants and values influence in the perception that within this population pro-sociality carries an honest signal of the organic bacon consumers pro-sociality. The values and hence the perceptions on the organic bacon consumer could be reflecting influence of the state of society and culture.

The latter would implicate that pro-sociality and status does not translate in the same way within the population of this study as is suggested by the conspicuous consumption and competitive altruism.

Organic bacon does not signal status of its consumer but does more strongly signal the culturally bound pro-social attributes of its consumer. This view is supported by the results on the participants’ values which indicate that they cherish benevolence and security the most while the status values: power and achievement are of low importance.

The conservation values belong to the domain of collectivism which emphasises taking into consideration others around one. That also indicates that the image of organic meat is quite traditional instead of status seeking. These results support the findings of research on the demographics of an average organic consumer being a middle aged woman. The middle aged woman in turn, according to the study of Salonen et al. (2014), composes the main group of people in the sustainable consumer category; they call caretakers (23, 6% of Finnish population).

This of course does not rule out the possibility that status signalling is the intention of some consumers. In this case within this population the sending of status signal in its traditional meaning is in vain however.

Griskevicius et al. claim that people associate green consumption with self-restriction emphasising the negativity of the issue, whereas the results of this study are indicating a positive perception. The conservational values emphasise self-restriction and objection to change, according to Schwartz. It could thus be presumed that within the society conservational values are perceived rather positively and as pro-social.

Puohiniemi (1995) has studied the values of Finnish people in the 1990’s. Most Finns at the time were identified belonging to groups that served collectivist interest: conservatives and altruists. The time scale is interesting and the appearance of the values is interesting from the societal point of view also. Although this study will not go further into analysing the differences and similarities of the society today and then, the values distribution within the three most important values is noted as well as the strength of the conservational values in the pro-social perception on organic bacon user. Value shifts are slow and require fundamental change in life or in society (Rokeach 1968).

In recent research organic food consumption and pro-environmentalism has been associated with security values. People are concerned about the safety of food and healthiness of food. The many scandals considering food safety have driven the food system to a crisis and people have been increasingly criticising the system about its inadequateness as well as the globalisation of
food. Ritzer (1983) created the term McDonaldization already 30 years ago, which stands for the rationalisation and homogenisation of society (Ritzer 1983). The term is on the lips of the wider public nowadays as there is also an increasing critique about the concentration of the food industry and the power of Multinational Corporations’ unscrupulous pursuit for profit such as speculating the markets and yet increasing the price of food globally. These phenomena have led people to search for other alternatives for the current system such as direct sales from farmers, the regular box scheme, community gardens, where the consumer takes the role of the producer, as well as the slow food movement (Soper 2007; Facilitating Alternative Agro-food Networks 2013).

The slow food movement is seen to represent an alternative form of hedonism, which was the fourth value type correlation significantly with the pro-social perception on organic meat consumer. Even though it is the conservational values that seem to explain variance in the perceptions, hedonism’s role should not be overlooked either. The value seems to be quite important in the population.

The slow food movement illustrates the disenchantment people are feeling in the consumption society encouraging people to downsize and live ‘the good life’ (Hinton & Goodman 2009), freeing themselves from the false illusions of the modern society. This kind of alternative hedonism, feeling of wellbeing by doing the opposite of the expectations of rationalised and consumption orientated society is seen as an alternative to the methods that promote education and the rational consumer as a key to more sustainable consumption.

Hedonism has been associated with sustainable consumption in recent literature. The importance of hedonism value implies that people want to enjoy life in full which is in congruence with the notion of negative attitudes towards frugality and giving up enjoyments as is pointed out by Griskevicius et al. (2012) among other recent researchers.

The fact that hedonism correlates with the pro-social perception on organic meat consumer could imply that organic meat as a product is considered to be healthy and of good quality and the people who buy organic meat consider these issues important. The taste of organic foods is often mentioned to be consumption criteria even though there are some contradictory scientific claims. Regardless, organic food is associated with being healthier, better tasting and pure (no pesticide remnants). These attributes associated with organic food are about considering the food being good for the self (see e.g. Salonen et al). In relation to these issues the correlations between hedonism and pro-sociality are not contradictory even if they represent the opposite sides in the Schwartz’s circumplex model. To counter balance the rush in one’s life, physical wellbeing as well as psychological wellbeing is appreciated (Hinton & Goodman, 2009). The popularity of the slow food movement suggests as much.

Nevertheless, the perception on organic bacon consumer is considered pro-social and as it is claimed that the capability to read the code is significant in the perception (Bourdieu, 1984; Elliot, 2013). The findings of the values
correlation indicate that conformity, tradition and security as well as hedonism are values that are appreciated in other people. From the perspective of competitive altruism the cherishing of conservational values and hedonism is not contradictory. The values (except for hedonism) belong to the collectivist domain, which means respecting and caring about one’s in-group and about what the people in the in-group think of one. These values motivate people to abide to rules, work together and avoid conflict. People want to be associated with - and to associate with - others within the in-group whom are doing good for their community. Although hedonism is on the individualistic side, reflecting the selfish motives in Schwartz’s values circumplex model, the results in this study support suggestions according to which hedonism within today’s society can act as a motive to form new kinds of collectives and enhance pro-environmentalism and sustainable consumption through reviving the agro-culture and bringing it closer to consumers, at the same time creating new kind of food culture and urban lifestyle.

A group of conservational, who find the organic bacon consumer prosocial, can be identified from the data. Further post hoc tests seem to point that especially women in the conservational group have different perception on the organic bacon consumer than women to whom the conservational values are not that important. The statistical analyses done in this study do not give accuracy on the characteristics of this group but it could be hypothesised that women who cherish conservational values find organic bacon user more prosocial than those who could be identified as status seeking, experiencing or responsible.

Although there are not enough characteristic definitions in this study about the conservationists and generalisations cannot be made to include the wider population, it is tempting to reflect the results to the research of Salonen et al. (2014). The group of conservational women in this study resemble to some extent the group of Caretakers defined by Salonen et al. The conservational values’ characteristics are seen in the group of caretakers as Salonen et al. define them. The caretakers are mostly women (61%) and “they relish tradition and are safety-conscious.” (Salonen et al. 2014, p. 76)

According to Salonen et al. the caretakers are motivated to act pro-environmentally and they have recently started thinking about their consumer behaviour in relation to environmental friendliness and ethics. The caretakers are according to Salonen et al. extrinsically motivated when it comes to the boundaries, such as price and availability of sustainable consumption. However, this group also reflects intrinsic motivations as they feel that they can make a difference with their own choices. The responsibility in caretakers’ consumer habits appears as consuming local products, recycling as well as growing their own vegetables, fishing and picking berries and mushrooms. They have a holistic approach and see that their participation counts on a societal level. These characteristics of the caretakers reflect conservational values as well as benevolent values. The active participation and the feeling that they can make a difference by their own behaviour also reflect the idea of alternative hedonism as well, brought forward by Soper (2007).
Image 5 below clarifies the theoretical contribution of this study. Women who belong to the group of conservationals are according to this study the ones who find the consumer of organic bacon pro-social. The group could also be called the conservational hedonists because also the fourth value is significant in the results. However, hedonism did not determine any differences in the perception but seems to be equally important regardless of the perception.

![Diagram](image.png)

**Figure 5** the conservational values influence in perceiving organic bacon consumer as pro-social

### 6.2 Organisational contribution

The organisational contribution of this study reflects the results to enhancing sustainable consumption on the organisational and company level. Some suggestions are made in reference to literature and results. The results in this study are seen to strengthen the perception derived from recent literature on people’s values about the importance of including hedonism and on the feelings of enchantment to modern consumption society. However the strength of the conservational values implies that organisations and companies/ producers building the organic meat brand should take into account the motivations behind them as they are present in the signalling of image to others as it is believed that the alternative agro-networks could provide an interesting opportunity for transformational organic brand. The option of trying to build an entire new image for organic brand that would emphasise status value of organic brand does not hold according to this study.
as the signal sent might be confused and misinterpreted by most people. The population in this study as well as the analysis of Puohiniemi of Finns suggest that status values in general are not strong in the majority of Finns.

Based on the latter, important issues for organic producers and organisations that benefit from organic production and consumption are creating functional and transparent networks in order to get products on the market, which can be difficult for a small individual producer.

In lines of transformational consumption, reciprocity and empowering consumers reflect the significance of hedonism, belonging in motivational goals of self-enhancement and openness to change. Results of this study denote that, if organisations wish to promote organic meat products by exploiting its pro-social value, the promotion should concentrate on ways to trigger the conservational values in people but also note that the opposite value, hedonism could be a powerful asset when triggered, offering a change in positive self-image through consumption behaviour that does not emphasise giving up on pleasure. The idea is that people can consume healthy, safe and pure, great tasting food by participating in the food system. By appealing to the hedonistic side of people could also lift organic meats from the marginalized position that it currently holds. Promoting pro-sociality, or desirability of organic food, the food-and the people who consume it, have to be appreciated by others, in other words, organic meat consumption has to become normative not further marginalized.

For example the growth of local food market in Finland is faster than the organic food growth (6, 3%/ 2%) (Mäkipeska & Sihvonen 2010). Local food represents food grown locally, reciprocity, transparency of the food chain and trust (Paananen & Forsman 2003), which all represent the conservational values. There is something nostalgic and traditional about local food and it has offered a positive option for the supermarkets for the consumer. Many consumers are finding the quality/ price relation very good with local foods.

One of the reasons why the organic food market is growing slowly compared to local food could be that people see local food more benevolent and safe. Consumers do not necessarily make a distinction between the two types of production. Local food is often closely associated with organic food with the distinction that organic food can also be produced abroad (Arvola et al. 2006). Hence local food has a similar positive image than organic food has, with the exception that organic food might be also produced abroad, which could be seen a flaw by a person who cherishes the conservational values or benevolence. More elaborately, local food might be considered more authentic, close, benefitting the local community, and transparent than organic products. This could be an important notion in the marketing of organic food. The wellbeing of nature and animals are according to Mäkipeska & Sihvonen (2010) closely associated with local food, although the production of local food is not supervised. So distinction between the two terms should be clarified. Although it is not sensible to create a battle between organic foods and local foods, Finnish organic food producers could use the popularity of local foods as an advantage and emphasize the locality and benefits of organic production style
for local community in their own production and develop networks with other organic and ecological producers within their region.

Further the results of the study suggest that bringing out the conservation values and hedonism in promotion of organic foods through implications to good life, healthiness/safeness and reciprocal life style that binds together alternative citizens activity and gaining hedonistic gratification and wellbeing could well work to enhance organic consumption. According to Thomas (2008) cited by Hinton & Goodman life style magazines are already strongly promoting alternative hedonism in the UK. Emphasising deliciousness of organic meat and the difference between a home cooked meal and industrial food in taste and emotion might appeal to those who cherish hedonism, appreciate the value of food (the so called “Foodies”) and whose perception on organic food is influenced by the value. The results in this study point to the values influence in especially women’s perception on organic (meat) consumption, so directing promotion of organics in the women lifestyle media might work as beneficial also in Finland.

The current food system could be said to be, to some extent its own devil’s advocate as people grow increasingly aware of the affects the current system has on them and raises mistrust in consumers. Advocating domestic organic products and facilitating the alternative food networks as bringing security to food and food safety, emphasising the pure taste of home grown food works through empowering people. This kind of message could be very appealing to the group defined in this study that shares characteristics with the group of caretakers whom in turn, as mentioned, feel that their behaviour can be influential but who like to stay in a neutral position in society (Salonen et al 2014).

Through active participation people can be empowered to be able to demand more organic products in supermarkets as well as transparency in the food chain and pricing of organic foods sold in supermarkets.

Pricing has been recently in the headlines in Finland showing a side effect of the monopolised retail industry. The food retailing system and the whole of food system, as already pointed out, are facing increasing critic from customers and the overall atmosphere anticipates some kind of change. A customer can however feel somewhat powerless to act as agent of change. Mobilising the alternative agro-food networks can be used to empower people as well as organic food producers to form a worthy competitor to the current system while giving an alternative that is available to most.

Hardy and Van Vugt, (2006) suggest that an altruistic person is rewarded by a community for doing unselfish acts. The fair-trade cities have taken this concept to build a brand for the community and gain a status of a responsible community in order to attract new people and business. Madrigal & Boush (2008) have found that consumers are willing to reward a company if they perceive it or its products socially responsible. They emphasise the reciprocity between a brand and a consumer. Organic producers and their retailers could well use reciprocity in marketing goods to caterers, and communities when
they do their investments. Provided that producers have a supporting network behind them, to be able to provide needed amounts of products to bigger customers, locality and organic production could well work as a competitive edge for both producer and processors.

6.3 Limitations of the study and suggestions for further research

The study is concerned about the organic meat consumption in Finnish context. The population of the study is mainly from the capital area, Helsinki area and the representation of young people and young females is large in the population. So in this study the regional culture factors (such as variations between suburban and urban regions or geographical, North, South, East and West axis, have not been studied in this population. Therefore it cannot be generalized to the whole of Finnish population.

Two technical errors in the questionnaire were found by the respondents. They were noticed within the same day of the launch of the survey and the respondents were informed about the error and the errors were corrected to the questionnaire. Howe ver, it is noted that this might have put off some respondents and they had stopped answering when noting the error. The first error concerned the postcode in the background information section. It was coded to accept post codes from the South of Finland and East of Finland so one respondent from another part of the country could not enter their postcode. The other error concerned the part 2: What kind of consumer are you? A question 7 had fell on two lines forming 32 spaces for answering the question while there were only 31 questions in the section. The error was corrected and a message was send to the respondents’ e-mails notifying them about the correction. This particular set of questions in the survey was not included in this study however, so it did not affect the results, but might have affected the attitude of the respondents who had had the difficulty concerning the error.

The survey only included organic bacon as a representative of organic meat products, and so the study cannot be generalised to the whole range of organic meat products or generally to the variable organic food products available. In the surveys of this study sirloin beef was a dummy product and there was no organic sirloin steak for the comparisons. Having another pair of meat products would have been useful in the analysis providing a possibility for comparisons. Comparisons with different organic meat products should be done. The education variable was left out of this study. Previous studies have found a relation between positive attitudes towards pro-environmentalism and higher educational level as well as transcendental values.

Within the values concept, more research is needed to verify the results. The values were examined without priming the participants so the participants’ values were in latent state which might skew the results. It would be interesting to reach the mentioned limitations in further studies by enlarging the
population to other regions of Finland and by multiplying the questionnaires, include more varied assortment of products to the study as well as the priming effect.

It is noted that even if the organic meat production enhances sustainability the real problem is over consumption and people need to consume less meat. In light of this notion, it would be interesting to study the role of organic meat consumption in frugality. Do organic meat consumers consume less meat than the average Finn and does consuming organic meat have an effect in the overall meat consumption. Studies concerning frugality and values associated with frugality are limited especially in the Finnish context.

6.4 Reliability and ethical considerations

Reliability means the study’s ability to produce systematic results. In other words reliability measures the repeatability of the research (Vilkka 2007). The reliability has been considered during this study by repeating results by a different person. The results of the study cannot be generalised and they are not generalised outside the population or geographical area. Time as a factor has been taken into account in the analysing process as it is claimed by many researchers that there is a change in the values of society and attitudes towards pro-environmentalism.

The population for the study was considered to be sufficient to give valid results for the purpose of the pilot study after combining the two populations. To detect the research problems in the study and to ensure the internal reliability, well known and popular scales were used: The perceptions on organic bacon consumer were measured with questions formed using the Aaker, 1997 Brand Personality Dimensions. The three measured attributes added were the same used by Griskevicius et al. 2010. The results are coherent and show a significant difference between the perceptions on organic bacon user and the conventional bacon user.

Puohiniemi (1995) finds that the values structure of Finns is very close to the universal structure and According to Puohiniemi the SVS value types (the concise PVQ in this study) can be used to predict behaviour and perceptions in Finns. The PVQ is also used in the European Social Survey biannually. The results from this survey are not identical to the results of Puohiniemi, nor can they be expected to be because of the very different settings of the studies. Nevertheless, they are not opposites and do show some resemblance in distribution of the most cherished values. The results can be verified by redoing the study using the same questionnaire to another population.
The ethical issues in this survey concerned the respondent’s autonomy and the raffle. Before the raffle was included in the survey the Finnish police was consulted on any laws on raffles and it was concluded that there were no restricting factors for the raffle to take place. Ten gift vouchers were raffled within the participants who wanted to take part in it. These respondents wrote their contact information at the end of the survey form. The contact information was used only to inform the winners of the vouchers.
7 CONCLUSION

The motivation and aim for this study was twofold: To find whether the organic meat consumer is perceived pro-social as pro-environmental consumers have been found by Griskevicius et al. (2010) and secondly to find indication to what values influence forming of the anticipated positive perception about organic meat consumer. The results show, as expected, that the organic meat consumer is indeed perceived significantly more pro-social than the user of conventional bacon. Further the results indicate that values behind the pro-social perception are conformity, security, tradition and hedonism. According to recent research the motives to consume organic food include, in addition to the altruistic motives, also self-interest motives such as security and hedonism. Because the signal is perceived pro-social by people who cherish conservational values, in which domain security belongs to, as well as hedonism, it can be concluded that the pro-social signal is honest and it is perceived as intended. This study supports the findings of the recent research.

However the findings in this study do not support research in which the pro-social perception has been associated with customer signalling status to others. This study seems to point to direction that status as it is defined with wealth and achievement in life is not an important factor in the pro-social perception on organic meat consumer. At least in the population of this study the status signal has been in vain.

Further the analysis reveals that the conservational values importance to the person has an influence in the way organic bacon consumer is perceived. It could be hypothesised based on the results that the person who perceives organic bacon consumer as pro-social is a woman who cherishes conservational values and that the strength of the values determines her perception.

To summarise the implications that the results in this study and the results from recent research wakens, is that empowerment of consumers could be one way to guide consumers for more pro-environmental consumption behaviour. This suggestion is drawn from the results pointing that the group who most strongly perceives the organic bacon user as pro-social is a group of conservational women whose values orientation shares similar characteristics to
the caretakers defined by Salonen et al (2014). While organic food might stir up nostalgic feelings of security and wellbeing, also self-indulgence, participation and creativity are appreciated. It is also important to realise that even though, the representation of the conservational values in the pro-social perception on the organic meat consumer emphasise social order and respecting others as well moderate behaviour, it does not mean that people do not want to feel in control of their own lives. The rapid growth of guerrilla gardening and local food enthusiasm suggests that those consumers are looking for ways to participate in the food system and through participation empower themselves.

Thus falling into promotion too simplistically emphasising security of food might fall over tangled in its own shoe laces, because it does not manage to trigger the combination of values that seem to influence the positivity of organic food. Alternative hedonism, self-interested motives that reflect social wellbeing could be what empowers people to rebel the constraints and control of the system and multinational corporations that, according to research, seems to disenchant consumers. The outcome of the empowerment results in more responsible consumption.

The alternative agro-food networks could be used to trigger value based behaviour that appeals to both the conservational values as well as hedonism. Having your own plot of vegetables or an urban terrace garden can offer feelings associated with values: security and conformity when traditional way of providing for one self is fulfilled. Purchasing local vegetables and meat can offer similar feelings of continuity in a form of support to local farmers. Some organic farmers recommend visiting the farms to see how animals are taken care of in order to build trust. To the consumer, it can also mean feeling of being part of the system. Urban agriculture, ordering a box of organic vegetables and going to the farmer to buy meat for example is also about setting new traditions and creating new culture but also reviving culture that has been marginal for some time and can work as empowerment to some.

The study contributes to the theoretical discussion on signalling as the results surprisingly show that the conservational values influence the way one perceives an organic bacon consumer. The results also support rethinking pro-environmental strategies in the organic food production to encompass these values in order to motivate people towards more sustainable consumption behaviour and through transformative consumer behaviour, hopefully regenerate a more sustainable food industry. More research is needed to make the results more reliable and general and to be able to provide answers that with stand. However, this study has provided novel insight and a new perspective for further studies about values influence in the perceptions on organic consumer.
**SOURCES**


http://scholar.google.fi/scholar_url?url=http://www.academia.edu/download/30504590/187_paper.pdf&hl=fi&sa=X&scisig=AAGBfm0Xtqyi3ADNPellmlJzuzqcWg1hQ&nssl=1&oi=scholarr&ei=-hEZVemkDInFO5WlgPAM&ved=0CBwQgAMoADAA


Rokeach, M. J. Beliefs, Attitudes, and Values (San Francisco: Jossey Bass, 1968), pg. 161


APPENDICES

Appendix 1 Survey invitation

Hyvää Helsingin yliopiston valtiotieteen opiskelija,


Kysely on auki tämän viestin alla olevissa linkeissä. Vastaathan kyselyyn viimeistään perjantaihin 17.10.2014 mennessä.

Kyselystä on kuusi eri versiota, joten pyydän sinua vastaamaan siihen kyselyyn, joka vastaa aakkosissa sukunimesi ensimmäistä kirjainta. Esim. Anttila vastaisi kyselyyn 1, Huotari kyselyyn 2, Kortelainen kyselyyn 3 jne.

Vastaajien kesken arvotaan 10 kpl 20€ arvoisia lahjakortteja pääkaupunkiseudun elintarvike-liikeisiin niiden vastaajien kesken, jotka haluavat osallistua arvontaan ja jättää yhteystietonsa. Tutkimus on anonymi ja yhteyttietoja käytetään ainoastaan arvonnan yhteydessä.

Kiitos vastauksistasi ja ajastasi!

Ystävällisin terveisin,
Sirpa Kortelainen
Appendix 2 Survey questions

1


A. Taustatiedot

1. Sukupuoli
   □ Mie
   □ Nainen

2. Syntymävuosi

3. Postinumero

4. Kotitalouden koko
   □ 1 hkö
   □ 2 hkö
   □ 3 hkö
   □ 4 hkö
   □ 5 tai enemmän

5. Kotona asuvien lasten lukumäärä
   □ yksi
   □ useampi

6. Kotitalouden bruttotulo vuodessa
   □ 0 – 14 999 €
   □ 15 000 € – 19 999 €
   □ 20 000 € – 39 999 €
   □ 40 000 € – 69 999 €
   □ 70 000 € – 89 999 €
   □ 90 000 € – 119 999 €
   □ 120 000 € – 139 999 €
   □ 140 000 € tai yli
KYSELYN 1. OSIO – ERILAISET RUOKATUOTTEITA SUOSIVIEN KULUTTAJIIEN SYNNYTÄMÄT MIELIKUVAT

B. Millaisia mielikuvia seuraavien vilden elintarvikkeen vakloikäyttäjää sinussa herättää? Vastaathan rehellisesti 😊

1. HK:n Amerikan pekon luomun vakiokäyttäjää lokaisi luonnehtia:

| tyläsksi | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 | jännittäväksi |
| vähinpitämättömäksi | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 | välittäväksi |
| epähienostuneeksi | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 | hienostuneeksi |
| itsekkääksi | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 | epäitsekkääksi |
| vaisuksi | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 | särmikkääksi |
| epäpäteväksi | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 | päteväksi |
| epäystävälliseksi | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 | ystävälliseksi |
| epääsidoksi | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 | vilippömäksi |

2. Chiquita-banaanien vakiokäyttäjää lokaisi luonnehtia:

| tyläsksi | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 | jännittäväksi |
| vähinpitämättömäksi | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 | välittäväksi |
| epähienostuneeksi | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 | hienostuneeksi |
| itsekkääksi | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 | epäitsekkääksi |
| vaisuksi | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 | särmikkääksi |
| epäpäteväksi | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 | päteväksi |
| epäystävälliseksi | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 | ystävälliseksi |
| epääsidoksi | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 | vilippömäksi |
3. Juustoportin kevyt-leipäjuuston vakiokäyttäjä voi mielestäni luonnehtia:

| tyylisäkki | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 | jännittäväksi |
| villinpitämättömäksi | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 | villittäväksi |
| epähienostuneeksi | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 | hienostuneeksi |
| itsekääksi | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 | epäitsekkääksi |
| vuisuksi | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 | särmiikkääksi |
| epäpäteväksi | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 | päteväksi |
| epäystävälliseksi | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 | ystävälliseksi |
| epäaidoksi | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 | viljittömäksi |

4. Rainbowi maustamattoman AB-luomujogurtin vakiokäyttäjä voi mielestäni luonnehtia:

| tyylisäkki | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 | jännittäväksi |
| villinpitämättömäksi | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 | villittäväksi |
| epähienostuneeksi | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 | hienostuneeksi |
| itsekääksi | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 | epäitsekkääksi |
| vuisuksi | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 | särmiikkääksi |
| epäpäteväksi | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 | päteväksi |
| epäystävälliseksi | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 | ystävälliseksi |
| epäaidoksi | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 | viljittömäksi |

5. Atrian naudan takaumurecan sisälpaistin vakiokäyttäjä voi mielestäni luonnehtia:

| tyylisäkki | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 | jännittäväksi |
| villinpitämättömäksi | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 | villittäväksi |
| epähienostuneeksi | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 | hienostuneeksi |
| itsekääksi | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 | epäitsekkääksi |
| vuisuksi | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 | särmiikkääksi |
| epäpäteväksi | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 | päteväksi |
| epäystävälliseksi | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 | ystävälliseksi |
| epäaidoksi | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 | viljittömäksi |
C. Kuinka hyvin tunnet edellä esitetyt tuotteet? Vastaa asteikolla 1–5, jossa 1 = en tunnistu tuotetta, 2 = tunnistan tuotteen, mutta en ole maistanut, 3 = Olen maistanut tuotetta, mutta en käytä, 4 = käytän tuotetta silloin tällöin, 5 = käytän tuotetta usein.

1. H.K:n Amerikan pekonin luomu
2. Chiquita-banaanit
3. Juustoportin kevyt-leipäjuusto
4. Rainbown maustamaton AB-luonjuogurtti
5. Atrian naudan takaumumera sisämpästi

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D. Miten asennoidut näihin tuotteisiin? Vastaa asteikolla 1–5, jossa 1 = erittäin kielteisesti, 2 = jonkin verran kielteisesti, 3 = neutraalisisi, 4 = jonkin verran myönteisesti, 5 = erittäin myönteisesti.

1. H.K:n Amerikan pekonin luomu
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E. Syötkö pääasiassa (rastita sinulle oikea vaihtocho)

1. kasvisravintoa
2. kasvisravintoa ja maitotuotteita
3. sekaravintoa (kasviksia, lihaa sekä maitotuotteita)
KYSELYN 2. OSIO – MILLAINEN KULUTTAJA OLET?

F. Ota kantaa seuraaviin ruokatuotteisiin, niiden valmistamiseen ja hankkimiseen liittyviin väitteisiin sen mukaan, oletko niiden kannsa eri mieltä vai samaa mieltä asteikolla 1–7, jolloin 1 = täysin eri mieltä ja 7 = täysin samaa mieltä.

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22. Nykyään vastuu ostoksilla käynnistää ja ruonlaitosta kului yhtä paljon miehelle kuin naisellekin.

23. Ruokatuotteen nauttimalla ei ole merkitystä minulle.

24. Se, mitä perheessämme syödään, päätetään yleensä vasta viime tingassa.

25. Minulle tuoteselosteista saamani informaatio on hyvin tärkeä, sillä haluan tietää, mitä ruoka sisältyy.


27. On naisen vastuulla pitää perhe terveenä tarjoamalla ravitsevaa ruokaa.

28. Maksaisin enemmän elintarvikkeesta, jos se omaa statusarvoa.

29. Ruoan mausta nauttiminen on minulle tärkeää.

30. Ostan lihan ja vihannekset mieluunnin tuoreina kuin pakastettuna tai tölkeässä.

31. Nautin hyvin ruoan syömistä.

G. Miten tärkeät seuraavat arvot ovat sinulle? Vastaa asteikolla 1–7, jossa 1 = ei tärkeää ja 7 = hyvin tärkeää.

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### Appendix 3 Conventional bacon perceived pro-sociability

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<th>Bacon Perceived Pro-sociability</th>
<th>Mia (mm. lisäkokeisuus, kunnioittaminen ja tärkeys)</th>
<th>% UNIVERSALIS (mm. lisäkokeisuus, kunnioittaminen ja tärkeys)</th>
<th>% PERINTEET (mm. perimtäsitopavun kunnioittaminen)</th>
<th>% YHDESMUKAISSA (mm. lisäkokeisuus, kunnioittaminen ja tärkeys)</th>
<th>% TURVALLISUUS (mm. lisäkokeisuus, kunnioittaminen ja tärkeys)</th>
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<td>1. VALTA (mm. lisäkokeisuus, kunnioittaminen ja tärkeys)</td>
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**Correlation Coefficient**

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Appendix 4 Values distribution in population n=88

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