

Consumers' Views about Farm Animal Welfare

Part II: European Comparative Report Based on Focus Group Research

Adrian Evans
Mara Miele



Consumers' Views about Farm Animal Welfare

Part II: European Comparative Report Based on Focus Group Research

Adrian Evans and Mara Miele
Cardiff University, UK



Welfare Quality Reports
Edited by Mara Miele and Joek Roex

School of City and Regional Planning
Cardiff University
contact: LeoR@cardiff.ac.uk

September 2008

The present study is part of the Welfare Quality® research project which has been co-financed by the European Commission, within the 6th Framework Programme, contract No. FOOD-CT-2004-506508. The text represents the authors' views and does not necessarily represent a position of the Commission who will not be liable for the use made of such information.

© Adrian Evans, Mara Miele.

ISBN 1-902647-83-1
ISSN 1749-5164

CONTENTS

	<i>Acknowledgements</i>	<i>iii</i>
1	Executive Summary	1
2	Introduction	9
3	Methodology	13
4	European Consumers' Knowledge about Farm Animal Welfare	21
5	European Consumers' Knowledge about Welfare-friendly Products and Assurance Schemes	63
6	Incentives and Barriers to the Purchase of Welfare-friendly Foods	81
7	Conclusions and Recommendations	93
	Bibliography	99
	Appendix	101

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The comparative analysis presented in this deliverable is based on focus group research undertaken by the research teams listed below. The comparative analysis draws both on primary focus group data and on the national reports produced by these teams.

France: Jean-Pierre Poulain, Laurence Tibère and Anne Dupuy. ERITA (Equipe de Recherche Interdisciplinaire sur le Tourisme et l'alimentation), University of Toulouse, France.

The UK: Lucy Mayfield, Richard Bennett and Richard Tranter. Centre for Agricultural Strategy, The University of Reading, United Kingdom.

Hungary: Bridin McIntyre and Cathal Cowan. The National food centre, Dublin, Ireland.

Italy: Mara Miele, Antonella Ara and Diego Pinducci. Dipartimento di Agronomia e Gestione dell'Agroecosistema, University Of Pisa, Italy.

Norway: Laura Terragni and Hanne Torjusen. The National Institute for Consumer Research, Oslo, Norway.

Sweden: Lucas Petterson and Hanna Bergman. Department of Political Science, Stockholm University, Sweden.

The Netherlands: Liesbeth Schipper, Volkert Beekman and Michiel Korthals. Applied Philosophy Group, Wageningen University, The Netherlands.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

1.1 INTRODUCTION

This report seeks to contribute to the ongoing debate about farm animal welfare issues by painting a detailed picture of European consumer–citizens’ farm animal welfare knowledge, concerns, priorities and information requirements. The results outlined in this report are based on 48 focus group discussions that were undertaken by seven national research teams in France, Italy, Norway, Sweden, Hungary, the UK, and the Netherlands. In each study country, separate focus groups were undertaken with six different socio-cultural groups: ‘urban mothers’, ‘rural women’, ‘empty nesters’, ‘seniors’, ‘young singles’ and ‘politically active/vegetarians’. Additional country-specific focus groups were also undertaken in most countries (for example, ‘hunters’ in Norway, ‘gourmets’ in Italy, and ‘ethnic minorities’ in France). This ensured that we were able to gauge the views of a wide range of different consumer–citizens.

1.2 EUROPEAN CONSUMERS’ KNOWLEDGE OF FARM ANIMAL WELFARE

(a) Many of the focus group participants showed a high level of engagement in issues concerning the welfare of farm animals and ones they were knowledgeable about, the pros and cons of industrialized farming techniques, the living conditions experienced by certain farm animals, the importance of good human–animal relationships in maintaining good welfare, the connections between animal welfare and food quality, and the wider societal dimensions of farm animal welfare. However, participants were less knowledgeable about more technical welfare issues (such as those related to different animal breeds, animal biologies/physiologies, animal behaviour, and animal diseases), the specific nature of different farming types, and some of the complexities that might influence the link between high animal welfare and high food quality/safety.

(b) In direct contrast to scientific forms of understanding (which are usually unified, coherent, circumscribed and disciplined/disciplinary), participants’ knowledge about farm animal welfare was multiple, fragmentary and made up of a patchwork of different

understandings and concerns that were derived from a variety of different sources. Furthermore, participants' knowledge about farm animal welfare spanned from farm to food and incorporated a range of wider societal concerns about human health, biosecurity, environmental degradation, naturalism, animal welfare and animal rights.

(c) Many focus group participants believed that there was a strong connection between food quality/safety and farm animal welfare. More specifically, participants believed that factors such as the overuse of medicines and chemicals, stress and inappropriate (unnatural) feed had a negative impact on *both* animal welfare and food quality.

(d) Many participants talked about animal welfare in terms of the likely welfare status of different farm environments rather than animal-centred aspects of welfare such as disease, injury and even emotion. Furthermore, many participants believed that it was possible to make a bipolar distinction between 'factory farms', which were perceived to provide animals with very low levels of welfare and alternative systems (such as organic, free range, outdoor access, traditional, small scale, local), which were perceived to offer higher levels of welfare.

(e) Participants' understandings of farm animal welfare issues were strongly influenced by broader concepts about nature (and the natural), the industrial (and the anti-industrial), food quality, care and hygiene.

(f) There were some interesting national differences in participants' understandings of farm animal welfare. For example, a broader range of participants from the UK seemed to highlight transport and slaughter issues compared to participants from other countries; Hungarian participants seemed to frame their understandings of welfare in terms of health; Italian participants seemed to be more interested in issues of care and respect for animals; French participants emphasized the welfare credentials of traditional farming systems; Norwegian participants strongly believed that welfare standards were higher in Norway than in other European countries; Dutch participants had a very negative perception of the welfare standards of contemporary farming, even in supposedly 'free range' systems; and numerous Swedish participants commented on the role of the media in influencing public opinion about farm animal welfare issues. Furthermore, there were some interesting differences between socio-cultural groups. For example, 'rural women' seemed to have a more detailed knowledge about certain specific welfare issues, such as feather pecking and cannibalism in chickens and the treatment of specific breeds (Chianina in Italy); 'seniors' frequently mentioned the issue of animal mistreatment; and the 'naturalism' discourse seemed to be stronger amongst 'politically active and vegetarian' participants than in other groups.

1.3 SOURCES OF INFORMATION THAT EUROPEAN CONSUMERS' DRAW ON IN RELATION TO FARM ANIMAL WELFARE

(a) Mass-media sources such as television, radio and newspapers were the most widely used by focus group participants to gain information about farm animal welfare.

(b) Despite the insistence of various commentators that consumer–citizens are becoming increasingly detached from farm animals, it would seem that ‘direct experiences’ still provide an important source of information for participants across most study countries.

(c) Product labels were often cited as an important source of general (rather than just product-specific) information about farm animal welfare by participants in Italy, the Netherlands and the UK but were seldom mentioned in France, Sweden, Norway and Hungary.

1.4 HOW SOCIAL PRACTICES AND SOURCES OF INFORMATION INFLUENCE CONSUMERS' UNDERSTANDINGS

(a) Participants' knowledge of farm animal welfare was grounded in (and shaped by) specific social practices, such as; shopping for food; preparing meals; looking after pets (via analogy to farm animals) and visiting farms. Furthermore, participants' views were also shaped by the ‘discursive’ nature of the different types of information sources that they drew upon.

(b) Participants' direct experiences of farm animals seemed to have a long lasting and often transformative impact on their beliefs and practices. The stories that focus group participants told about their direct encounters with farm animals often involved an initial emotional/visceral shock of realising that farm animal welfare conditions were not as good as they had imagined, followed by a longer lasting change in attitudes and behaviours

(c) Everyday practices of shopping and eating food seemed to exert a very strong influence over participants' perceptions of farm animal welfare. In particular, the very fact that animal foods are ingested helped to cement a strong link between food quality/safety and animal welfare in participants' minds (this explains the importance that participants gave to providing animals with natural, non-GM feeds and of avoiding stress, the overuse of chemicals/medications and zoonoses). Furthermore, for many participants labels such as ‘free-range’, ‘outdoor-access’ and ‘organic’ were key reference points/indicators of higher animal welfare standards. However, more than this, we believe that these labels and their associated assurance schemes promote a particular version of animal welfare (based on

naturalism) that fits in well with (or perhaps even influences) consumers' broader understandings of animal welfare issues.

(d) Participants who had experience of caring for companion animals highlighted the emotional and sentient characteristics/capacities of animals and the importance of the human-animal relationship in ensuring that animals experience a good quality of life.

(e) The majority of mass-media reports that participants retold tended to focus on negative issues and scare stories.

1.5 EUROPEAN CONSUMERS' KNOWLEDGE ABOUT WELFARE-FRIENDLY PRODUCTS AND ASSURANCE SCHEMES

(a) Participants associated a range of already existing certified/assured products with higher animal welfare standards, including; organic products, free range products, outdoor access products, and also quality assured products (such as 'Label Rouge' in France).

(b) Participants had a fairly broad perception of the types of products that might be welfare-friendly/unfriendly and they used a large range of proxy indicators to assess the supposed welfare credentials of a given product. These proxy indicators included; the origin of the product; whether it was sourced locally; the species type and age of the original animal; the store from which the good was purchased; the brand; the packaging; and even the price. Indeed, there appeared to be a whole range of subconscious indicators of welfare that informed participants' perceptions and purchasing habits.

(c) Whilst participants from most countries perceived welfare-friendly products in a variety of different ways, it is possible to identify some interesting national variations in the overall importance and influence of certain product-types in 'appropriating' the notion of welfare, for example: participants from the UK and the Netherlands primarily associated labelled products such as organic and free range with higher welfare standards. Participants from Sweden associated the organic label 'KRAV' with high animal welfare and they also asserted the importance of traceability. French participants tended to associate quality products, such as Label Rouge with higher welfare and they also associated local and regional products with high welfare. Italian participants associated organic labelled goods and local products with high welfare. Whilst participants from Hungary and Norway were familiar with certain welfare-friendly labelled products (especially organic/bio) they seemed to primarily associate high welfare with locally produced products and face-to-face trust relationships with producers and suppliers. There was surprisingly little variation in participants' perceptions of and familiarity with different welfare-friendly products across different socio-cultural groups.

(d) Whilst certain participants seemed to be highly reflective about their food purchases and tended to read food labels and take their time deciding what to buy (one consumer-citizen even admitted to being 'fixated with labels'), others were less reflective, as one Italian woman stated: 'frankly, when I buy food I don't think about animal welfare' (Italy, Rural woman). Levels of participants' reflection concerning food choices also varied from day to day and in relation to the nature of the shopping trip (e.g. with children/without children) and the amount of time that they had available.

(e) Participants expressed a number of preferences regarding the form and content of product information and labelling about farm animal welfare. Whilst information demands varied nationally and across socio-cultural groups, it is possible to identify a range of shared priorities, these included; the provision of more information, but in a simplified improved format that did not overwhelm the reader (e.g. in the form of a logo with associated information); information should be clearly legible and any unfamiliar terms should be clearly explained; the information should appear on the product but this could be backed-up by more detailed resources (such as in-store information, leaflets, websites etc); the label should be trustworthy and be certified, monitored and enforced by a reliable body; labelling should be standardised across different stores. Many participants also expressed a desire to receive specific information regarding; the origin and traceability of the product; the nature of the feed given to the animals (certain participants also wanted to know whether the animal had been given GM feeds or anti-biotics); how the animals were treated; whether the animals had access to the outdoors; the method of slaughter that was used; and the distance the live animal had to travel. A certain limited number of participants also expressed a desire to see pictures of the farms from which the product originated and the farmers who looked after the animals.

1.6 INCENTIVES AND BARRIERS TO THE PURCHASE OF WELFARE-FRIENDLY FOODS

(a) In addition to improved welfare, participants across all countries and socio-cultural groups highlighted two key positive attributes that they believed were associated with welfare-friendly products. First, participants believed that welfare-friendly products were healthier than lower welfare products. In particular, they believed that welfare-friendly products contained fewer potentially harmful stress-toxins. They also believed that welfare-friendly animals would have enjoyed higher quality, more natural feeds and would have been given fewer routine medicines, such as antibiotics. Second, they believed that welfare-friendly products were of a higher quality and tasted better than lower welfare products.

(b) Participants also identified a range of negative attributes and barriers that might prevent them from purchasing animal welfare friendly foods, these included; price; a lack of trust

in claims made on product labels and packaging; convenience; limited availability of welfare-friendly goods; and lack of information about welfare-friendly goods. A small number of participants also believed that certain welfare-friendly goods did not taste as good as their lower welfare equivalents.

(c) Whilst price was undoubtedly an important factor in influencing participants' food purchases, a closer reading of the focus group transcripts indicates that there are several practical/sociological factors which intervene to rule out any simplistic interpretation of the link between price and desire to purchase. Indeed, many participants were actually more interested in the balance between quality and price, than in price alone. Furthermore, participants adopted a variety of different practical strategies to avoid having to pay too much for welfare-friendly foods, including; shopping around; consuming less meat; and waiting for sales and reduced items.

(d) Finally, it is possible to identify a number of interesting national and socio-cultural differences in participants' perceived barriers to the purchase of welfare-friendly goods, for example; price and a lack of trust in labels were perceived to be important barriers to purchasing welfare-friendly foods across all countries and social groups; 'urban mothers' and participants from Sweden were more likely to highlight the availability of welfare-friendly goods as a barrier to purchase than other groups; and 'young singles' and Swedish participants were more likely to highlight a lack of information about welfare-friendly goods as a barrier to purchase than other groups.

1.7 PARTICIPANTS' OPINIONS ON THE AREAS OF CONCERN AND MEASURES PROPOSED BY WELFARE QUALITY® SCIENTISTS FOR ASSESSING AND MONITORING FARM ANIMAL WELFARE

(a) Most participants believed that the areas of concern indicated by the animal scientists were relevant and appropriate. However, there were some national variations, in particular there was 'enthusiastic' support for the proposed scheme in Italy, whilst certain French participants felt that some of the proposed measures (such as positive emotions) were more suited to human rather than animal welfare (see Evans and Miele, 2007).

(b) Participants' spontaneous animal welfare concerns centred on the positive aspects of animals' lives (e.g. freedom to move, social contact, sexual reproduction and those aspects of farming systems that would enhance the quality of products e.g. the quality of the grass that influences the flavour of the milk and so forth). In contrast, the areas of concerns indicated by animal scientists focused on animal suffering.

(c) Participants acknowledged the priority and relevance of addressing issues of animal suffering before addressing issues concerning positive aspects of animals' quality of life,

however many (especially Dutch participants) expressed concern that issues of animal suffering still needed to be addressed, as they believed that animal suffering should no longer exist in a 'civilised' Europe and that a new standard for animal welfare should deal with the positive aspects of animals' lives. This attitude was more or less present in all countries, though it was not always clearly articulated.

INTRODUCTION

Farm animal welfare has become an important issue for consumers, producers and policy makers (Bennett, 1995) and recent years have seen a large expansion in the amount of welfare legislation within the EU (Wilkins, 1999; Bennett and Blaney, 2003). Social scientists and philosophers have also become increasingly interested in farm animal welfare both as a topic in its own right and as a means of gaining insights into wider nature-culture relations (Appleby and Sandoe, 2002; Buller and Morris, 2003; Tsovel, 2005). One of the biggest challenges facing researchers and policy makers concerned with farm animal welfare stems from the fact that there are multiple understandings of what is actually meant by farm animal welfare and, consequently there are multiple understandings of how improvements in farm animal welfare might be achieved. This is largely due to the fact that different stakeholders experience farm animals (and, more broadly, farm animal welfare issues) in quite different social contexts and hence they ‘frame’ this issue in quite different fashions. For example, certain animal scientists and ethologists *might* encounter farm animals in the ‘controlled’ environments of laboratories or experimental farms and some (but certainly not all) *might* view farm animal welfare in terms of a set of reliable, valid and repeatable monitoring standards. In contrast, many farmers and producers *might* frame animal welfare in more practical, experiential terms, based on their extensive day-to-day encounters with farm animals. Furthermore, their understandings of welfare issues might also be coloured by their need to ensure an economically viable rate of production, as such, good welfare might be equated with good health and high productivity. Finally, and as we shall see throughout the course of this report, consumers encounter, and relate to, farm animal welfare issues in a variety of different ways, such as; through visits to farms, through the mass media, through campaign groups, through the choices they make between different foods and their accompanying logos when shopping, and even through analogies with their experiences with companion animals and through their reading of more academic articles. This report seeks to contribute to the ongoing debate about farm animal welfare issues by painting a detailed picture of our focus group participants’ farm animal welfare views, concerns and priorities. However, more than this, we attempt to get to the bottom of participants’ understandings of farm animal welfare by examining how their knowledges and opinions are shaped by different everyday social practices and ‘institutional’ contexts. Furthermore, by examining differences between the views of participants in different countries and across different socio-cultural groups (such as ‘young singles’, ‘urban mothers’ and ‘seniors’) we attempt to illustrate some of the

diversity of consumer opinion and the dangers of treating 'consumers' as a single monolithic category.

The results outlined in this report are based on 48 focus group discussions that were undertaken by seven national research teams in France, Italy, Norway, Sweden, Hungary, The UK, and The Netherlands (see acknowledgments). The research was undertaken as part of Welfare Quality® subproject 1. The role of subproject 1 is to undertake social scientific research into the attitudes and practices of consumers (work package 1), retailers (work package 2) and producers (work package 3) and hence provide feedback to animal welfare scientists working within the project. This current report is the fourth in a series of reports undertaken by researchers in workpackage 1 to try and shed some light on consumers' perceptions, understandings, views and concerns about farm animal welfare. Previous reports include; a review of scientific literature on this topic; the development of a new theoretical framework for understanding the consumption of welfare-friendly food products; and results from a quantitative phone survey carried out across the same study countries listed above.

The current report begins with a methodology section, in which we outline; the selection criteria that we adopted to recruit participants for the research; how the focus groups were conducted; and how we managed the enormous amount of raw data generated by the research. In particular, we describe the techniques that we employed in order to gain insights into focus group participants' everyday, practical understandings of farm animal welfare issues (for example when engaged in food shopping), as well as their more reflective understandings of these issues. Furthermore, we discuss some of the difficulties of co-ordinating focus group research across different study countries and we examine the connection between some of the more abstract theoretical ideas about consumers developed in a previous report and the more practical discussion themes/topics that were included in the focus group discussion guide. This section is also supported by an extensive appendix in which we include; the focus group recruitment guide and questionnaire; the full focus group discussion guide; and the guidelines for the submission of raw data that were given to all the national research teams.

Chapter 4 focuses on European consumers' knowledge of farm animal welfare. We outline the character of our focus group participants' knowledge about this issue and how it differs from other forms of knowing (e.g. scientific understandings) both in style and in content. Furthermore, we attempt to graphically represent participants' understandings about farm animal welfare, in the form of a 'knowledgescape'. This 'knowledgescape' indicates the relative centrality of different types of participant knowledge and depicts some of the connections between different areas of understanding. For example, we examine issues such as whether participants tended to know more about farms than they did about farm animals, or whether they were better informed about the animal welfare issues that impacted upon food quality and human health than those that had no impact upon the final consumer product. We also examine national and socio-cultural variations in participants' understanding of farm animal welfare issues and we attempt to 'situate' participants' knowledge about farm animal welfare by critically examining the types of information

sources that they drew upon and by examining how their knowledge was grounded in different socio-material settings and practices.

Chapter 5 examines European consumers' knowledge about welfare-friendly products and assurance schemes. Firstly, we begin with a brief summary of national variations in the market availability of welfare-friendly foods, drawn from Welfare Quality® research conducted by the retailer workpackage (see Roe and Marsden, 2006). This helps us to examine the interconnections between the market availability of welfare friendly foods and participants' familiarity with these products in different study countries. Secondly, we examine our focus group participants' broader perceptions about what constitutes a welfare-friendly food. In particular, we examine which certification and assurance schemes they associated with high welfare and we also examine a range of broader *proxy* indicators of welfare-status that seem to be influencing their perceptions, such as; the origin of the product; whether it is sourced locally; the species type and age of the original animal; the store from which the good was purchased; the brand; the packaging; and even the price. Thirdly, we examine national and socio-cultural variations in participants' familiarity with welfare-friendly products. Fourthly, we turn to look at participants' information and labelling demands concerning animal welfare. In particular, we try to establish just how attentive participants are to welfare labelling on food products (this is an important issue as certain authors have contended that many consumer purchases are often habitual and guided by tacit routines, rather than being highly reflexive (see Glennie and Thrift, 1993; Miller et al., 1998; Gronow and Warde, 2001), furthermore other authors have pointed to the fact that many consumers seek to avoid making any connections between the food they buy/eat and the animal from which the food originated (Serpell, 1986). Finally, we discuss national and socio-cultural variations in participants' preferred form and content of product information and labelling about farm animal welfare.

Chapter 6 focuses attention on European consumers' perceived incentives and barriers to the purchase of welfare-friendly foods. In particular, we outline a number of additional positive attributes, such as health and taste, that our focus group participants believed were associated with high welfare products and we examine how participants' perceptions of these attributes varied nationally and across different socio-cultural groups. Furthermore, we identify a number of perceived barriers to the purchase of welfare-friendly goods, such as; price, lack of trust in labelled products, convenience, availability, etc. and we also examine national and socio-cultural variations in these perceived barriers. Finally, we examine whether or not participants experienced any ethical dilemmas concerning their purchase and consumption of welfare-friendly foods.

Chapter 7 concludes the report by summarising our key findings and by making a series of recommendations, especially concerning how some of the results from the Welfare Quality® project might be implemented. In particular, we focus attention on; how one can improve science-society dialogue around issues of farm animal welfare; the nature of the market for welfare-friendly goods from a consumer perspective; and the best ways to design information systems for welfare-friendly products.

To end this introduction we would like to reiterate the overall rationale for undertaking this research: One of the key aims of the Welfare Quality® project is to improve animal welfare by integrating insights from both science and *society*. Thus, whilst the practical recommendations emerging from the Welfare Quality® project will be grounded in rigorous scientific research, they will also be sensitive to the social contexts in which (and through which) they will be applied. For example, there is little use in proposing a series of scientifically valid recommendations to improve animal welfare if farmers are unable to implement them. Similarly, there is little use in developing a scientifically credible welfare assessment scheme to act as a standard for welfare-friendly food products if the categories chosen to assess welfare bear no resemblance to the understandings and preoccupations of different stakeholders. As such, one of the greatest challenges facing the project is how to successfully integrate scientific knowledges and alternative understandings about farm animal welfare. Seen in this light, social scientific research into the beliefs and concerns of farmers, retailers and, in the case of this report, consumers should not be seen as merely a means of assessing these 'stakeholder' groups, so that the findings of a traditional, pristine, tightly circumscribed science might be more easily communicated to them, but rather, it should be viewed as a way of critically evaluating, and perhaps even reaffirming, alternative forms of knowing and of promoting the cross-fertilisation of ideas between science and society, so that we can move towards a more democratic model of applied science (see Irwin and Wynne, 1996).

3

METHODOLOGY

3.1 RECRUITING PARTICIPANTS FOR THE FOCUS GROUP RESEARCH

In order to carry out the focus group research we recruited 349 different participants from seven European study countries: France, Hungary, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden and the UK. The criteria used to select participants are summarised in Table 3.1 and the original detailed recruitment guide and questionnaire are located in the Appendix. The seven study countries were selected to ensure that the views of a broad range of consumer-citizens of different nationalities, including those from Northern, Central, Southern and Eastern Europe, would be included in the research. Furthermore, we hoped to explore potentially important differences between the study countries with regards to participant's understandings of, and concerns about, farm animal welfare.

We wanted to use the focus groups to explore the opinions of 'ordinary' consumers rather than people who were already highly motivated by animal welfare issues. However, we also wanted to ensure that participants had at least some level of interest in issues of farm animal welfare and farming in general, so that they would be able to make useful contributions to discussions around these issues. As such, we used two overall filters to recruit ordinary consumers who had a bare minimum level of interest/involvement in these issues (see Appendix). Filter 1 required that participants were meat-eaters who ate meat at least once a week (except for a special vegetarian subgroup who participated in group 6) and filter 2 required that participants should have at least some bare minimum level of interest in either the farming of animals for food (e.g. the different systems of production that are used), or animal welfare issues. Filter 2 consisted of a series of questions regarding consumers' interest in animal welfare (e.g. whether they checked food labels for animal welfare issues, or whether they thought about the origin of the animal foods they consumed), all participants who ticked 'often' or 'very often' in relation to at least one activity, or 'sometimes' in relation to at least two activities could progress to the group recruitment stage.

In addition to ensuring that consumer-citizens from a range of different European countries participated in the research we also wanted to ensure that the views of consumer-citizens from a range of different socio-cultural backgrounds were also included. As such, the research teams carried out 6/7 focus groups with different homogenous socio-cultural

TABLE 3.1 Summary of selection criteria for the consumer focus groups.

Group	Selection criteria
All participants	Aged 18–70, meat-eaters who eat meat at least once a week (except for group 6), must have a bare minimum level of interest in either animal welfare issues or farming
Group 1: Urban mothers	Female, aged under 50, with children (50% with at least one child under 5, 50% with at least one teenage child), urban dwellers
Group 2: Rural women	Female, aged under 50, must live in or have grown up in a 'rural' area, must not be farmers or farmers' partners
Group 3: Married or living with partner but without children	Mixed gender, 50% aged over 40, childless, or no children living at home at present, married or living with a partner, urban dwellers, must do at least 50% of food shopping
Group 4: Seniors	Mixed gender, aged 55–70, must do at least 50% of food shopping
Group 5: Young singles	Mixed gender, aged under 35, single, urban dwellers
Group 6: Politically active and vegetarian consumers	Mixed gender, 50% of the participants should classify themselves as vegetarians (vegans should not be included), 50% of the participants should be 'politically active' consumers (as defined in the recruitment questionnaire)
Group 7: Country specific group	Groups that are of particular interest within specific study countries (e.g. hunters in Norway, gourmets in Italy, ethnic minorities in France)

groups (such as 'urban mothers' or 'seniors') in each study country (see Table 3.1). Deciding on the nature of each group was a difficult challenge that involved a sustained and productive dialogue between different national research teams. The main motivation behind the selection of different groups was to ensure that people from a range of different socio-demographic and lifestyle backgrounds were included in the analysis, so that this would provide us with an opportunity to explore the full range of discourses and different opinions associated with animal welfare and welfare-friendly food products. However, as there are so many different socio-demographic and lifestyle criteria that could have an impact upon consumer-citizens' food habits and animal welfare opinions, difficulties arose in deciding which criteria would be the most significant. Eventually we reached a consensus and developed a group recruitment system that incorporated those criteria that were deemed to be of most potential importance, namely: age, gender, urban/rural, children/no children, marital status, vegetarianism, political activeness. Information regarding participants' income, education and social status was also collected (potentially for use in further analysis) but not used as recruitment criteria. Other factors that influenced the nature of the consumer focus groups included:

- (a) The need to ensure a productive group dynamic and to facilitate sustained discussion. This was partly achieved by selecting homogeneous groups, so that there would be some commonality of experience between participants.
- (b) The need to ensure that recruitment criteria were not too restrictive to avoid escalations in recruitment costs.
- (c) The need to carryout meaningful comparisons between different socio-cultural groups.

Based on these considerations, we proposed to study six different socio-cultural groups in each country, namely; 'urban mothers'; 'rural women'; married or living with a partner but

without children ('empty nesters'); 'seniors'; 'young singles'; and 'politically active/vegetarian consumers' (see Table 3.1). Individual research teams were also able to select a seventh country-specific group that consisted of consumer-citizens who were of particular interest within their study country (UK-'Young singles north', Netherlands-No extra group, France-'Ethnic minorities', Sweden-'Politically active fathers', Norway-'Hunters', Italy-'Gourmets', Hungary-'Health conscious').

Finally, based on these selection criteria, we prepared detailed recruitment guides and example questionnaires for use by the national research teams (see appendices A and B). Different national research teams then employed their own specific methods (e.g. professional recruitment agencies, phone interviews or snowball techniques) in order to fulfil the recruitment criteria (see Evans and Miele, 2007).

3.2 UNDERTAKING THE FOCUS GROUP RESEARCH

In order to ensure best practice and to standardise approaches across the different study countries we produced a detailed focus group protocol, which provided national research teams with a range of practical information and suggestions about how to undertake the focus group research (see Appendix). The protocol included details regarding focus group techniques, the roles of the facilitators, how the focus groups should be transcribed etc.

Before undertaking the focus groups and in consultation with the national research teams, we devoted a considerable amount of time to developing a focus group discussion guide (see Appendix). This was an iterative and interactive process, which consisted of a range of web-based discussions and face-to-face meetings to refine the content of the guide and to incorporate different theoretical approaches and areas of interest. Furthermore, we conducted a pilot study in Cardiff to test and refine the content of the guide. This was very helpful, especially in terms of adjusting the suggested timings for different sections, removing and re-ordering questions and clearing up any uncertainties. Further pilot studies were undertaken in each study country to enable researchers to familiarise themselves with the guide and make any final adjustments.

When formulating the focus group discussion guide we were confronted with three major issues:

- (a) How to develop a guide that reflected the wide range of different theoretical interests of the national research teams.

- (b) How to develop a guide that was flexible enough to allow national teams to explore the specificities of their own study countries and theoretical interests, whilst still being sufficiently standardised to allow valid cross-country comparisons.
- (c) How to develop a guide that enabled us to gain insights into participants' everyday practical knowledges as well as more reflexive/cognitive understandings.

In relation to the first issue, one of the major strengths of consumer research in the Welfare Quality[®] project relates to the fact that in addition to being multi-national it is also interdisciplinary. Indeed, many of the national research teams come from different disciplinary backgrounds and, as such, have different insights to offer into the study of consumers and consumption practices (this is very valuable as 'consumption' is itself an inherently inter-disciplinary topic, see Miller, 1995). In particular, researchers came from philosophical/ethical, political, economic, anthropological and sociological backgrounds. Hence, in an attempt to incorporate these different approaches, we developed a final discussion guide with nine major themes and a large range of different topics within each theme (see Table 3.2). Whilst the themes are quite practical in nature, it is still possible to discern the theoretical motivations behind several of the proposed topics. For example, the inclusion of issues such as culinary practices, responsibility and trust reflects a sociological approach to consumption, whereas the inclusion of issues of consumer agency and political mobilisation reflects a political-economy approach to consumption. Similarly, the inclusion of topics such as ethical dilemmas reflects a more philosophical (analytical/ethical) approach to consumption.

In relation to the second issue, it was vital that we developed a discussion guide that was flexible enough to allow different research teams to explore the specificities of their own study countries (for example consumer choice might be a more important issue in relation to UK consumers than for those in Norway and notions of food quality might be more important to consumers in Italy and France than in other countries) and their own theoretical approaches but which was still sufficiently standardised to allow valid cross-country comparisons. We achieved this by incorporating a large number of different topics in the overall discussion guide (some of which might be more valid in certain countries than in others) and by differentiating between a range of compulsory core topics (which we could then use for comparative analysis) and a range of optional topics, which different research teams could choose to omit from their national discussion guides. Furthermore, the timings that we suggested for each theme were only approximate guidelines and research teams were free to spend longer on those topics that seemed to be more important for the participants in their focus groups. Finally, research teams had the option to undertake an additional country-specific focus group, for which they were able to use their own recruitment criteria and their own modified discussion guides.

In relation to the third issue, we wanted to use the focus group research to gain insights into consumers' taken-for-granted understandings and assumptions about farm animal welfare, as well as their more cognitive-reflective knowledge of this subject. We felt that this was important because we believed that consumers' understandings of farm animal welfare were embedded in everyday activities and because we suspected that many of these activities were practical-tacit in nature rather than abstract-intellectualised (see also

TABLE 3.2 Themes addressed within the focus groups.

Themes addressed	Topics within each theme
1. Culinary practices	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Food consumption cultures and habits in different countries • The consumption, preparation and purchase of meat, dairy and egg products
2. Consumers' general knowledge about farming practices and animal welfare	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sources of information • Evaluation of available information • Gaps in the provision of information
3. Consumers' knowledge of welfare-friendly food products	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Consumers' familiarity with welfare-friendly products • Consumers' familiarity with welfare-friendly certification/assurance schemes (and the criteria behind them) • Perceived pros and cons of different products and schemes
4. Consumers' evaluation of the provision of information about welfare-friendly products	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The level of consumer demand for information about animal welfare • Consumer preferences regarding product labelling
5. Consumers' interactions with and perceptions of welfare-friendly products	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Perceived positive and negative attributes of welfare-friendly foodstuffs • Barriers to purchasing welfare-friendly foodstuffs • Ethical dilemmas related to the purchase of welfare-friendly foodstuffs
6. Responsibility	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Consumer perception of who should be taking responsibility for animal welfare • The perceived roles of consumers in relation to the state with regard to animal welfare • Consumer perception of who is actually taking responsibility for animal welfare • The interconnections between consumer practices, consumer knowlegdes and notions of responsibility
7. Agency	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Strategies of political mobilisation adopted by consumers in relation to animal welfare • Consumers' perception of their ability to influence animal welfare • Consumer boycotts and 'buycotts' of specific meat or animal products
8. Trust	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reflexive and non-reflexive consumption practices • Who consumers trust/distrust to provide reliable information about animal welfare • Why consumers trust some organisations but distrust others • Do levels of trust vary in relation to the specific issue under consideration (e.g. labelling, monitoring)?
9. Consumers' evaluations of a proposed scientifically based standard for farm animal welfare	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Participants' spontaneous animal welfare concerns and priorities • Participants' reactions to the list of ten welfare concerns developed by Welfare Quality scientists

Glennie and Thrift, 1993; Miller et al., 1998; and Gronow and Warde, 2001 on the non-reflexive nature of consumption practices). In some ways focus groups are not the ideal tool for 'getting at' these types of practical knowledges, indeed some commentators would argue that only in situ, detailed ethnographic observation can truly shed any light on consumers' (embodied) practices. However, whilst we would not wish to overstate the extent to which focus groups can be used to explore practices, we do believe that they can allow us to 'unpack' people's ideas and opinions and to explore the motivations, implicit assumptions and situated practical logics behind them. Furthermore, they allow us to explore some of the interconnections between everyday taken-for-granted practices and how these practices are articulated. Focus group discussions are also quite different from most one-on-one interviews, in that they help to foster a more active, dynamic, interactive conversation and they promote more spontaneous everyday modes of language use and expression (language as a practical 'tool' rather than language as a reflexive 'text', see Shotter, 1993). Finally, we should not forget that all forms of language use are grounded in specific socio-material contexts and, as such, linguistic expressions, even those written on a page or uttered in a focus group still carry the marks of, and indeed bear witness to, the original practical-material contexts in which they evolved (in addition to the practical context of a focus group discussion).¹ Thus a careful reading of, for example, a conversation about shopping practices can indeed shed some light on the more tacit, taken-for-granted dimensions of these practices.

In order to enhance the efficacy of focus groups as a tool for getting at everyday practices and practical knowledges we also adopted a number of additional strategies: Firstly, we tried to develop a discussion guide that was *relevant to everyday experiences*. In particular, we used non-technical, everyday language to introduce different tasks and ask questions. Furthermore, we ensured that the discussions always began with conversations about everyday culinary practices, such as eating, preparing and shopping for food, so that we could situate the discourse within real world situations before moving on to address other issues that were more specifically related to farm animal welfare. We also used a range of prompts, such as welfare-friendly products and product labels/leaflets both to stimulate conversations and to recreate familiar practical situations, such as everyday encounters with foods. Secondly, we tried to develop a discussion guide that was sensitive to the different *frames of understanding* that informed consumers' knowledges about farm animal welfare. As we shall see over the course of the report, focus group participants' knowledge about farm animal welfare was complex, multifarious and highly context-dependent. In order to tap into these different frames of understanding we approached the issue of participants' animal welfare concerns from a variety of different practical angles. Indeed, we attempted to frame the conversations in different ways to mirror and re-evolve the different real world contexts/framings in which, and through which, issues of farm animal welfare emerge (such as shopping, eating and preparing food). Thirdly, we tried to develop a discussion guide that helped to *stimulate group interaction* and hence the emergence of inter-subjective or shared understandings. In particular, we included a group exercise in which participants were encouraged to, at first, write down their personal farm animal welfare concerns/priorities and then agree on a list of priorities as a group. The welfare-

¹ It is this intimate connection between language and socio-material practices/settings that is at the heart of Foucault's notion of 'discourse' and Deleuze's notion of 'order words'.

friendly products that we used as prompts also helped to stimulate interesting conversations. However, there is only so much that one can achieve through a discussion guide and ultimately the success of a focus group in this regard is largely down to the skills of the facilitators and the initial selection of participants.

3.3 MANAGING RAW DATA FROM THE FOCUS GROUPS

Once undertaken, all the focus groups were transcribed in full and the computer software package ‘N’Vivo’ was used as an aid for storing, manipulating and analysing the data (see Gibbs, 2002; Bazeley and Richards, 2005). National teams were provided with a list of detailed requirements concerning the precise format that the raw data should take (see appendix H). This included details of the transcription protocol, the required format of participants’ socio-demographic information, guidelines for how to input their data into N’Vivo and details concerning the categories (or ‘nodes’) they should use for the initial coding of their N’Vivo documents (all national teams had previously received training on the use of this software package). These guidelines enabled us to ensure that there was consistency across the different countries and helped to facilitate the ‘merging’ of the national data sets.

Once we had received the raw data from the different national teams, we began the long process of preparing and combining the data into a single coherent dataset from which we could undertake our comparative coding and analysis. Indeed, this comparative report is based on an analysis of the original focus group transcripts in addition to an analysis of the national reports produced by each research team (see Evans and Miele, 2007).

Several steps were required to combine the data into a single N’Vivo project. Firstly, we had to ‘clean’ the data files in preparation for the merge. This primarily consisted of ensuring that there was coding consistency between the different study countries. Whilst all national teams had adopted the basic thematic coding structure detailed in Appendix H,² many had developed and significantly expanded their coding structures to assist them in the analysis of their national data. As such, whilst all countries shared the same basic ‘parent nodes’, they all had very different ‘sibling node’ structures, which often reflected their country-specific focus. Hence, rather than merging together all these different ‘sibling nodes’ and trying to make sense of all the complex interactions, overlaps and inconsistencies, we decided to ‘strip back’ the data and only preserve the original ‘parent nodes’ and their associated broad codings detailed in appendix H. We were then able to design our own detailed coding structures based on a more comparative approach to analysis. Secondly, we used the software package ‘N’Vivo Merge’ to combine the national

² In doing this ‘stripping back’ we had to ensure that the coding for all the sibling nodes (which we wanted to remove) was also included in their ‘parent nodes’ (which we wanted to preserve). This is because N’Vivo does not automatically copy the contents of sibling nodes into their larger parent nodes.

N'Vivo data into a single N'Vivo project. This involved a stepwise process, in which a core project was selected and different projects were added one by one until all seven data sets had been combined. Thirdly, we assigned each (anonymous) participant with their own unique node and we coded all the contributions that they made to the discussion under their own nodes. Fourthly, we stored every participants' socio-demographic and lifestyle information as 'node attributes' that were linked to their own unique nodes. Finally, based on our reading of the focus group transcripts and the national reports we expanded upon the broad nodes, which were already present, to develop a more detailed thematic node structure. When completed, our dataset consisted of 48 focus group transcripts (with over 100 hours of transcribed discussions), 349 participant nodes (one for each individual participant), 4,537 node attributes (13 different socio-demographic and lifestyle nodes per participant) and approximately 500 000 words of text. Despite this vast amount of data, it is important to remember that focus groups cannot provide us with statistically representative information about the population at large. Indeed, the sample sizes are too small for us to make statistically valid generalisations about consumers as a whole or even about consumers from a particular country or socio-cultural group.³ Instead, we can only make very tentative observations based on the views of the participants who took part in the focus group research (for a more quantitative approach to this issue, see Kjaernes and Lavik, forthcoming). However, we can use the focus group data to gain insights into a range of more qualitative issues, such as; how different consumers understand and 'frame' farm animal welfare issues; how consumers' understandings of farm animal welfare are embedded in everyday practices of food shopping and eating; how the different social-material structures in which consumers are embedded shape their opinions and inform their knowledges about farm animal welfare; and finally we can use the data to explore the implicit values and assumptions behind consumers' opinions.

³ Furthermore, the method of sampling that we adopted was specifically designed to target certain potentially interesting groups of consumers (with potentially differing opinions and views).

4

EUROPEAN CONSUMERS’ KNOWLEDGE ABOUT FARM ANIMAL WELFARE

4.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, we attempt to shed some light on European consumers’ knowledge about farm animal welfare. In particular, we try to map the contours of our focus group participants’ understandings of this issue and we explore:

1. The character of participants’ knowledge about this issue and how it differs from other forms of knowing (e.g. scientific understandings).
2. The relative importance of different aspects of participants’ knowledge. For example, did participants know more about farms than they did about farm animals, or were they better informed about those animal welfare issues that impacted upon food quality and human health than those that had no impact upon the final consumer product?
3. How participants discursively framed different farm animal welfare issues
4. How participants’ knowledge was grounded in different material networks and practices
5. How participants’ knowledge about farm animal welfare varied in relation to nationality and a variety of important socio-demographic and lifestyle variables, such as gender, age, political beliefs etc.
6. The different types of information sources that participants drew upon and how these sources helped to shape their understandings in different ways.

Clearly these are ambitious tasks and we cannot hope to provide readers with a comprehensive map that depicts all the multiple facets of our focus group participants’ understandings about farm animal welfare. Instead we draw on results from the focus groups to sketch what we believe to be the most important *broad* dimensions/concerns apparent within these lay knowledges and we explore how participants’ multiple understandings of animal welfare are framed in different ways. Even in the context of this report these depictions of participants’ knowledge are not exhaustive, indeed they are supplemented throughout the text as more in-depth analyses of issues such as participants’ relationships to welfare-friendly food products and participants’ spontaneous animal

welfare priorities reveal alternative (but similar) modes of knowing about farm animal welfare.

Throughout the chapter, rather than adopting academic/analytical terminologies to re-classify participants' knowledges, we have tried to express participants' understandings in their own terms. Thus words such as 'farmer' are favoured in preference to 'producer' and empirically-grounded bottom-up categories such as 'farmer', 'food' and 'animal' are favoured in preference to academic abstractions. Finally, we have tried to be sensitive to the qualitative nature of our data and the fact that it cannot provide us with statistically representative information about either the entire 'population' of consumers or about the different national and socio-demographic groups that we seek to compare. However, the data can furnish us with great insights into the complex variety of views and opinions behind a given issue and it can yield useful insights into the different ways in which issues are discursively framed, furthermore it can, albeit in a speculative way that will require further empirical corroboration, highlight potentially interesting similarities and differences in animal welfare knowledge between certain specific groups of consumers living in different countries, coming from different socio-cultural and economic backgrounds and adopting different lifestyles.

Hopefully the content of this chapter will go some way to dispelling the common myth that consumers are simply ignorant about farming and farm animal welfare. Indeed, we will show that whilst many (but by no means all) of our focus group participants were indeed spatially detached from *regular* direct contact with farms and farm animals, many still possessed important and often heartfelt knowledges about the current state of animal farming and farm animal welfare across Europe. However, it is also clear that the ways in which participants articulated these knowledges differs markedly from scientific and farming knowledges (this is to be expected as these knowledges emerge from within very different socio-material networks and everyday practices). As such we would like to view the mapping exercise that this chapter attempts to undertake (charting participants' farm animal welfare 'knowledgescapes') as a further step towards helping groups such as animal scientists, veterinarians and farmers to understand 'where consumer-citizens are coming from' and to point the way forward towards a more constructive dialogue.

Before ending this introduction it is vital to note that whilst we believe that consumer-citizens' views about farm animal welfare are important, even unfairly overlooked, we still understand the value of critically 'situating' them within their socio-material contexts. As such, we are sensitive to the ways in which our participants' knowledges about farm animal welfare were grounded in specific material settings and everyday practices such as food shopping, food preparation, pet ownership, farm visits and mediated by circulating texts, images and performances such as mass-media (scare) stories, wildlife documentaries, zoos, environmental discourses, scientific accounts and even animal cartoons and theme parks. Just as the farm animals at the centre of scientific concerns are always-already cultural, so are the rather different creatures at the centre of consumers' understandings.

4.2 THE NATURE OF CONSUMER KNOWLEDGE ABOUT FARM ANIMAL WELFARE

Looking at Table 4.1, which depicts our focus group participants' knowledge about farm animal welfare, one can begin to grasp the sheer volume and variety of consumers' knowledge, concerns, and understandings about this issue. For example, and as we shall see in more detail in the forthcoming sections, many of our focus group participants were knowledgeable about; the pros and cons of industrialised farming techniques; the living conditions experienced by certain farm animals; the importance of good-human animal relationships in maintaining good welfare; the connections between animal welfare and food quality; and the wider societal dimensions of farm animal welfare. Furthermore, one can also begin to see how these knowledges vary between different countries and between different focus groups. Before we move on to look at the *content* of participants' knowledge about this issue in more detail, we would like to spend the remainder of this section highlighting some more general points about the overall character/nature of our participants' knowledge about farm animal welfare.

The first point to note is that participants' knowledge about farm animal welfare is less tightly circumscribed/defined than other more formal types of knowledge, such as those derived from the animal sciences. That is to say that whereas scientific understanding is usually compartmentalised into relatively strict 'disciplines' which have carefully defined the scopes of their enquires, participants' knowledge about farm animal welfare spanned over and connected together a range of different issues (ranging from farm to food and incorporating a range of wider societal concerns about human health, biosecurity, environmental degradation, naturalism, animal welfare and animal rights). Thus for example, two common farm animal welfare concerns mentioned by participants included the importance of feeding animals with natural feed (especially avoiding cannibalism) and avoiding the use of genetically modified animal feeds:

'... and mostly feeding them the most naturally as far as possible while respecting the natural food of animals' (France, empty nester).

'The same with the story on BSE, they should not eat other cows, no extra additions. Welfare is not just about feeling well, but also that eat good food' (Netherlands, vegetarian/politically active).

'... No growth hormones. No antibiotics, none of GMO since there is still no reliable study on the subject. To apply a principle of precaution to the GMO' (France, urban mother).

In the past animal scientists have simply dismissed these and similar consumer concerns as being irrelevant to farm animal welfare and more oriented towards matters of human health. However, the point is that these concerns were indelibly intertwined within the

TABLE 4.1 Focus group participants' knowledge about farm animal welfare issues.

Group	Country	UK	Netherlands	France	Sweden	Norway	Italy	Hungary
Urban Mothers		Care. Feed. Living conditions. Veal crates. Steroids. Chickens (super-growth, acid burns). Space (pigs). Hygiene (pigs). Transport (cattle trucks). Slaughter. BSE. Media coverage influences opinion. Traditional methods equals better welfare.	Horrible things happen. Battery hens have poor lives. Free range pigs not much better off. Hygiene (pigs). Transport (cattle trucks). Slaughter. BSE. Media coverage influences opinion. Traditional methods equals better welfare.	Rough handling oriented dairy farming. Fish production in US. Traditional farming+. Outdoor farming+. Giving animals names+. Transport of animals from abroad. Handling during transport. Slaughter (industrialised and handling problems). Mad cow disease.	Hens caged. Antibiotics. Transport. People don't know much about farm animal welfare.	Crammed together. Chained cattle. hormones. Poor hygiene. Inappropriate breeds (chickens, beef). Transport. Traditional farmerst+. Free range+. cow+. Animals have Ecological products (cows)+. Welfare as making life tolerable rather than big change. Welfare economics. scandals.	Mistreatment. Freedom, space. Free-range+. Traditional farming+. Animal feed. eggs. Farmyard good, animal industrial bad. Force-fed geese. Pigs with toys+. Transport. Welfare economics: milking cold Slaughter unrealistic to expect (quick, limit suffering). too much welfare given Mad cow disease. Food level of demand. Animal rights. Welfare monitoring problems.	Overcrowding (cows). Chickens poor existence only to lay eggs. Farmyard good, animal industrial bad. Force-fed geese. Pigs with toys+. Transport. Welfare economics: milking cold Slaughter unrealistic to expect (quick, limit suffering). too much welfare given Mad cow disease. Food level of demand. Animal rights. Welfare monitoring problems.
Rural Women		Battery farms poor welfare. Animals kept just to be killed. Free range+.	Veal farming bad. Battery hens. Hens picking feathers. Pigs (tail docking and castration). Outdoor access+. Free range: mixed opinions. Animal diseases (swine fever).	Anti Battery. Foie gras. Chicken production (cannibalism and killing of chicks). Animal feed. Hormones. Transport Europe). Slaughter. Mad cow disease. Avian flu.	Hens have poor welfare. Industrial thinking. Belgium Welfare regulation+ (cage size). Transport (reindeer, cows). Mad cow disease. Media influence on welfare debate.	Sheep intestinal parasites less spread if outdoors. Wolves attacking sheep. Freedom of choice for free-range animals+. Pro-small scale production. Salmonella in Swedish poultry. Foot and mouth disease (UK). Stricter welfare regulations in Norway.	Suffering, mistreatment. Outdoor and free range+, battery cages (hens), overcrowding negative. Chiannina cattle not allowed out. Appropriate animals (not ostriches). Human-respect, animals as individuals. Growth promoters. Feed. Transport (abroad). Slaughter (horses, calves, pigs). Religious slaughter. Animal welfare and human health. Mad cow disease.	Mistreatment. Care. Animals as sentient. Feed (chickens). Animals pushed to limits burn out more quickly.

TABLE 4.1 CONT. Focus group participants' knowledge about farm animal welfare issues.

Group	Country	UK	Netherlands	France	Sweden	Norway	Italy	Hungary
Empty Nesters		Animal feed. Chickens have poor welfare. Pigs and Cows crowded in sheds. Featherless chickens overcrowded. Veal crates. Life duration (lambs). Straw+. Regular feeding+. Transport (sheep, veal). Slaughter. Organic+. Free-range+. Cheap food equals poor welfare.	Lack of space. Battery farming. Good welfare equals good quality meat. Foot and mouth disease. Media misrepresent animal welfare issues. Clean welfare.	Poultry conditions, space, mutilation). Foie gras. Cruelty. Animals as products. Anti industrial production. Animal feed (especially animal-based). Anti-biotics (cows). Transport (sheep and cows). Slaughter (poultry)	Transport (pigs, cows). Pig slaughter (Denmark). Are free-range hens better? Welfare economics: too commercial nowadays. Debate is media influenced.	Personal relationship with animals+. Respect. Hygiene. Feed. Transport. Slaughter (pigs). Free-range hens+. Fish welfare not as important. Welfare economics: profit oriented farming. Consumers don't know best.	Small farms/farmers, outdoor access (cows), free range positive. Industrial, battery hens, overcrowding negative. Controlled feeding. Anti-chemicals Stress toxins in meat. Vet control. Hygiene. Anti force-feeding. Lifespan. Transport. Slaughter. Impossibility of good welfare given pollution. Mad cow chicken flu. Ensure laws are applied.	Neglect. Anti-industrial (chickens). Hygiene. Force-fed geese. Stressed animals. Chicken feed. Transport.
Seniors		Chemical additives (pumped up chickens). Humane treatment. Good environment. Feed. Veal have poor welfare. Life duration (veal, chicken). Animal welfare should cover all of life and death. Transport (especially from abroad). Slaughter. Religious slaughter. BSE. Consumers ignorant about production. Bias media coverage.	Mistreatment. Cows not allowed to meadow. America Holstein cows. Intensive fish farming. Battery eggs. Transport (pigs). Farmers too profit oriented, intensive. Some farmers are good. Free-range only slightly better than battery.	Inappropriate breed (turkeys). Overproduction. Hormones in veal. Sheep (binding genitals to prevent early breeding). Massaging cows+. Transport. Slaughter (veal), Mad cow disease.	Space (hens). Caged hens can be healthier. Preventative anti-biotics. Mistreatment (horses). Transport. Some farmers care, others are more commercial. Media: lot of info about negative welfare.	Mal-treatment. Beating to tenderise meat. Confinement (cows, hens). Disease spread if close together. Int. pork production. Belgium sheep welfare+ as non-intensive. Wild animals have best welfare. Hygiene. Health check-ups. Feed (natural improved (cattle, pigs), hens bad. Transport. Free range not better. Welfare economics: subsidies/imports. Scandal based information. BSE. People ignorant about welfare, in denial. Gilde outdoor pig farming+. Norway better tighter rules on no. of animals kept.	Crowded (chickens). Free range+. Less intensive farms+. Freedom+. Outdoor life+. Natural rhythm+. Sheep welfare+ as non-intensive. Wild animals have best welfare. Hygiene. Health check-ups. Feed (natural improved (cattle, pigs), hens bad. Transport. Free range not better. Welfare economics: music+. Welfare economics (cost). Organic+ Taken a certain road difficult to go back.	Mistreatment. Hygiene. Space (chickens). Most farmers good, some bad. Playing music to cows.

TABLE 4.1 CONT. Focus group participants' knowledge about farm animal welfare issues.

Group	Country	UK	Netherlands	France	Sweden	Norway	Italy	Hungary
Young Singles		Humane treatment. Battery farms bad animals packed into little pens. Animals as products (Ford cars). Killed humanely. Foot and mouth disease. People are not well informed, many are in denial Economics of welfare: local farmers are caring, large scale supermarket franchises are bad	Space (chickens). Feed (chickens and pigs). Chickens and pigs have the worse lives. Transport. Foot and mouth disease. Bird diseases. Adopting chickens. People don't want to know about welfare.	Industrial farming. Stressed animals. Calves separated from mother. Force-feeding of geese. Religious slaughter+. Welfare is good, we can trust the authorities. Mad cow disease.	Pigs kept inside. Hens. Antibiotics. Factory farming bad. Traditional small-scale farming+ not always best. Pigs and dairy cows poor welfare. Milk overproduction. Pros and cons of automated milking. Belgium blue cows. Chickens pumped full of proteins. Transport. Slaughter (fast, painless), Mad cow disease. Free range: mixed opinions. Welfare economics: cost of competition with EU countries made conditions worse. Media: we only hear the bad stories.	Indoor confinement (pigs, chickens). Outdoor+ (sheep). Wolves attacking sheep. Feed. Welfare and human health. Life duration (calves). Traditional farming, more natural+. Small scale+. Transport (pigs, sheep, chicken), further due to closed slaughter houses. Some chickens have good welfare. Cows welfare improved - foam mattresses. Welfare economics: cost of welfare-friendly goods. The media exaggerates. Ethical imperative to treat animals well	Maltreatment. Chickens and pigs have poor welfare. Animal dignity, respect. Overcrowded hens, chained (cows). Open air+. Natural lives+. Teeth removed from pigs. Chicks minced. Natural feed. Transport unrealistic. (horses).	Poor conditions. Animals too fast growing. Animal feed additives. Growth hormones. Ancient breeds (mangalicas)+. Transport (heat). Mad cow disease. Bird flu. Notion of welfare unrealistic.
Political/ Vegetarian		Freedom. Conditions. Anti battery farming (hens). Natural habits should be respected. Animal suffering. Hormones (chickens). Oversized chickens breaking their legs. Transport.	Playing music to pigs+. Animal-origm feed. Overfed/develop too quickly (fish and calves). Injected with chemicals/hormones (cows). Transport (pushed into trucks). Adopting a chicken. Slaughter. Shrimps cooked live. Free range not much better.	Cruelty. Factory farming (cattle) (calves, hens) production. Hormones (in US cattle). Dairy injections. Dairy (volume of milk per cow). Foie gras (mixed views). Increase respect. Animal suffering is equal to human suffering. Freedom like in the old days. Transport. Slaughter. Religious slaughter	Free range hens+, Battery slaughter, transport, feed, allowed to move, whole EU as meat industry, transport across EU	Anti-factory farming (pigs). Cages A4 size (chickens). Intensive indoor multi-story (cows in NL). Wild animals better welfare. Some farmers+. Dairy farming and calf killing. Transport longer due to stricter slaughter regulations. Slaughter (fear), some done well. Welfare economics: cheap meat = poor welfare. BSE (Belgium cows).	Maltreatment (pigs beaten). Respect. Animals as machines. Battery chickens. No outdoor access (cows). Space. Ability to graze. Animals' habitats. Natural growth. Hygiene (pigs). Transport (pigs, chickens). Slaughter. Animal welfare and human health. It's getting better (e.g. chickens). Mad cow disease.	Badly kept. Space/housing size (cows). Broilers too fast growing. Feed. Transport not regulated (cows). Lack of water in transport.

TABLE 4.1 CONT. Focus group participants' knowledge about farm animal welfare issues.

Group	Country	UK	Netherlands	France	Sweden	Norway	Italy	Hungary
Country Specific		<p><i>Young Singles (N):</i> Feed. Corn fed chickens look nicer and healthier. Chemicals. Veal (crates, chains, kept in dark). Slaughter. Mad cow disease. Welfare economics: level of demand makes poor welfare, wealthy farmers interested in profit not welfare. Free-range+.</p>		<p><i>Ethnic minorities:</i> Intensively farmed chickens (toxins bad for human health) Foie gras. Slaughter (calves and pigs). Religious slaughter. Avian flu.</p>	<p><i>Political fathers:</i> Pushes production too hard, economics, mad cow, ecological farmers better, free-range pigs+, banned if mistreat animals,</p>	<p><i>Hunters:</i> Chickens, Belgium Blue have poor farms. Roam free outside+. Hunting better for welfare than intensive farming. Human-animal realtionship closer on small farms. Wolves attacking sheep. Slaughter bad (animal just seen as food).</p>	<p><i>Gourmet:</i> Eliminate suffering. Care. Anti intensive production (rabbits, fish and chickens like cars), space, Freedom. Welfare best for wild animals. Increase in free range pigs+. Animal feed. In Parma and Piemont cows and pigs have good welfare. Transport (especially from abroad). Slaughter (chickens disembowelled alive). SARS. Welfare economics: market versus animal respect.</p>	<p><i>Health Conscions:</i> Animal feed. Force-fed geese. Pig mutilation (tails teeth). Transport (sheep).</p>

focus group participants' understandings and if we want to achieve a meaningful dialogue between science and society we must first be sensitive to how scientists and consumer-citizens differently define the scope of farm animal welfare as a topic of interest.

Secondly, participants' knowledge about farm animal welfare did not constitute a unified and coherent body of knowledge. Indeed, it was multiple, fragmentary and made up of a patchwork of different understandings and concerns that were drawn from different sources and that could either re-enforce or contradict each other. This is typical of certain forms of lay understanding as there is simply not the same disciplinary pressure to maintain coherence and consistency as there is in more formalised, codified forms of knowing. Thus, for example, it was very common for different participants to hold different knowledge beliefs and it was also not unusual for individual participants to draw on contradictory knowledge beliefs about farm animal welfare when engaged in different practical activities, such as purchasing food, preparing a meal, reading a newspaper article, or even completing a questionnaire or taking part in a focus group.

Thirdly, like all forms of knowledge, participants' knowledge about farm animal welfare did not exist in an abstract and isolated thought bubble emerging from their heads, but rather it was grounded in, and indeed distributed throughout specific socio-material networks (see Law, 1991; Hutchins, 2000). In other words, participants' understandings of these issues emerged from within the specific context of everyday practical activities, such as shopping for groceries, preparing meals, reading articles, looking after pets (via analogy to farm animals), visiting zoos and watching nature documentaries and they drew upon specific sources of information which framed farm animal welfare issues in different ways (ranging from the coldness and objectivity of a scientific article to the heated rhetoric of an animal rights protestor). All these different sources and practical activities helped to generate alternative knowledges and influenced participants' opinions in different ways (the medium affects the message). Indeed, looking at Table 4.1 it is clear to see that many aspects of participants' knowledge carried the marks of their origins, for example reference to terms such as 'organic', 'free-range' and 'out-door access' are *indicative* of the influence of shopping experiences, whereas many (but by no means all) references to the dangers of intensive animal farming and zoonoses *seem to* bear the imprint of mass media sources, and references to notions of animal emotion and the importance of expressing love and care for animals *seem to* bear the influence of experiences of pet ownership. These issues will be discussed in more detail later in the chapter when we explore the different types of information sources that participants drew upon and how these sources helped to shape their understandings in different ways.

Finally, the focus group transcripts illustrate that there are a variety of different types of knowing and unknowing about farm animal welfare issues. These include:

1. what participants knew and were able to articulate;
2. what participants knew but are not able to articulate (perhaps they simply required a different prompt/stimuli, or an alternative practical setting to exhibit this knowledge);

3. what participants knew but are unwilling to reflect upon (e.g. participants' denial of the link between animal suffering and their own food consumption habits, see Serpell, 1986);
4. what participants didn't know: gaps (e.g. specific details about animal biology);
5. what participants didn't know: misunderstandings (a wide variety of these appear throughout the focus group discussions ranging from factually incorrect concerns about legless/headless chickens to more subtle misunderstandings about for example open fields being the correct 'natural' environments for chickens or a failure to appreciate some of the risks associated with providing outdoor access for animals).

Throughout the remainder of this chapter we will revisit this issue and in particular we will try to identify those areas in which we believe there are gaps in participants' understandings.

4.3 THE CONTENT OF CONSUMER KNOWLEDGE ABOUT FARM ANIMAL WELFARE

Throughout the course of the next sections we outline the content of participants' knowledge about farm animal welfare. Based on our analysis of the focus group discussions, we identify five broad areas of participants' knowledge, namely; knowledge about farm animals; knowledge about 'farms' and farming practices; knowledge about farmers; knowledge about the links between food quality and farm animal welfare; and knowledge about the wider societal dimensions of farm animal welfare. We then move on to examine these areas of knowledge in more detail and to identify precisely what participants knew (and did not know) about these topics/issues. In part this represents a rather basic content analysis of participants' knowledge (a simplification of the range of topics outlined in Table 4.1); however, by the end of the discussion we hope to have achieved more than this. In particular, we hope to have built up a picture of participants' farm animal welfare 'knowledgescapes'. In other words, in addition to identifying what participants knew (and did not know) we hope to illustrate the relative importance of different knowledge areas (by identifying which were more central within participants' horizons and which were more peripheral) and we hope to map some of the interactions/connections between these different areas of knowledge.

4.3.1 CONSUMER KNOWLEDGE ABOUT FARM ANIMALS

Looking at Tables 4.1 and 4.2 it is possible to make a number of observations about our focus group participants' knowledge about farm animals. Firstly, the majority of

TABLE 4.2 Focus group participants' knowledge about farm animals (rearing).

Farm animal	Welfare issues identified
Chickens (this often includes hens in consumers' perceptions)	Poor welfare. Chickens have the worst lives of any animal. Crowded. Lack of space. A4 size cages. Intensively farmed. Industrial. Short life. Rough handling. Super growth. Pumped-up with steroids, hormones. Over-size, breaking their legs. Inappropriate breeds. Cannibalism, featherless birds. Acid burns. Mutilation. Killing/mincing of chicks. Animal diseases: Avian Flu, Salmonella, SARS. Some chickens have good welfare+. Things are getting better+. Corn-fed+
Hens	Perceived to have a very bad life (especially battery hens). Feather-pecking. Mixed views about the pros and cons of free-range (not much extra space, can be unhealthier than those in a cage)
Ducks and Geese (foie gras)	Cruelty. Force-feeding. A minority found force-feeding to be acceptable
Turkeys	Inappropriate breeds
Ostriches	Not appropriate for Italian climate
Pigs	Poor welfare. Pigs have the worse lives of any animal. Maltreatment (beaten). Space. Crowding. Battery. No outdoor access. Intensive. Factory. Hygiene. Injections. Tail docking. Castration. Teeth removed. Animal disease: swine fever. Free range pigs+ (a minority thought not that much better). Growing numbers of free-range pigs+. Outdoor pigs+. Pig welfare is improving+. Pigs have good lives in Parma and Piedmont+. Pigs given toys+. Ancient breeds+ (Mangalica)
Cows	Cows have poor welfare. Crowded in sheds. Lack of space. Chianina cow not allowed outside. Injected with chemical and hormones. Given routine anti-biotics. Intensive indoor multi-storey. No outdoor access. Chained. Volume of milk per cow too high. Inappropriate breeds (Belgium blue, Holstein), Dairy farming and calf killing. Animal disease: BSE. Ecological farming+. Welfare is improving (e.g. foam mattresses)+. Cows have good lives in Parma and Piedmont+. Playing music+. Massaging cows+
Cattle	(Factory farming. Chained. Hormones. Inappropriate breeds. Welfare improving+
Veal	(Poor welfare. Kept in crates/battery. Chained. Kept in dark. Short life. Overfed. Given hormones. Separated from mother)
Sheep	(Binding genitals to prevent early breeding. Non-intensive+. Outdoor+ but risk from wolves
Lambs	Short life
Fish	(Intensive production. Over-fed, too quick growing. Fish welfare not as important as other animals)
Horses	Mistreatment
Rabbits	Anti-intensive production

participants' knowledge about farm animals tends to be at the level of species rather than breeds. Thus for example, whilst many participants were able to make observations about the welfare and living conditions of specific animals, such as chickens, pigs, cows, sheep etc, fewer were able to make observations about specific breeds. Furthermore, some confusion arose in situations where, at least from a consumer point of view what was essentially the same animal (but a different sex, breed, age) was involved in different production systems. For example, some participants were unable to make distinctions between broiler chickens and laying hens and between dairy and beef cows (see Table 4.2). However, the focus group participants did mention a large range of different animals (from fish to ostriches) and they were aware of numerous animal-specific welfare problems

(see Table 4.2). In particular, they were able to identify what they believed to be a large range of welfare issues affecting chickens/hens, pigs and cows; indeed these farm animals seemed to be at the centre of their concerns. Furthermore, participants often made generalisations about the level of welfare experienced by different animals.

‘... I think that chickens and pigs have the worst lives. I think that cows and sheep have a better life. Cows, they have milk; they are useful in many ways. A pig is just leather and meat. I do eat less pork for that reason...’ (Netherlands, Young single).

Indeed, whilst different focus group participants held different opinions about the likely quality of life experienced by different animals (there were both positive and negative comments made about almost every animal), there seemed to be a general consensus that chickens and pigs were frequently subjected to poor living conditions, whereas cows had a slightly better life and sheep were perceived to enjoy the best welfare of any farm animals on account of the fact that they were almost always raised outdoors (see also IGD, 2007 for similar contentions about the perceived differences between animals).

‘I saw chickens and they were standing on each other, it was horrible, they didn’t have any feathers on and they were all squawking and it was horrible, absolutely horrible’ (UK, Empty nester).

‘[W]ell, I have seen once how a chicken lives, I felt so sorry and that’s why I don’t eat battery cage eggs anymore. It was terrible...’ (Netherlands, Urban mother)

‘Chicken[s], they are just there, existing only to lay eggs, drink and eat from the trough. This is terrible!’ (Hungary, Urban mother).

‘But I kind of think that you know a lot of animals are doing very poorly, like pigs ... And I can get a bad conscious when I eat meat...’ (Sweden, Young single).

‘[T]he cows had a lot of freedom and it was only when they were in calf that they stayed in. Otherwise they were always out a few hours a day, roaming around large, open areas’ (Norway, Urban mother).

‘I prefer sheep meat because at the moment we don’t have big stables full of sheep yet; in fact you can’t talk about animal welfare for an animal that is raised in a stable, maybe he’s well because he eats and sleeps, but nothing else. So for me you have animal welfare when the animal is free to move around, to eat whenever he’s hungry, without a schedule’ (Italy, Senior).

Secondly, although participants were generally unaware of different animal breeds and their associated welfare problems/benefits, they did know about four specific breeds, namely; Belgium Blue, Holstein and Chianina cows and Mangalica pigs (see Figure 3.1).

In the case of Mangalica pigs certain Hungarian participants knew that these were a traditional breed of pig that was being re-introduced into Hungary.

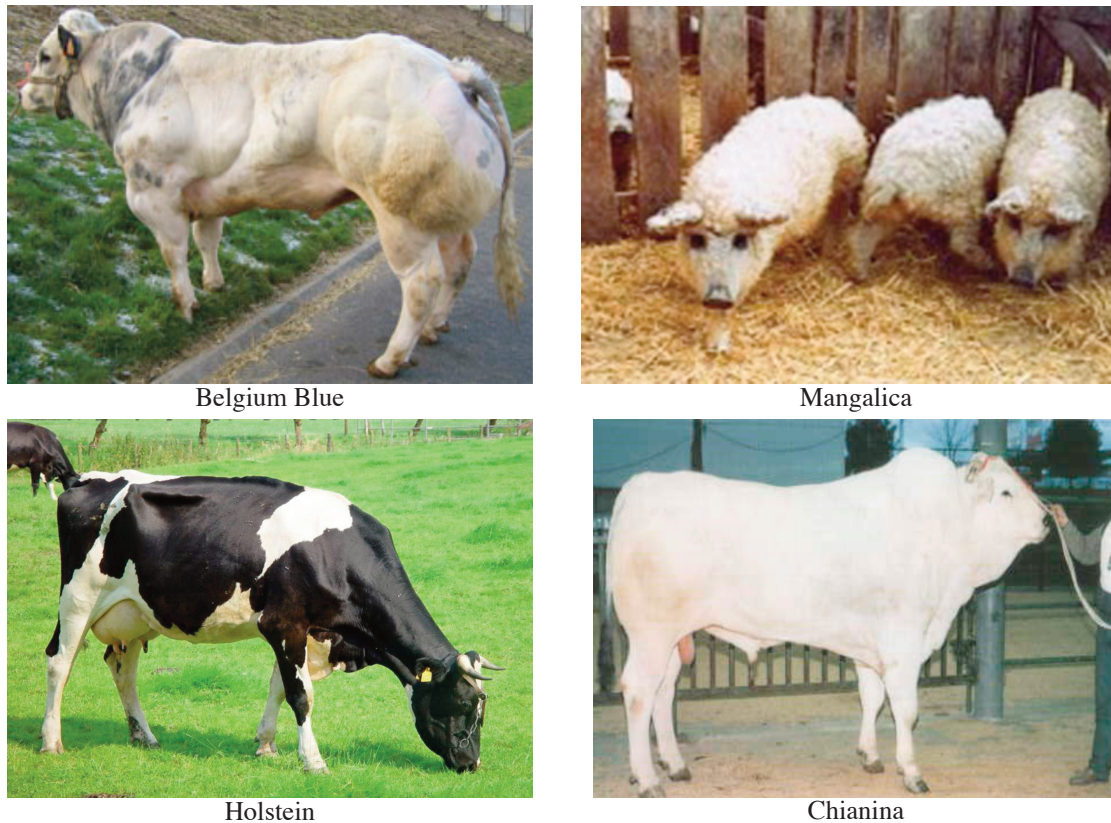


FIGURE 4.1 Specific animal breeds mentioned by consumers during the focus groups.

Participant 1: ‘But now they’ve brought in those curly haired pigs we used to have a long time ago’.

Participant 2: ‘You mean the Mangalicas’ (Norway young singles).

However, participants’ awareness of breeds such as the ‘Belgium Blue’ stemmed from a concern about the problems of selective breeding and of championing growth and productivity at any cost.

‘There’s a big difference in practice in Germany or other countries for example England where these huge herds of livestock are kept inside all the time. To give you an example when I see that “Belgium” or “Belgian Blue”, I don’t have much desire to eat that!’ (Norway, Hunter).

Thirdly, participants’ knowledge about farm animals tended to be couched in terms of the *living conditions/environments* that they believed these animals were experiencing or ought to be entitled to. Furthermore, there seemed to be certain iconic animal-environments that were indelibly ingrained in their minds and that helped to inform their understandings about farm animal welfare in general. Thus discussions about hens often referred to battery cages and discussions of veal calves often referred to veal crates. As we shall see later, it is perhaps fair to say that participants’ knowledge about farm type (and its connection to welfare) occupied a more central position in their understandings than their knowledge about more animal-centred welfare issues (such as biology, physiology, behaviour).

Fourthly, certain participants expressed a concern about the short life duration of many contemporary farm animals, especially lambs, veal calves and, to a lesser extent, chickens.

Participant 1: 'I wouldn't eat veal on principle.'

Participant 2: 'No, I wouldn't, either.'

Participant 1: 'I just feel that some things should have a little bit longer and eat it when it's older.'

Participant 3: 'I mean chickens aren't very old, are they?' (UK, Seniors).

This is an interesting observation, as many welfare scientists do not consider life-duration to be a 'welfare issue'. This is because they limit the scope of their enquiry to trying to scientifically understand and improve the lives of living creatures rather than making ethical judgements about the value of animals' lives/deaths. Furthermore, some believe that only human animals are equipped with the capacity to value their own existence, thus considering welfare from 'the animals point of view' the distinction between existence/non-existence is not significant.

Fifthly, whilst our focus group participants were not very knowledgeable about animal diseases in general, many were well informed about zoonoses (animal diseases that can be passed onto humans). Thus concerns (and also knowledge about) about BSE, foot and mouth disease, swine fever, bird diseases, avian flu, salmonella and SARS featured regularly in the focus group discussions.

'Right, if I start off with meat, our children are in their early twenties, so I was very aware of the whole BSE thing and I started at that point only buying Aberdeen Angus meat, because I knew that the Aberdeen Angus was supposed to be more free of the BSE' (UK, Senior).

'It attracted my attention when the media talked about illnesses, for example the avian flu, it is at that very moment that you begin to see shocking images. I've got these two pictures in my mind, chickens piled up before being burnt...' (France, Ethnic minority).

Sixthly, certain participants were aware of the different types of mutilations that farm animals are subjected to during routine farming practices, such as beak trimming in chickens and tail docking, castration and teeth removal in pigs.

'The newspaper, I read that pig farmers cut tails and penises of the pigs with pain-killers. I don't like the idea of being co-responsible for those practices by eating pork. I almost married a pig farmer but I am still happy that I didn't' (Netherlands, Rural women).

'On pig farms they cut off the pigs' tails and pull out their canine teeth because the young pigs are bored and start harming each other. They prefer to mutilate the animals rather than throw in a few rubber toys for them' (Hungary, Health conscious).

Finally, in addition to highlighting what participants knew about farm animals, it is important to point out what they did not know. In this regard, it is fair to say that participants did not seem to know much about animal biology/physiology, animal behaviour, the specific needs of certain animals (beyond a more general sense that all animals need space, natural conditions, care etc.), animal injuries (not caused by mutilations) and animal diseases (not transmissible to humans).

4.3.2 CONSUMER KNOWLEDGE ABOUT 'FARMS' AND FARMING PRACTICES

Participants' knowledge about farms was heavily influenced and framed by the notion that one can make an almost bi-polar distinction between highly intensive 'factory' farms (which are considered to have extremely low welfare) and alternative farming systems, such as organic, free-range, outdoor access, traditional, or small scale systems (which are considered to have higher levels of welfare). Furthermore, these knowledges about farm type exerted a strong influence over other areas of participants' understanding, especially in relation to the role of farmers, the link between farm animal welfare and food quality and, as we have already seen, consumer knowledge about farm animals. Indeed, whilst the notion of a 'factory farm' doesn't really figure in scientific understandings of animal welfare, it lay at the centre of our participants' concerns. In particular, participants adopted the label 'factory' to signify a constellation of concerns/deep anxieties about modern farming environments, techniques and human-animal relationships. In participants' understandings 'factory farms' represented an environment in which animals were treated like any other industrial product (like candy bars or cars). The label 'factory farm' was a short hand designation for a situation in which; increased production is favoured at any cost (most often costs to welfare and human health); animals are 'pumped-up' with chemicals, hormones and antibiotics; the system is pushed to the very edge of viability and as such it lurches from one catastrophe to the next (BSE, foot and mouth disease, avian flu); animals are kept in cramped conditions (caged, bound and chained), separated from their off-spring and given poor-quality, inappropriate feed; and animals do not receive proper individual human care, due in part to the sheer scale of the operation. Thus, in some ways it is perhaps better to view the designation 'factory farm' as something that reflected participants' deep disquiet with the nature of contemporary production-oriented farming as a whole (including attitudes, social and economic drivers, environmental and social impacts, welfare impacts etc.) rather than a distinct farm type that one can identify on the ground.

The following quotes illustrate participants' knowledge about 'factory farms' in more detail:

'But as long as it is industrial, we consider it less like an animal. It is a product like ... candies, it's true, the way they are stored, and they are fed' (France, Empty nester).

'It's the same for eggs. My parents keep hens to have eggs and they never give them this feed that enhances egg production. In the industries, where the hens lay their eggs on conveyor belts, they pump this substance into the hens to make them lay more and more eggs. If you have eight hens for example, maybe only three or four will lay eggs a day, but at least you know what they eat and you can be sure that they don't get extra additive stuff. On these big farms, their only interest is for the hens to lay as many eggs as possible, so that there would be enough for Tesco's and other supermarkets' (Hungary rural women).

'I have seen some chicken farms in my area and I must say that I almost cried because they were all crowded up, there was a terrible smell, it smelled like ammonia; where I go the chickens live outdoor, peacefully; I don't see nervous cows or stuff like that; the animal must have its space, it must live its life; animals that end up in big retailers are pumped up because they want to obtain that production, it is an industrial level, certainly that is not animal welfare' (Italy, empty nester).

'I think they have a good life here on the whole. There's not so many of these big, for want of a better word, "factories". It's not good when things get too large. Here the owners of the animals have more time to attend to the animals and the relationship is closer than at the big farms' (Norway Hunters).

'It's because one pushes this production too hard. I feel it's absurd sort of ... too streamlined. It does not work anymore. It's going to, I think there are going to be more scandals and catastrophes the more one pushes. It will become apparent I think. I feel you have to back off a bit and realize that you cannot push too hard I feel' (Sweden, Political fathers).

Participant 1: 'Animals are seen as a product, basically.'

Participant 2: 'It's like Ford making cars' (UK, young singles).

In direct contrast to their perceptions of 'factory farms' participants frequently praised the welfare benefits of alternative production systems, such as organic, free-range, outdoor access and 'traditional' systems. In part these systems were valorised precisely because they were defined in opposition to highly intensive conventional systems (a dualistic opposition). Furthermore, and as we shall see later in the report, these farming systems (and their associated assurance schemes) fitted in well with participants' understandings of what constituted good farm animal welfare. In particular, they were perceived to be offering animals; more space and freedom; better, more natural feed; higher quality, more individual care; more 'natural' environments; and less profit-oriented systems:

'I think organic products and higher end stuff, *they're treated better*. It kind of makes me wonder why, you know, what do they do to the cheap stuff that they don't want to tell you about that they're quite happy to promote with the other stuff' (UK, Empty nester).

'For me it is necessary to return to traditional way of farming, classical. It's much easier. It's to return to something which existed at first quite simply, the animals I mean, the cows at the beginning they were in the meadows, they were in the yards, the hens the farmer would give them grain, the cows they grazed grass of the meadow, and this is what I see!' (France, Urban mother).

'But good animal welfare that is about the pigs that walk outside' (Sweden, Political fathers).

'I think it's quite tragic to see TV programs show how animals are treated. It really touches me. I'd really like to be able to buy ecological meat. That method of animal rearing seems to focus more on ideology than just slaughter. It seems like that anyway. Maybe an animal gets treated in a different way if its not just viewed from a consumption perspective. I would at least. I always buy ecological products if I can...' (Norway, Urban mother).

'Even though my consumption of meat is very limited, as a consumer of eggs, my idea of animal welfare is mostly centred upon the memories my grandmother had of hens that were free to range, had open spaces and natural food. In addition to what I have just said, I think an important aspect is to relate the animal with its territory, in other words to valorise those species that have always lived in a certain area and that are used to a certain way of life and are better off; why bringing ostriches to Italy?' (Italy, Rural woman).

This distinction between 'factory farms' and alternative systems (which lies at the very heart of participants' knowledge about farm animal welfare) contrasts quite sharply with leading-edge scientific understandings of animal welfare. In particular, animal welfare scientists, especially those working for the Welfare Quality® project, have been attempting to develop more animal-based measures of welfare. In short they view environmental factors (including farm type) as 'risks to welfare' rather than 'actual welfare' (which can only truly be measured directly from the animal) and based on this rationale they argue that it does not make sense to make a priori distinctions between different farming types in terms of their likely welfare impacts, rather one needs to actually visit a given farm (factory or otherwise) and monitor the condition of the animals.

Finally, it is important to point out that apart from this bi-polar distinction between 'factory farms' and various generic alternatives, participants did not appear to know much about more specific farming types/systems, such as the differences between the environments experienced by breeder broilers, broilers and laying hens, or the different environments/welfare conditions that animals might experience during different phases of their lifecycles (e.g. during breeding-gestation, farrowing, nursery and grow finishing for pigs).

Moving on to consider participants' knowledge about farming practices/management techniques it would appear that participants were aware of a variety of contemporary farming practices and their potential welfare implications (see Table 4.1). In particular,

they were aware of a whole series of issues surrounding transport and slaughter and they mentioned problems associated with these practices for a host of different animals (see Table 4.3)

They were also aware of:

1. feeding practices (the importance of regular feeding, avoiding over-feeding for the sake of production and avoiding feeding animals to animals);
2. the routine administration of medicines and growth hormones;
3. hygiene practices;
4. handling practices.

And to a lesser extent:

1. mutilation practices;
2. animal segregation and confinement practices (especially separating mothers from their young);
3. milking practices;
4. animal health monitoring practices.

Participants were also aware of several welfare-friendly practices that were quirky or had a certain media appeal, for example; playing music to pigs, giving toys to pigs, massaging cows and providing foam mattresses for cows. Finally, it is perhaps fair to say that participants' knowledge about farming practices was very much framed by, and secondary to, the distinction that they made between factory farming systems and alternative farming types.

4.3.3 CONSUMER KNOWLEDGE ABOUT FARMERS

'Some farmers care for their animals, others only have commercial purposes, I can imagine' (Sweden, Senior).

When our focus group participants discussed farmers, the majority of comments tended to be framed in terms of their perception of farmers' general attitudes to farm animals and the nature of different farmer-animal relationships. In the same way that participants'

TABLE 4.3 Focus group participants' knowledge about farm animals (transport and slaughter).

Transport and Slaughter	Animals associated with problems during transport and at slaughter
Transport	Cattle (cattle trucks). Cows. Veal. Sheep. Pigs. Horses. Reindeer. Chicken
Slaughter	Poultry (chickens disembowelled alive). Calves. Veal calves. Pigs. Horses. Shrimps (cooked alive)

knowledge about farming types seemed to be framed by a polarisation between 'factory' farms (which were perceived to be negative for welfare) and alternative systems (which were perceived to be positive), then participants' knowledge about farmers seemed to be informed by three types of perceived farmer-animal relationships; the 'caring/respectful farmer' the 'cruel/neglectful farmer', and the 'profit-oriented commercial farmer'.

Many participants made positive comments about farmers and viewed them as caring and respectful:

'I think most farmers do not look at their animals as objects. A farmer that keeps animals cares about them a great deal... Like, I was up in the mountains and I went around with some sheep farmers... to look for some of the sheep. [One of the farmers] wandered around in these mountains, and I walked a bit with him. We walked ten hours and we didn't see a single... sheep and he was missing thirty-two! We got them all in' (Norway, Vegetarian/Politically active).

However, this view of 'farmers as care-givers' was most frequently associated with those farmers involved in alternative, small scale or local production systems and was rarely, if ever, used in relation to large-scale farmers, hence one can see the interactions between participants' knowledge of farming types and their perceptions of the roles/attitudes of farmers involved in different types of production.

'I think that the farmer himself respects his animal... because I think that the real animalists are farmers, *small farmers*' (Italy, Empty nester).

'Here [in Norway] the owners of the animals have more time to attend to the animals and the relationship is closer than at the big farms' (Norway, Hunter).

'I think local farming is good, because the farmers care for the animals and it's their livelihood, so they don't maltreat the animals' (UK, Young single).

In direct contrast, certain participants perceived, at least some farmers, to be cruel/neglectful and believed that they mistreated animals:

Participant 1 'I don't know, but when I go to the mountains I've never seen a farmer caressing a cow...'

Participant 2 'That's not farmers' way of living!'

Participant 1 'Rather they give them a kick' (Italy, Senior).

Participant 1 'Well, sometimes you read in the newspaper that many animals are killed. I drove a destruction car for more than 20 years. Do you all know what a destruction car is?'

Participant 2 'To pick up dead animals.'

Participant 1 'Yes. I always took off from the slaughterhouse. In twenty years I have made five reports about a farmer. I said: I am never going to pick up another dead animal. Those animals were just so badly treated. No animal welfare at all. When

dead animals have been lying around next to living animals, and I come to pick them up, and I see another couple of dead animals and the farmer just tells me to come next week. Animals die, people die, but this is just horrible' (Netherlands, Senior).

'It was just how my husband spoke about that place. He had to walk through the chickens, and the farmer just kicked their arses' (Netherlands, Rural woman).

Finally, certain participants believed that farmers were too commercial/profit-oriented and that their desire to make money often overrode their animal welfare concerns.

Participant 1 'I mean does it really cost them so much more money, these farmers, to let them [their animals] roam in the fields and eat natural things? Is it so much more expensive?'

Participant 2 'They're not skint them farmers, they've all got big Shoguns.'

Participant 1 'Big wads of money.'

Participant 2 'Big houses and everything' (UK, Young single North).

However, there was also some appreciation of the outside (largely societal/economic pressures) that have placed so much pressure on farmers to become more economically efficient and more 'productive':

'The farmer is no longer a farmer. The farmer is a producer; he has to produce more and more' (Holland, Senior).

'But agriculture has had severe restrictions imposed upon it. The subsidies in the years to come will be less and it's difficult to predict what consequences that will bring. The production pressures on farmers can well be greater due to less subsidies and foreign imports. How this will affect the welfare of animals is difficult to say and it may well not be positive' (Norway, Senior).

3.3.4 CONSUMER KNOWLEDGE ABOUT THE LINKS BETWEEN FOOD QUALITY AND FARM ANIMAL WELFARE

'Animal welfare is a fundamental start to obtain a positive contribution of meat to our health. Pushing this issue from a human perspective, if the animal is well you eat something that has been well created and your body assimilates it well. To be well an animal must be raised outdoors, its growth cycle must be respected, its growth must not be stimulated, it must be fed with food of vegetable origins, "flaked" "fioccati" feeders are still ok, but the "pellets" "pellettato" are not, the food for the animals must not contain animal or vegetable fat and it must not be coming from chemically treated or, even worse, GM-crops' (Italy, Rural woman).

One of the most important aspects of (and often driver behind) participants' knowledge of farm animal welfare relates to how participants understood the connection between animal welfare and food quality. This should not be surprising, as whilst many consumers do not have direct contact with farm animals (at least not on a daily basis) they do have direct contact with food. Indeed the importance of food to everyday life and well-being can hardly be overstated. As consumers, we all ingest foods and incorporate them into our bodies. They sustain us and provide us with pleasure, yet they can also subject us to ill health and disease. Furthermore, there is a strong belief amongst many consumers that animal foods bear physical witness to the welfare conditions experienced by the living animals from which they originated, both in terms of the taste of the product and more importantly its disease-status and its health-giving properties.

The strong connections that our participants made between animal welfare and food quality is another dimension of participants' knowledge that serves to differentiate it from more tightly circumscribed scientific forms of understanding. Indeed, animal welfare scientists would consider it vital to separate issues of animal welfare from issues of human welfare/health as this enables them to focus on what they believe to be truly important 'from the animal's point of view' rather than being sidetracked by human-centred concerns for better tasting or safer/healthier foods. In contrast, by making strong connections between food quality and farm animal welfare, it could be argued that our focus group participants are acknowledging at least one (albeit incredibly partial and lopsided in terms of power) direct physical link between themselves and farm animals. On the one hand this can have positive impacts, as establishing a direct physical link between farm animal welfare and human health provides consumer-citizens with a personal incentive to ensure that high welfare standards are maintained.

'But you have to think about yourself as a person. If you're a mother and you're going to breast-feed your child, then you make sure to put good things in yourself and that the child gets good things. If you, like a cow, take in good things you produce good milk. So it goes together. If you think about it more personally, connecting it to yourself, it's easier to see' (Sweden, Empty nester).

On the other hand, this could have negative impacts, as the link between animal welfare and food quality is not as straightforward as one might initially expect and, as such, providing consumers with healthier/safer foods might not equate to improving animal welfare standards, indeed it could have the opposite effect (e.g. confining animals indoors can reduce their exposure to bio-risks). Furthermore, as we shall see shortly, whilst making a connection between animal welfare and food quality/safety can focus attention on welfare issues such as stress (which are deemed to be important by welfare scientists) it can also focus attention on issues that (when viewed from a scientific perspective) are not deemed to be that important (or in some cases of any relevance at all) to animal welfare, such as whether an animal is fed with natural foods or non-GM foods, or whether it is kept free from unnecessary medication.

Moving on to consider participants' understandings about the connections between farm animal welfare and food quality/safety in more detail, it is possible to identify four key

themes: (a) The connection between system type and food quality/safety; (b) The connection between animal stress and food quality/safety; (c) The connection between animal feed and food quality/safety; and finally (d) The connection between chemical additives and medications (especially antibiotics) and food quality/safety.

Firstly, in relation to system-type, many focus group participants expressed a belief that farming systems in which animals had sufficient space to exercise and had outdoor access (or even better access to ‘natural’ environments) produced better quality and better tasting animal foods. Furthermore, many participants believed that ‘organic’ and ‘free-range’ products were healthier, due partly to their perceived higher welfare status. Conversely, food from intensely reared animals was often considered to be of a lower quality.

‘In the farms the treatment is important, how the animal is reared, that the cows are outdoors... that they live well, I think the meat tastes better’ (Italy, Empty nester).

‘But it is a positive thing to make them run even if it is a muddy place, I can assure you that there’s a difference between the chicken that runs and that has muscles, they are harder compared to the chicken that hasn’t walked about, they don’t have any taste’ (France, Empty nester).

‘I want to relate to what has been said so far; once I drank milk coming from mountain ranges and certainly it is not like the one you find at the supermarkets, so I think the products of animals that are not intensively reared are of a better quality’ (Italy seniors).

Secondly, many focus group participants expressed a belief that the levels of stress experienced by farm animals adversely affected the final quality of the meat. This was because they believed that stress hormones would remain in the meat and ultimately be absorbed by humans when they ate the food. In particular, these consumer-citizens were concerned that stress at slaughter would have a significant impact on both the quality and safety of meats.

‘[T]he animal produces substances that are harmful or even poisonous for humans, because it dies badly; if the animal has a pleasant trip, can rest and is then slaughtered properly those toxic substances are not released and the meat is better; this is true for chickens, pigs, for all the animals’ (Italy, Empty nester).

‘It’s also very important the way of dying, otherwise muscles stiffen and later the meat is a disaster’ (Italy, Gourmet).

‘I’ve seen a programme where they proved that intensive farming can be dangerous for your health. The chickens produce toxins, which make the meat bad for your health’ (France, Ethnic minority).

Thirdly, many focus group participants believed that what farm animals were given to eat (quantity, quality, appropriateness of feed) exerted a significant impact on their overall

health and welfare and that this in turn influenced both the taste and, more crucially, the safety of the final consumer product.⁴ In particular, participants were concerned that foods given to animals should be clean, pure, natural and appropriate for the species concerned (i.e. cannibalism should be avoided at all costs). Furthermore, as one can see from the following quotes, it would seem that the spectre of BSE still looms large over participants' understanding of this issue and, quite justifiably, evokes passionate feelings.

'I think it's rather what we feed to the animals that counts, since we eat all that stuff too, in the end, don't we? So it's not just the size of their housing that is important' (Hungary, Vegetarian/Politically active).

'The supermarket chickens have the taste of the feed they get' (Hungary, Young single).

'The same with the story on BSE, they should not eat other cows, no extra additions. Welfare is not just about feeling well, but also that [animals] eat good food' (Netherlands, Vegetarian/Politically active).

'Feeding is also important, to feed them according to their needs and not with the stuff they used before mad cow disease' (Italy, Empty nester).

Fourthly, our focus group participants made a connection between the (over)use of inappropriate chemicals (especially growth hormones) and medicines (especially the routine use of antibiotics) and food quality/safety. Furthermore they frequently used the expression 'pumped-up' to both to express a disliking of these practices and to give an impression of the extent to which they are over-used (animals are likened to pumped up balloons that are about to burst).

'[W]e make them take products which accelerate their growth and muscular development. It's hardly bearable since we consume these products, they will remain in our body' (France, Vegetarian/Politically active).

'[We should employ] the least drastic treatments in the case of illness and when treated with antibiotics [we should] avoid short-term slaughtering (the medicines must have time to be digested off)' (Italy, Urban mother).

Thus one can see some of the important links that participants made between food quality and farm animal welfare and how these links served to inform their knowledge about farm animal welfare in general (especially in terms of the priority that they give to different aspects of welfare). We would like to conclude this section by making two brief observations. Firstly, for many participants the link between farm animal welfare and food quality is a crucial relationship that helps to shape their understandings of farm animal welfare as a whole (this functions both at an explicit and at a more tacit level), indeed the

⁴ Excluding the 6 additional country-specific focus groups, the quality of animal feed was mentioned as an animal welfare issue in 37/42 focus groups and the importance of animals receiving a natural and appropriate/species-specific diet was mentioned in 31/42.

two aspects are so inextricably connected that it makes little sense to look at one without considering the other. However, as a counterpoint to what has come before, it is vitally important to note that certain participants did not fall into this group, as they sought improved animal welfare *for its own sake*, as a higher moral goal, irrespective of the impact it might have on food quality.

‘However my point is not so much about the properly bred animal resulting in better meat, but it’s a matter of moral and ethical reasons. The animal must be made able to live its life in a certain way’ (Italy, Young single).

Secondly, it is worth highlighting those issues that our focus group participants did not know about the connections between animal welfare and food safety. In particular, it would seem that many participants were unaware of some of the complexities (and intermediaries) that prevent any simple cause and effect relationship between welfare and taste or between welfare and food safety. For example, in relation to food safety, there is an ongoing debate about the relative bio-safety of different farming systems and some commentators believe that outdoor-access systems can expose animals to higher bio-risks than those housed in indoor systems (see the recent GRAIN briefing 2006 for insight into this debate). Furthermore, the link between animal welfare and taste can be affected (and often obscured by) issues such as the animal’s breed and age, the choice of cut, the length of hanging, the level of processing etc.

3.3.5 CONSUMER KNOWLEDGE ABOUT THE WIDER SOCIETAL DIMENSIONS OF FARM ANIMAL WELFARE

Some of the focus group participants also expressed an interest in, and knowledge about, the wider societal dimensions of farm animal welfare. Firstly, certain participants made poignant observations about the wider economic dimensions of animal welfare and many of these expressed the opinion that the current economic climate prevalent in Europe was not conducive to achieving high welfare standards. For example, certain participants in Italy felt that the level of current consumer demand for cheap food, available at any time of the year, had contributed to a decline in farm animal welfare standards.

‘I think we should treat farm animals in the best possible way, but I think there is little that can be done now, we have taken this consumption road and I don’t think we can go back, because now we are used to buy chickens at the take away, average flavour, pretty good, and you pay 5 euros; a chicken raised a certain way would cost 10, and the family would start feeling the difference’ (Italy, Senior).

‘Animal welfare is what I think in practice we cannot afford any more... The problem is that the economic boom allows us to eat meat every single day, allows us to eat what we want no matter which season... Hence we have a conflict of interest between what the market is and what animal respect is’ (Italy, Gourmet).

Furthermore, other participants felt that the (increasingly) competitive nature of animal farming was placing pressure on producers to improve efficiency and feed-conversion rates, even at the expense of animal welfare.

‘I think it’s [animal welfare] gotten worse after joining the EU. For this guy, that is... before it [his pig house] was rather small, and then he had to build two more of the same size full of pigs just to be able to compete with the European pig farmers on price and such. So I can imagine that it gets worse then’ (Sweden, Young single).

‘[W]hereas like you say, supermarket owned dairy farms or pig farms and chicken farms, it’s all cost effective, they want the most amount of meat for the food they give them and stuff like that’ (UK, Young single).

Secondly, many focus group participants were aware of the importance of the mass media in informing public understanding and public debate about farm animal welfare issues. Furthermore, many believed that the media presented a biased (overly sensationalist, predominantly focused on bad stories) account of farm animal welfare conditions in Europe and that the media only really covered these issues in times of crises (such as BSE, foot and mouth disease and avian flu). The fact that certain participants were able to be critically reflexive about the style and content of media stories highlights the danger of making glib generalisations about consumer opinion being *media*-driven, as it is simply more complex than this (see also the section on sources of information regarding animal welfare).

‘[T]he farmers are producing good meat, everybody is critical about the farmers, the animals are fine ... And the image on television is just that you see a small pen and then everybody thinks it is sad for the animals. But that is also a distorted image by the media’ (Netherlands, Empty nester).

‘[O]ver the years it’s been quite a lot of programmes, both on television and on radio about animal welfare in different guises and I think you’re absolutely right, with all of these things, the way they’re produced, there will be a slant, the producer and the presenter is trying to get their message across and that message may not be the correct one’ (UK, senior).

Thirdly, certain participants were aware of the broader ethical dimensions of farm animal welfare, especially those relating to; animal rights; human-animal relationships; the similarities and differences between humans and animals (in terms of cognitive and emotional capabilities, sentience, entitlement to certain rights); and the connection between religious beliefs and attitudes towards animal welfare.

‘I have also read a very good book, *The Treaty of Animal Rights*. It is precisely about this issue, that animals too, as living creatures, have their rights, but that man doesn’t care’ (Hungary, Urban mother).

‘And as I have gotten older I see less and less the difference between humans as animals and animals as animals. We are animals, too. People are treating each other, or at least trying to treat each other in an ethically proper way. But then one sees the animals from the outside. And there are several reasons for it. There are the religious reasons and so on’ (Norway, Young single).

Finally, a limited number of focus group participants articulated a certain amount of knowledge about national and European farm animal welfare regulations. For example, a Norwegian participant expressed (what we understand to be a commonly held belief amongst Norwegians) that animal welfare regulations (especially those relating to animal diseases and the spread of animal diseases) were stricter in Norway than in other European countries.

‘I know that we have stricter rules concerning... different diseases and those kind of things... the foot-and-mouth disease that they had some years ago in England... the salmonella in the poultry in Sweden. And it is that kind of things that Norway is very good at looking after’ (Norway, Rural woman).

Furthermore, one Italian consumer admitted to keeping a close eye on animal welfare regulations, however, this was largely due to the fact that he used to work as a lawyer and had a professional interest in this topic (but this does serve to illustrate the point that European consumer-citizens come in all shapes and sizes and it highlights the danger of dismissing *all* consumers as being poorly informed about this issue).

‘I would like to continue here, it may be a professional deviation, since I was a lawyer I try to understand whether or not the laws are applied; I followed with preoccupation the mad cow disease story as well as the chicken flu, Alemanno [the current Minister for Agriculture] and the EU people said that it would have become mandatory to say where the animal had been killed and, most important, where it was from, considering that this was the problem with the chickens’ (Italy, Empty nester).

4.3.6 SUMMARISING CONSUMER KNOWLEDGE ABOUT FARM ANIMAL WELFARE

Figure 4.2 depicts what we believe to be some of the key features of our focus group participants’ understandings of farm animal welfare, furthermore it illustrates the relative importance/influence of different areas of knowing (based on the size of the graphic and its position within the diagram) and it highlights *some* of the most important connections between these different areas of knowing. When interpreting the diagram it is vital to keep two considerations in mind. Firstly, the diagram relates very specifically to what participants knew about farm animal welfare but not to anything more than this; it is purely a map of participants’ understandings and as such other categories and linkages, which are undoubtedly of great importance in other contexts, are not depicted. Secondly, it is a composite diagram, which reflects the combined knowledges of a variety of different

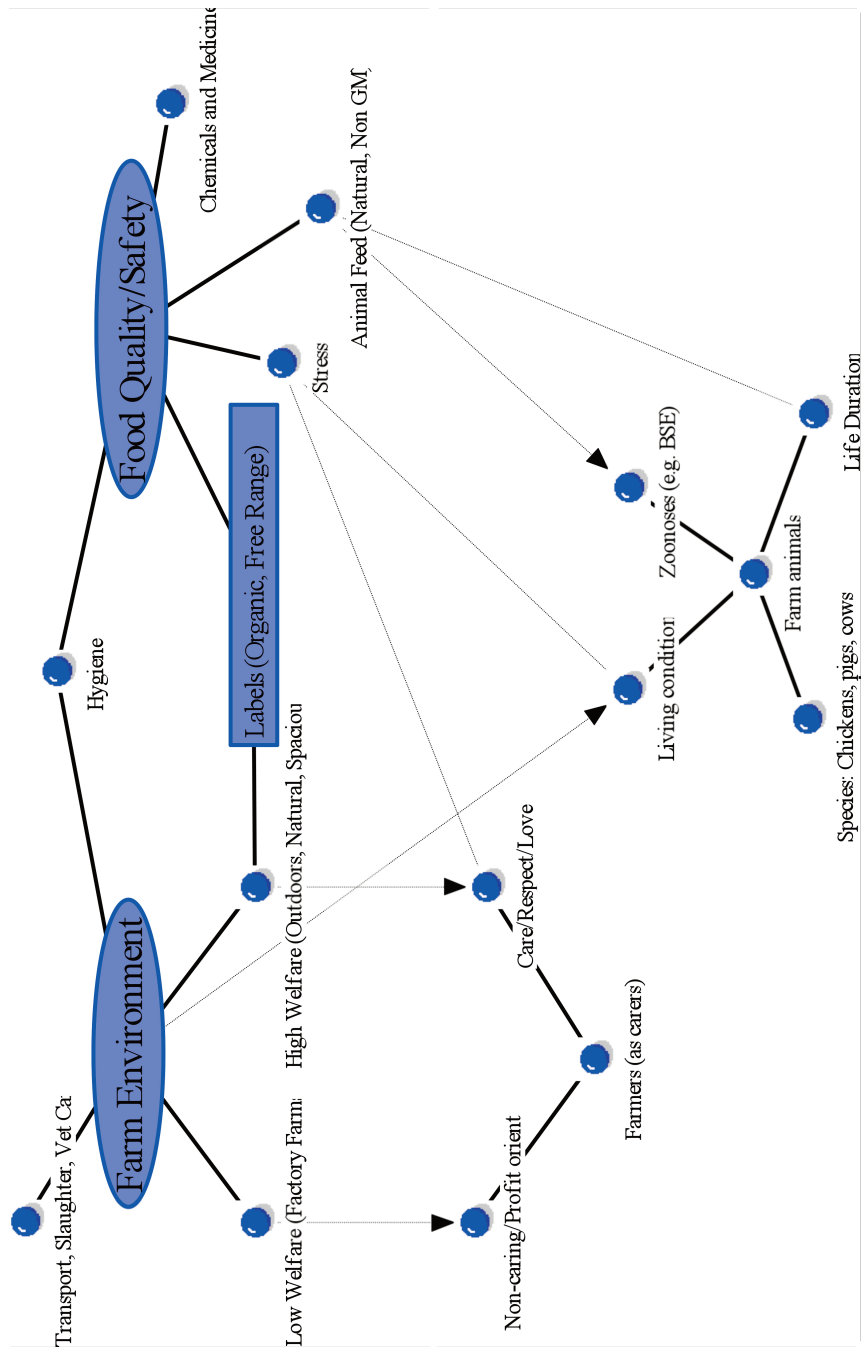


FIGURE 4.2 Focus group participants' farm animal welfare 'knowledgescape'.

participants, as such it should be seen as a starting point for understanding participants' farm animal welfare knowledges, which will be developed throughout the remainder of the chapter (by looking at differences between participants from different national and socio-cultural backgrounds and more importantly by exploring how different sources and practices can shape participants' understandings in different ways). Bearing these

considerations in mind it is possible to make a number of observations regarding participants' knowledge about farm animal welfare:

1. Two areas lay at the heart of participants' understandings of farm animal welfare, namely I and a limited, bipolar understanding of the farm environment.
2. Many focus group participants believed that there was a strong connection between food quality/safety and farm animal welfare. This connection was largely perceived in positive terms (i.e. higher welfare standards = safer/higher quality food) and it seemed to operate in both directions (i.e. better welfare would mean higher quality products and high quality products would be indicative of better animal welfare).⁵ More specifically, participants believed that factors such as the overuse of medicines and chemicals, stress and inappropriate (unnatural) feed had a negative impact on *both* animal welfare and food quality. Crucially, they also believed that food labels (and their associated assurance schemes) such as 'organic', 'free-range' and 'outdoor access' offered both higher animal welfare standards and in turn safer/higher quality foods. Indeed, it would seem that these labels and the alternative approaches to animal farming that they represented were helping to form the very definition of what animal welfare might be within participants' understandings.
3. Many participants talked about animal welfare in terms of the likely welfare status of different farm environments rather than in terms of animal-centred aspects of welfare such as disease, injury and even emotion. Furthermore, many participants believed that it was possible to make a bipolar distinction between 'factory farms', which were perceived to provide animals with very low levels of welfare and alternative systems (such as organic, free-range, outdoor access, traditional, small scale, local), which were perceived to offer higher levels of welfare. For participants the label 'factory farm' represented a complex constellation of factors, however it can be best summarised by the insistence that animals deserve more than to be treated just like any other industrial product, like cars or candy bars. In addition to this broad distinction, participants also identified *hygiene* as a key environmental factor that impacted upon animal welfare. Interestingly, unlike many other farm attributes participants did not immediately equate factory farms with low levels of hygiene and alternative systems with higher levels, as such hygiene is a welfare determinant that lies outside (and perhaps even challenges) normal participant-categorisations of farms. Finally, participants often mentioned three other aspects of farming practices that they believed impacted strongly on animal welfare, namely; transport, slaughter and veterinary care.
4. These two key features of participants' understandings (*food quality/safety* and the *farm environment*) are also strongly interconnected and serve to re-enforce each other. However, the connection between them is complex: On the one hand many participants did not like to think about or reflect upon the origins of their animal food products and they actively avoided doing this (see Serpell, 1986); on the other hand it is clear that food labels such as organic, free range and outdoor access help

⁵ Clearly the second direction is potentially more problematic.

⁶ There were some notable exceptions to this bi-polar distinction, for example many consumers were sceptical about the welfare credentials of 'free-range' systems and a limited number of consumers made positive comments about certain high-intensity production systems.

to reinforce the connection between food quality/safety, farm animal welfare and certain types of farm environments. Indeed, many participants derived certain aspects of their understandings about farm animal welfare from the different types of welfare-friendly products that were currently available, furthermore these products mainly defined animal welfare in environmental/resource based terms and by promoting themselves as an alternative to 'conventional farming' they helped to re-enforce the notion that one can make bi-polar distinctions between low-welfare-conventional and high-welfare-alternative systems. Similarly, it is clear that notions of farm (and animal) hygiene also help to link the safety of the final food product back to the environment in which the animal was reared. So whilst participants might prefer not to be reminded of the pig from which their bacon sandwich originated, it would seem that certain links between farm and food do help to shape their overall understanding of what the notion of farm animal welfare could and should involve (even if many didn't like to think about it that often).

5. In contrast, knowledge about farmers and farm animals occupies a more peripheral position within participants' animal welfare knowledgescapes and appears to be secondary to (and in many ways derived from) knowledge about food quality and farm environments (hence the direction of the arrows on Figure 4.2). Whilst this reasoning might seem a little back-to-front, it is hardly surprising, given that consumers are far closer to the fork than the farm.
6. Participants' knowledge about more animal-centred dimensions of farm animal welfare seemed to be strongly influenced both by their knowledge of farm environments and their knowledge about the links between food quality and animal welfare. For example, when participants talked about the welfare of specific farm animals (such as chickens, hens, pigs and cows) they tended to focus on the different *living conditions* that these animals might experience rather than on the animals themselves. Furthermore, whilst they were largely unaware of animal diseases that could not be transmitted to humans they were aware of a variety of different zoonoses (especially BSE and its links with NVCJD). Even their knowledge about different animal species and the life durations of contemporary farm animals was ultimately connected to their concerns about 'factory' farming environments and methods.
7. Participants' knowledge about farmers tended to focus around the notion of the farmer as *carer* and the nature of the farmer-animal relationships within different farming systems. However, yet again this was strongly connected with the bipolar distinction that many participants made between factory farms and alternative systems. Indeed, farmers working in alternative, small scale, local, organic systems were perceived to be fulfilling their duty of care/respect and even love towards their animals, whereas those working within 'factory farming' systems were frequently seen as being profit oriented and non-caring.
8. Looking at the diagram as a whole it could be argued that participants' farm animal welfare knowledges are strongly influenced by five key broader themes/concepts, namely; nature (and the natural), the industrial, food quality, care and hygiene.
9. Although they are not depicted in the diagram it is also worth summarising those aspects of farm animal welfare that the focus group participants did not know much about. In particular, participants seemed to be unaware of many animal-centred

welfare issues such as those relating to different animal breeds, animal biologies/physiologies, animal behaviour, species specific needs, animal injuries and animal diseases (not zoonoses). Furthermore, beyond the simplistic dichotomy that we have discussed, participants were not that well informed about the specific natures of different farming systems (e.g. differences between the production systems for broilers and laying hens or differences between the environments that animals are likely to experience at different stages of their life-cycle). Finally, participants did not seem to be aware of some of the complexities that might influence the link between high animal welfare and high food quality/safety (e.g. the potentially increased bio-risks associated with outdoor systems).

Thus, it would seem that participants' knowledge about farm animal welfare is dominated by both the connection that they made between the farm environment and animal welfare (factory farms equals low welfare, alternative equals high welfare) and by the connection that they made between food quality and animal welfare. In contrast, welfare scientists inhabit very different knowledgescapes, in which the farm animal (and particular scientific ways of being attentive to the farm animal through its biology, physiology, behaviour etc) is at the centre of their concerns, whereas the farm environment is considered to be of less importance (a risk to welfare rather than actual welfare). Furthermore, broader issues such as those concerning food quality/safety, which are of immense interest to consumers, would be largely excluded from more tightly circumscribed scientific understandings. This poses an interesting challenge for members of the Welfare Quality® project who are trying to foster science-society dialogues in relation to farm animal welfare. For, before a true dialogue can begin, one must be prepared to see the topic being discussed from the other's point of view.

To conclude this section, we would like to turn to address three reoccurring myths concerning consumers' knowledge about farm animal welfare.

Myth 1: Consumers are largely ignorant about farm animals and farm animal welfare.

Myth 2: Consumers have an unrealistic, overly sentimental, 'Disney-like' impression of farm animals.

Myth 3: Consumers have predominantly negative perceptions of contemporary animal farming.

In relation to the first myth, we hope that we have already done enough to illustrate that consumers are not totally ignorant about farm animal welfare. The label 'consumer-citizens' covers a large variety of people from all walks of life, some of whom are better informed about this issue than others (see forthcoming sections), however to dismiss all consumer-citizens as being ignorant about this issue is simply inaccurate (see Table 4.1). Certainly, many of our focus group participants lacked specific types of 'expert' knowledge about this issue; certainly there were some factual inaccuracies in their understandings; certainly many participants adopted overly simplistic bi-polar distinctions (e.g. between 'factory' farming and alternative systems); and certainly participants' understandings were influenced by the sources they drew upon and the everyday practices (shopping, eating etc) that they were engaged in, however this doesn't mean that they had nothing to offer. Yes,

there is a need for improved public understanding of this issue and welfare scientists (as well as other groups) should do their utmost to ensure that clear, non-biased information is available to consumer-citizens. However, we must avoid a simplistic deficit model of science-society dialogue, in which knowledge only flows in one direction (from science to society) and instead we should seek to understand not only what scientific understandings have to offer to society but also what societal understandings have to offer to scientists. Alternatively, a more radical approach would be to question the very idea that it is possible to make a distinction between on the one hand a pristine scientific form of understanding that enables us to see things as they really are (objective), and on the other hand a murky societal form of knowing that can be naïve, self-centred and biased (subjective) (see, for example, Latour and Woolgar, 1986; Law, 1991; Pickering, 1992; Latour, 1993; Whatmore, 2002). Instead, we should look towards hybrid models, in which the scientific is always already social (partly embedded in specific scientific-socio-material networks of knowledge making, such as the laboratory, the experimental farm, the peer review and the journal article and partly embedded in more everyday practices of food consumption, food shopping, newspaper reading, pet 'ownership' etc. that have formed the basis of our discussion in this chapter) and the social is always already scientific, partly as a result of the endemic influence of scientific forms of knowing in contemporary Western societies. Adopting this 'hybrid' approach adds new significance to the results presented in this chapter, for rather than merely providing welfare scientists with insights into the knowledge of 'others' it can also help to shed some light on their own understandings, for we should never forget that welfare scientists are also consumer-citizens. Of course these insights into scientific forms of understanding would need to be supplemented by a sociological/geographical analysis of a whole range of practices and ways of knowing the (animal) world that are more specific to scientists, something which is well beyond the scope of our present analysis.

In relation to the second myth, whilst it is fair to say that many (but not all) consumer-citizens perceive farm animals in a different light from other groups (such as scientists and farmers), it is far too simplistic to state that consumers have a 'Disney-like' impression of farm animals. Indeed, although some of our focus group participants emphasised the 'farm-animal-as-sentient-being' (focusing on human-like characteristics, such as feeling, sensation, emotion and cognition), as we have seen, others were more preoccupied with the 'farm-animal-as-food' (emphasising those attributes of farm animal welfare that affected the health and safety of the final food product), furthermore other participants were more concerned with the 'farm-animal-as-natural creature' (these participants would have focused on the importance of more 'natural' conditions for farm animals). In short, our participants perceived farm animals in multiple ways and their perceptions of farm animals could shift in accordance with different material settings and contexts. The farm-animal at the centre of our participants' concerns about farm animal welfare was not a uni-dimensional cartoon character but rather a multi-dimensional entity that was caught up in (and assembled by) different socio-material networks.

In relation to the third myth, we can confirm that many of the focus group participants did indeed concentrate their attention on some of the more negative aspects of contemporary animal farming, such as food scares, a lack of animal care, especially in 'factory' farms,

poor conditions, a lack of space, poor transport and slaughter etc. However, in direct contrast to this, many participants had positive perceptions of alternative, non-conventional animal rearing systems, such as 'free-range', 'outdoor access', 'organic' and 'traditional', which were all perceived to have higher levels of animal welfare. Many participants also believed that animal farmers genuinely cared for their animals. Furthermore, when asked about their own priorities for improving farm animal welfare, participants often cited positive dimensions of welfare that should be improved, such as freedom to move, social contact, sexual reproduction and positive behaviours such as play.

4.4 NATIONAL AND SOCIO-CULTURAL DIFFERENCES IN CONSUMERS' ANIMAL WELFARE KNOWLEDGE

The first important observation to make regarding national differences in consumers' understanding of 'animal welfare' is that the very concept of 'animal welfare' only appears, and indeed only really makes sense, within certain cultural-linguistic contexts. For example, in French, whilst there is a vocabulary to express notions of respect and care for animals, the term 'welfare' only tends to be used with specific reference to human well-being. As such, the very use of the term 'animal welfare' might seem a little awkward or even inappropriate within this context (especially given its implicit message about the status of animals in relation to humans).

'I was shocked by the term but at least it made me react. The phrase seemed first incongruous to me but at the same time it triggered reactions. Maybe it is appropriate in the end' (France, Ethnic minority).

Similarly, in Sweden, participants commented that they had never come across this term before (at least in its Swedish translation):

Participant 1: 'I have never heard that word before. I have never heard about animal welfare.'

Facilitator: 'There is a term in English called animal welfare that one uses, and this is an international research project and this (*djuromsorg*) is our translation' (Sweden, Vegetarian/Politically active).

Furthermore, for those who were familiar with the term, it seemed to be more appropriate to use in relation to companion animals (pets) than to use in relation to animals that were being farmed for food and other products:

'Well I mean, its like we are sitting here and talking about food then someone says animal welfare yes, sure... But my spontaneous reaction if I heard it out of its context

then I would think of pets. As a word, I do not relate it to the slaughter industry or...'
(Sweden, Politically active fathers).

This is an important point to note, as language is not merely a passive and transparent tool for description but an active medium that helps to shape and mould different consumers' knowledge of the world (see Vygotski, 1962; Shotter, 1993).

Looking at Table 4.1 it is also possible to observe further national differences in our focus group participants' knowledge about farm animal welfare issues, for example: a broader range of participants from the UK seemed to highlight transport and slaughter issues than in other countries; Hungarian participants seemed to frame their understandings of welfare in terms of health; Italian participants seemed to be more interested in issues of care and respect for animals; French participants emphasised the welfare credentials of traditional farming systems; Norwegian participants strongly believed that welfare standards were higher in Norway than in other European countries; Dutch participants had a very negative perception of the welfare standards of contemporary farming, even in supposedly 'free range' systems; and numerous Swedish participants commented on the role of the media in influencing public opinion about farm animal welfare issues.

There were also some interesting differences between socio-cultural groups, for example; our 'rural women' participants seemed to have a more detailed knowledge about certain specific welfare issues, such as feather pecking and cannibalism in chickens and the treatment of specific breeds (Chianina in Italy); our 'senior' participants frequently mentioned the issue of animal mistreatment; and the 'naturalism' discourse seemed to be stronger amongst politically active and vegetarian participants than in other groups.

4.5 SOURCES OF INFORMATION REGARDING ANIMAL WELFARE

In this section we discuss the sources that the focus group participants drew upon to gain information about farm animal welfare. In particular, we explore national and socio-cultural differences in where participants sourced their information and we look at how different types of sources affect both the content and style of the information that is transmitted (how the medium affects the message). Furthermore, we try to look beyond some of the explicit sources of information depicted in Table 3.4 to examine how other, more practical-tacit experiences, such as shopping practices, eating practices, and even (through analogical reasoning) caring for companion animals and everyday human living experiences/emotions (such as fear, pain, stress, happiness) can shape consumers' understandings of farm animal welfare.

Looking at Table 4.4 it is possible to make a number of observations about the types of explicit sources that participants drew on to gain information about farm animal welfare.

TABLE 4.4 The explicit sources from which focus group participants gained information about farm animal welfare.

Group	Country	UK	Netherlands	France	Sweden	Norway	Italy	Hungary
Urban mothers		TV (documentaries, news). Newspapers. Direct experience (transport).	TV (news, consumer programmes). Product packaging. Newspapers. Leaflets at supermarket. Campaigns (meat industry)	TV (documentaries). Word of mouth. Direct experience.	TV (news). Pictures. Media. Retailer promotions. Newspapers. Word of mouth (younger people). Animal activists.	TV	TV. Magazines. Internet. Trade fairs. Product labels.	TV. Newspapers. Radio. NGO campaigns. Internet. Word of mouth.
	Rural women	TV. Radio.	TV. Direct experience. Internet. NGO (animal protection society). Articles. Labels,	TV. Direct experience. Internet. NGO (animal protection society). Articles. Labels,	TV. Newspapers. Word of mouth. NGOs (animal welfare). Internet. Swedish food authority.		Direct experience. Product labels. NGOs (WWF). University. experience.	TV. Internet. School. Newspapers. Direct experience.
Empty nesters		TV. Magazines. Direct experience.	TV. Newspapers. Internet. Retailer magazines. Political parties. Direct experience. Consumer organisations.	TV (adverts, documentaries). Demonstrations. Radio. Word of mouth.	TV. Newspapers. Articles.	TV (consumer programmes). Product labels.	TV. Newspapers. Product labels. Internet. Magazines. Retailer magazines. Direct experience.	TV (news). Newspapers. Direct experience. Word of mouth. Internet. Radio. Zoos. Agricultural museums. Film. Professional journals.
	Seniors	TV. Radio. Magazines. Newspapers.	TV (adverts). Newspapers. Internet. Direct experience. Labels. Product packaging,	TV (news, adverts). Direct experience. Campaigns (veal). Product labels.	TV. Newspapers. Word of mouth. Radio. Farmers.	TV (films, adverts, consumer programmes), Open farms,	TV (documentaries). Retailer magazines. Food shows.	TV. Newspapers. Film. Direct experience.
Young singles		Product packaging.	TV (documentary). Magazines. NGOs. Internet. Product labels (assurance scheme standards)	TV (documentaries). Newspapers. Radio.	TV (documentaries). Internet (chain letters). Books. Product packaging. Direct experience. Word of mouth. Marketing. Animal rights organisations.		TV (documentaries). Direct experience. Internet. Word of mouth.	TV. Radio. Newspapers. NGOs (Greenpeace). Internet. Books.
	Political/ Vegetarian	Newspapers. Internet. Product Labels.	TV. Internet. Magazines.	TV. Pictures. Reports. Direct experience. NGO (Bardot). Word of mouth.	TV (documentaries). Books. Internet.	Open educational farms. Direct experience.	TV. Newspapers. Radio.	TV (news, nature documentaries). Newspapers. Radio.
Country specific	Young Singles (N): TV (documentaries)		Ethnic minorities: TV Reports. Direct experience. NGOs (Brigitte Bardot). Word of mouth.	TV. Pictures. Reports. Direct experience. NGO (Bardot). Word of mouth.	Political Fathers: TV (news). Word of mouth. Information in stores.	Hunters:	Gourmet: TV. Direct experience.	Health Conscious: TV (foreign tv). Radio. School. Newspapers. Magazines (adverts).

1. Mass media sources such as television, radio and newspapers were the most widely used by focus group participants to gain information about farm animal welfare.
2. Despite the insistence of various commentators that consumer-citizens are becoming increasingly detached from farm animals, it would seem that 'direct experiences' still provide an important source of information across most study countries. This fits in well with recent results from the Eurobarometer survey, which stated that: 'Around two thirds (68%) of citizens of the European Union state that they have already visited a farm which rears animals, and nearly four in ten Europeans state that they have done so more than three times (European Commission, 2005, p. 4). Quantitative survey research undertaken by Welfare Quality[®] also indicates that a high proportion of European consumers have visited farms at least once in their lives (Norway 96%, Sweden 90%, France 89%, Netherlands 85%, Hungary 84%, Great Britain 68%, Italy 63%, see Kjorstad 2005)
3. Focus group participants also cited the Internet as a useful source of information about farm animal welfare. Many focus group participants from the Netherlands, Hungary, Italy and to a lesser extent Sweden used the Internet to gain information on this topic, whereas fewer participants from the UK, France and Norway used this information source. Table 3.4 also shows that 'young singles', 'empty nesters' and 'vegetarian/politically active' participants were more likely to use the internet to gain information about farm animal welfare than other groups.
4. NGOs (especially animal welfare/animal rights organisations) were also mentioned by several participants as sources of information about farm animal welfare, especially in France (4/7 focus groups) and Sweden (3/7 focus groups).
5. Product labels were often cited as an important (general) source of information about farm animal welfare by participants in Italy, the Netherlands and the UK but were seldom mentioned in France, Sweden, Norway and Hungary.
6. Looking at the data it is difficult to draw out any distinct country profiles (partly because of the pervasive influence of the mass media across all countries), however it is worth pointing out some of the distinctive features of different countries, in particular it is worth noting; the role of open/educational farms in Norway; the role of retailer magazines and trade fairs in Italy; the importance of word of mouth in Sweden; the role of schooling in Hungary (and the absence of any reference to product labels); and finally the extent to which UK participants seemed to be reliant on the mass media and product packaging for sources of information about farm animal welfare.
7. It is also very difficult to point to any obvious distinctions between different socio-cultural groups, however it is perhaps fair to note the importance of the internet as an information source amongst 'young singles' and the fact that 'seniors' were less likely to draw on information from the internet, product labels/packaging and NGOs than most other groups.

Having discussed the different types of sources that participants drew upon to gain information about farm animal welfare, we would now like to examine the (discursive) character of some of these sources in more detail. In particular, we would like to explore how the nature of the source affects both the content and style of the message that can be delivered. We would also like to extend this analysis by looking at how other more

practical experiences (such as shopping) can shape consumers' understanding of this issue. Throughout this chapter we have built up a picture of different consumers' knowledges about farm animal welfare, however we must add to this picture by asserting that knowledge does not exist in an abstract thought bubble emerging from consumers' minds but rather it is grounded in specific socio-material-discursive-practical settings (see Law, 1991; Shotter, 1993; Hutchins, 2000). Just as scientific knowledge about farm animals is grounded in certain socio-material settings, such as laboratories and experimental farms, and mediated by various measuring instruments, technical equipment and training techniques; then consumer-citizens' knowledge about farm animal welfare is also shaped and moulded by various intermediaries.

Indeed, consumers' knowledge about farm animal welfare is embedded in practices of television viewing, reading, Internet surfing, food shopping, food preparation, eating, visits to farms, caring for pets etc. As such, it is shaped both by linguistic-discursive forces, such as the literary structure and style of newspaper articles, television reports, radio programmes, retailing magazines, advertisements, product labels and by the practical-material forces of shopping routines, food preparation and eating rituals/experiences and (via analogy) by inter-relations with companion animals and personal embodied experiences.⁷ Throughout the remainder of this section we examine how the focus group participants' understandings of farm animal welfare could be shaped and moulded by knowledge derived from and embedded within:

1. the mass media;
2. the Internet;
3. direct experiences;
4. past memories;
5. food labels, food products and food practices (shopping, preparing, eating);
6. analogies based on experiences with companion animals and human experience.

Firstly, in relation to knowledge derived from mass *media sources*, one must be cautious about making any generalisations about how this medium affects the style and content of information about farm animal welfare, as there are so many different types of mass media sources (TV, newspapers, magazines, radio etc.) and genres (news, natural history, advertisements etc.). However, based on the information collected from the focus groups it would seem that the types of media stories that consumers re-told were predominantly related to bad news stories, which portrayed the farming industry in a negative light and were often quite emotionally laden:

'I've seen images on TV with chicken amputated, they were cutting their wings, and it was not very pleasant' (France, Empty nester).

'I've seen a programme where they proved that intensive farming can be dangerous for your health. The chickens produce toxins, which make the meat bad for your health' (France, Ethnic minority).

⁷ Of course, it is not really possible to separate out language and materiality in this fashion as they are deeply intertwined.

'It attracted my attention when the media talked about illnesses, for example the avian flu, it is at that very moment that you begin to see shocking images. I've got these two pictures in my mind, chickens piled up before being burnt or shaking cows' (France, Ethnic minority).

'[T]hey don't really show good examples on TV or in the papers! Even though I'm sure there are model farms!' (Hungary, Empty nester).

Furthermore, participants believed that the mass media was often driven by topical scandal-based issues, at the expense of more in-depth analysis and public-educational goals:

Participant 1: 'Also the attention given is usually connected with some sort of crisis or scandal or something.'

Participant 2: 'Like something like BSE or some other sensation. That will focus the media spotlight for a while, but it will not give a clear picture of how things are generally' (Norway, Seniors).

'Ah, I think it's quite bad actually. It pops up, when there is a scandal. Then it quietens down directly. There is no continuous follow up, but a big hue and cry and then it quickly dies down' (Sweden, Political father).

The content of mass media stories also seemed to be influencing participants' understandings in different ways in different countries, for example the UK national focus group report indicates that UK participants' understandings were being shaped by a mass media that seemed to be more concerned with issues of farm animal transport and slaughter, than issues relating to animal rearing. Furthermore, the Italian national report indicates that the media's portrayal of recent food scandals, such as BSE and salmonella, had increased participants' interest in (and knowledge about) farming and in certain food products, such as battery produced eggs and foie gras.

However, not all mass media narratives/images are negative, indeed focus group participants also mentioned the overly positive images of happy satisfied animals presented in media advertisements.

'As we can see in some ads on TV. Oh, they are really stupid! It's an enormous cow of Normandy that they are massaging. The farmer massages it with his sponge. So as not to make it stressed and thus so that it produces more milk' (France, Senior).

Secondly, the *Internet* provides an interesting example of how 'new media' might be shaping consumers' understandings of farm animal welfare. From the limited information that we have available on this issue, it would appear that *practices of Internet usage* are crucial in understanding the types of knowledge that can be generated through this medium. For example, certain focus group participants seemed to be using the internet in the same way that they would a more traditional mass-media source (perhaps with all the associated framings outlined in the section above):

‘I’d say that we all take a glance at the starting homepage, where there are always many things. And if it’s well presented, then I read it through. This is how I stumble upon all kinds of things. I don’t always deliberately look for what I read, it might have just caught my attention. I think people often read articles this way. Just like in papers’ (Hungary, Young single).

In contrast, other participants sought specific websites to provide them with information about farm animal welfare, however many of these participants then commented on the unpleasant and graphic nature of these (often more partisan) sites:

‘There are some critical websites. But you start reading them you will not eat anything at all anymore. That is not good either’ (Netherlands, Vegetarian/Politically active).

‘Internet, there is a lot on it. I have seen movies of these battery animals, but then you don’t want it anymore’ (Netherlands, Empty nester).

In addition to these more traditional usages, the internet also offers the potential for something really quite different; an innovative way of reconnecting humans and farm animals, which would in turn generate alternative, quasi-direct knowledges:

‘I got my chicken from adoptereenkip.nl, at that website you can give someone a chicken. You buy a chicken, you participate in a group with a farmer, the farmer has a free range chicken and that chicken virtually belongs to you. The chicken lives in a chicken house and with the help of a web camera you can watch your chicken. The fun part is that you receive a ticket by email, and once in a while you can pick up a carton with eggs’ (Netherlands, Young single).

Thirdly, participants’ *direct experiences* of farm animals seemed to influence their understandings in certain ways. The recent Eurobarometer report on consumers’ attitudes to animal welfare indicates that consumers who have had direct experience of farm animals tend to think more frequently about farm animal welfare issues when purchasing meat:

‘The people who most often think about animal welfare when buying meat have visited farms where animals are reared more frequently. In fact, 43% of those thinking about animal welfare most of the time or some of the time when purchasing meat have visited a farm more than three times’ (European Commission, 2005, p. 7).

The results from the focus group research also indicate that direct experiences of farm animals seems to have a long lasting and often transformative impact on consumers’ beliefs/practices. Indeed, the stories that focus group participants told about their direct encounters with farm animals often involved both an initial emotional/visceral shock of realising that farm animal welfare conditions were not as good as they imagined and a longer lasting change in attitudes and behaviours:

'I already didn't eat a lot of meat but now! It was horrible. I've seen thousands of turkeys in a shed, they passed in front of my house, and I was traumatised for a moment. I thought that they were ostriches as they had really big, enormous feet! It's been a long time since I've given up... turkeys for roasts' (France, Senior).

'Because I was born in the Seine and Marne and that I arrived in the Haute Pyrénées in a small village and I saw how farming was done and I did not like it at all... there are many farms... so I went to see how the animals were reared, treated and they are very badly treated. So I wrote a kind "personal thesis" on that. The farming does not fit the way that I want them to live' (France, Vegetarian/Politically active).

'I have been on a hiking trip with horses and then I also saw on the farm how these animals live there, so close together and then I became vegetarian at once. And in the supermarket then I only look quick quick' (Netherlands, Empty nester).

Furthermore, it was not only direct experiences of farms that had this affect but also direct experiences of seeing animals in transit:

'What I see, it's when I am on the motorway, I see trucks animals piled up and I want to vomit and I tell myself – this is not possible!' (France, Urban mother).

'About the way of transporting: I sometimes walked by a slaughterhouse and there could be standing a huge truck packed with sheep or pigs. That was depending on what day it was. They almost stood on each other, they had so little space' (Norway young single).

However, it is important to point out that not all direct experiences of farms have a negative impact on consumers' perceptions of farm animal welfare, for example many Norwegian participants, who had had direct experience of farm animals, often perceived farm animal welfare conditions to be better in Norway than in other countries. A Hungarian participant also talked in glowing terms about his experience of seeing a German farm whilst on holiday:

'But just like I saw it in Germany, on a farm, where we were renting a house, that there it was a computer that managed things, the circumstances were real sterile, which is really an unreachable dream here. But there even a plain peasant had it all' (Hungary, Empty nester).

Fourthly, participants often drew on *past memories* of their experience of animal farming when discussing farm animal welfare issues. These memories varied in character, however there seemed to be a basic nostalgia for the past, which coloured many recollections in a positive light. In particular, certain focus group participants believed that in the past consumer-citizens were more connected to the land and to farm animals and had a much better idea of what was going on in farms:

‘These days more of us are at the mercy of the media, newspapers, TV and radio. But I think if you look back thirty years, perhaps all of us had some acquaintance who lived on the countryside, so we know more about what was going on then. Now most of us don’t have those contacts anymore’ (Sweden, Senior).

‘I also come from a small village, that’s where I spent my childhood. Everyone there knew which families are neat and decent. And from which families no one would accept any milk or cottage cheese, even if they gave it for free. Everyone knows after a while’ (Hungary, Seniors).

Furthermore, many participants believed that animal welfare conditions were much better in the past (pre agricultural industrialisation) era. This was connected to the belief that ‘traditional’ farming methods ensured better animal welfare than modern mass-production techniques:

‘My granddad had bulls, which he raised and butchered, so I mostly think about where I used to run around and pet those little calves. That’s animal welfare to me’ (Sweden, Young single).

‘For me it is necessary to return to a traditional way of farming... the cows at the beginning they were in the meadows... they grazed grass of the meadow’ (France, Urban mother).

‘[M]y idea of animal welfare is mostly centred upon the memories my grandmother had of hens that were free to range, had open spaces and natural food’ (Italy, Rural woman).

Fifthly, *product labels and product packaging* were another important source of information that influenced participants’ understandings of farm animal welfare. Looking at Table 4.4 one can see that product labels or packaging were mentioned in 12 different focus groups as potential sources of information about farm animal welfare. However, as we shall see in the next chapter, this figure probably vastly underestimates the importance of labels as an information source, as it only really includes those types of participants who actively sought out and read product labels rather those participants who used logos like ‘free-range’ and ‘organic’ as a short hand (almost non-reflective) way of assessing food (and welfare) quality. Furthermore, it is important to note that it is not just product labels and packaging that influenced participants’ understandings of farm animal welfare but also *broader practices of food shopping, preparation and eating* many of which are ‘taken-for-granted’. We explore participants’ knowledge of welfare-friendly food products and assurance schemes and how their experience of these products can shape their overall understandings about farm animal welfare in more detail in Chapter 5; however, it is worth noting that:

1. The very fact that animal foods are ingested, taken into participants’ bodies, helped to cement a strong link between food quality/safety and farm animal welfare in participants’ perceptions (hence the importance that participants gave to providing

animals with natural, non-GM feeds and of avoiding stress, the overuse of chemicals/medications and zoonoses).

2. For many participants labels such as 'free-range', 'outdoor-access' and 'organic' had become key reference points/indicators of higher animal welfare standards. However, more than this, these labels and their associated assurance schemes promote a particular version of animal welfare that equates high welfare with 'natural' conditions. This in turn fitted in well with (or perhaps even helped to foster) participants' understandings of animal welfare and the importance that participants gave to the provision of natural environments for farm animals.

Finally, although they do not feature on Table 4.4, it is clear that many other broader practices and experiences helped to shape and inform the focus group participants' understandings of farm animal welfare. In particular, we would contend that certain participants' beliefs about farm animal welfare (especially in relation to how welfare is defined and how animals are imagined) were shaped by analogies with both their experiences of *caring for pets* and their own *embodied experiences as human/animal beings*.

In relation to caring for pets, it would seem that this practice helped to shape participants' understandings of animal welfare (and by analogy farm animal welfare) in two interconnected ways. First, it encouraged pet 'owners' to focus on the emotional and sentient characteristics/capacities of their 'companion' animals:

'[Y]es, they are animals, they don't have a mind but they do have instincts, sensations... Look at my dog, it understands everything!' (Italy, Senior).

Second it helped to focus attention on the importance of the human-animal relationship in ensuring that animals experience a good quality of life. Crucially, this relationship was not merely seen in terms of providing the basic necessities for animals to survive (good health, food, water etc) but rather in terms of 'care', 'respect' and even 'love' for animals:

'For me animal welfare depends on the kind of relationship that we manage to establish with the animals, I have cats and dogs, and I would like to think that the animals I eat have been treated the same way' (Italy, Rural woman).

'[A] lot depends on what the farmer is like. Because if he doesn't treat them [his animals] in a humane way and doesn't love them, then that's harmful. Whether it's livestock or a dog, they have to be loved by their master' (Hungary, Senior).

'Only people who love animals should farm them' (Hungary, Young single).

'[T]hey [animals] also need affection and love' (Italy, Urban mother).

'They [animals] must get petted. Some love' (Sweden, Young single).

In relation to participants' own embodied experiences as human/animal beings, certain participants drew explicit links between human welfare and animal welfare:

'I always tell my son to take care of animals, since they are living creatures too, and they can feel pain just like we do' (Hungary, Rural woman).

'I avoid looking because it's too heartbreaking. The ill-nature of people. A lack of respect for life. It's torture. Animal suffering is equal to human suffering' (France, Vegetarian/Politically active).

Furthermore, many participants made more tacit associations between what constitutes human welfare and what constitutes animal welfare, for example certain elements of participants' understandings of farm animals' emotions and behaviours seem to be shaped by analogies with human experiences. This is a very interesting point, as animal scientists have highlighted some of the potential problems that can occur when understandings of what constitutes a good life for humans are inappropriately applied to animals.

'In an (also fictional) bedroom, a young boy who had caught a frog as a pet wanted to give the frog the best possible care. Believing that the frog would be cold and tired after living in swamps and eating flies, he tucked the frog into his own warm, dry bed with a handful of peppermints. The dry frog anecdote reminds us that animal welfare is unlike bread quality in that animals themselves have certain interests, and these provide the ultimate criteria for animal welfare. Through scientific knowledge, we can make better judgments about what is good or bad for animals, and thus improve on uninformed opinion or simplistic extrapolation from humans to other species' (Fraser, 2003, pp. 437–438).

However (and as Fraser himself points out) this does not mean that we should reject wider societal concerns about farm animal welfare. Furthermore, it does not imply that all comparisons and analogies between human and non-human animal experiences are completely invalid. Indeed *certain* animal welfare scientists (especially those involved with *certain* forms of qualitative behavioural assessment) have encouraged the use of what could be viewed as anthropomorphic descriptions to rate the welfare of farm animals.

EUROPEAN CONSUMERS’ KNOWLEDGE ABOUT WELFARE- FRIENDLY PRODUCTS AND ASSURANCE SCHEMES

5.1 NATIONAL VARIATIONS IN THE AVAILABILITY OF WELFARE-FRIENDLY FOODS

Before we move on to examine the focus group participants’ perceptions of, and familiarity with, different welfare-friendly products, it is vital that we gain an understanding of the overall market availability of these goods. This will enable us to examine some of the connections between the nature of the supply-side of the market for welfare-friendly goods and the nature of consumer demand, for example we can address issues such as the extent to which participants’ tacit understandings of what constituted a welfare-friendly product were influenced by the different types of goods available to them (or by other extraneous factors). In other words, we can begin to examine some of the interconnections between the *material availability* of welfare-friendly foods, the pre-established but still evolving *product classifications, groupings* and *networks* (such as organic or high-quality) with which welfare-friendly foods must interact, and the *implicit, practically-driven understandings* that participants possessed about the meanings and benefits of welfare-friendly foods.

Extensive research into the nature of the market for welfare-friendly foods has already been carried out by members of the retailing workpackage (see Roe and Marsden, 2006), in particular researchers carried out sample market ‘audits’ in the UK, the Netherlands, France, Sweden, Norway and Italy to examine the prevalence of different types of welfare-friendly food. Tables 5.1 to 5.4 depict some of the key findings of their research. Looking at these tables, it is possible to draw out a number of points of interest for our current consumer research.

1. Welfare-friendly products tend to be either producer branded, retailer branded or manufacturer branded. A range of different producer branded products were available in the Netherlands, France and Sweden, but fewer were available in the UK, Norway and Italy. A number of different retailer branded products were available in most

study countries but were far less common in Sweden and Norway. Manufacturer branded products were available across all study countries but were less common in Sweden (see Table 5.1).

2. Welfare-friendly claims appeared on a variety of different product types across all countries, including; pork, eggs, dairy, beef and chicken. In most study countries several egg and dairy products carried welfare friendly claims. Welfare friendly claims also appeared on several chicken products in France and Italy, on several beef products in France and the Netherlands and on several pork products in France and the Netherlands and to a lesser extent in Sweden and the UK (see Table 5.2).
3. One can classify welfare-friendly products into three different types: welfare focused products; organic products; and quality products. The ways in which animal welfare is bundled together with other product characteristics varies from country to country. For example, most of the retailers in France have been assigned (by researchers based on the sample audits of labelled products) to the 'quality and welfare' category (see Table 5.3), furthermore three of the six 'non-retailer led' French schemes recorded are also quality labelling schemes that incorporate animal welfare elements (see Figure 5.1). All of which indicates that notions of animal welfare are embedded within larger notions of quality within the French market.

TABLE 5.1 The occurrence of different animal welfare brands.

Country/origin of animal welfare brand	Total no. of products	No. of producer brand	No. of retailer brand	No. of manufacturer brand
UK	121	12	53	56
Netherlands	280	85	57	138
France	198	43	62	93
Sweden	68	42	9	17
Norway	115	7	2	106
Italy	83	0	33	50

Source: Roe and Marsden, 2006; data collected November 2004.

TABLE 5.2 The occurrence of different product types present in the market of products that carry welfare claims.

Country/food product	No. of pork products	No. of egg products	No. of dairy products	No. of beef products	No. of chicken products
UK	18	20	18	7	12
Netherlands	46	74	88	32	6
France	60	47	75	112	47
Sweden	18	15	11	8	6
Norway	7	20	55	8	9
Italy	1	20	29	5	22

Source: Roe and Marsden, 2006; data collected November 2004.

TABLE 5.3 A four-fold classification of retailers based on the welfare claims found on the packaging of products available in-store.

Country/welfare claims	Welfare focused strategies in the marketing of quality	Organic, less explicit welfare.	Quality and welfare	Rare to find welfare or none
UK	Marks & Spencers, Waitrose, Sainsbury, Fresh 'n' Wild, Albert Heijn, Konmar, PLUS, Super de Boer	Organic Supermarket, Independents.	Tesco, Somerfield, Morrisons, C1000, Edah	Asda, Farmer's market, Lidl
Netherlands		Natuurwinkel (The NatureShop)		Aldi, Lidl
France		Rayon Vert	Carrefour, Auchan, Casino, System U, Monopix, Leclerc, intermarche	Lidl, Ed
Sweden	Hemkop, ICA, Malmsborgs, ICA, Coop Konsum/ convenience store		Citygross/ Hypermarket, Maxi ICA/Hypermarket, AGS/Supermarket	Willys,
Norway		Helios	Ultra, Centra, Meny, ICA Maxi, ICA supermarket, Coop Obs, Coop Prix, Coop Mega, Meny Champion, Smart Club	Rimi, REMA1000, Kiwi, Joker
Italy	Esselunga, Coop, Conad,	Natura Si	Despar, Proda, Sigma, Standa, GS-Carrefour	Lidl

Source: Roe and Marsden, 2006; data collected November 2004.

5.2 EUROPEAN CONSUMERS' BROADER PERCEPTIONS ABOUT WHAT CONSTITUTES A WELFARE-FRIENDLY FOOD

Focus group participants associated a range of already existing certified/assured products with higher animal welfare standards, including; organic products, free range products, outdoor access products, and also quality assured products (such as 'Label Rouge' in France), see Table 5.4 and Box 5.1. Furthermore, it seems that focus group participants were far more likely to come across welfare-friendliness as part of a wider package of food characteristics (e.g. as in 'organic' or 'high-quality/taste' product lines) rather than in the form of a product that was being marketed solely, or predominantly, on the basis of its animal welfare credentials, such as the RSPCA 'Freedom Food' logo in the UK (see Figure 5.2).

This in turn exerted an important influence over how participants perceived and 'framed' notions of 'welfare-friendliness'. For example, in the UK and the Netherlands welfare-friendliness appeared to be indelibly associated with organic brands and many focus group participants uncritically equated 'organic' with 'welfare-friendly'. Similarly, in France,

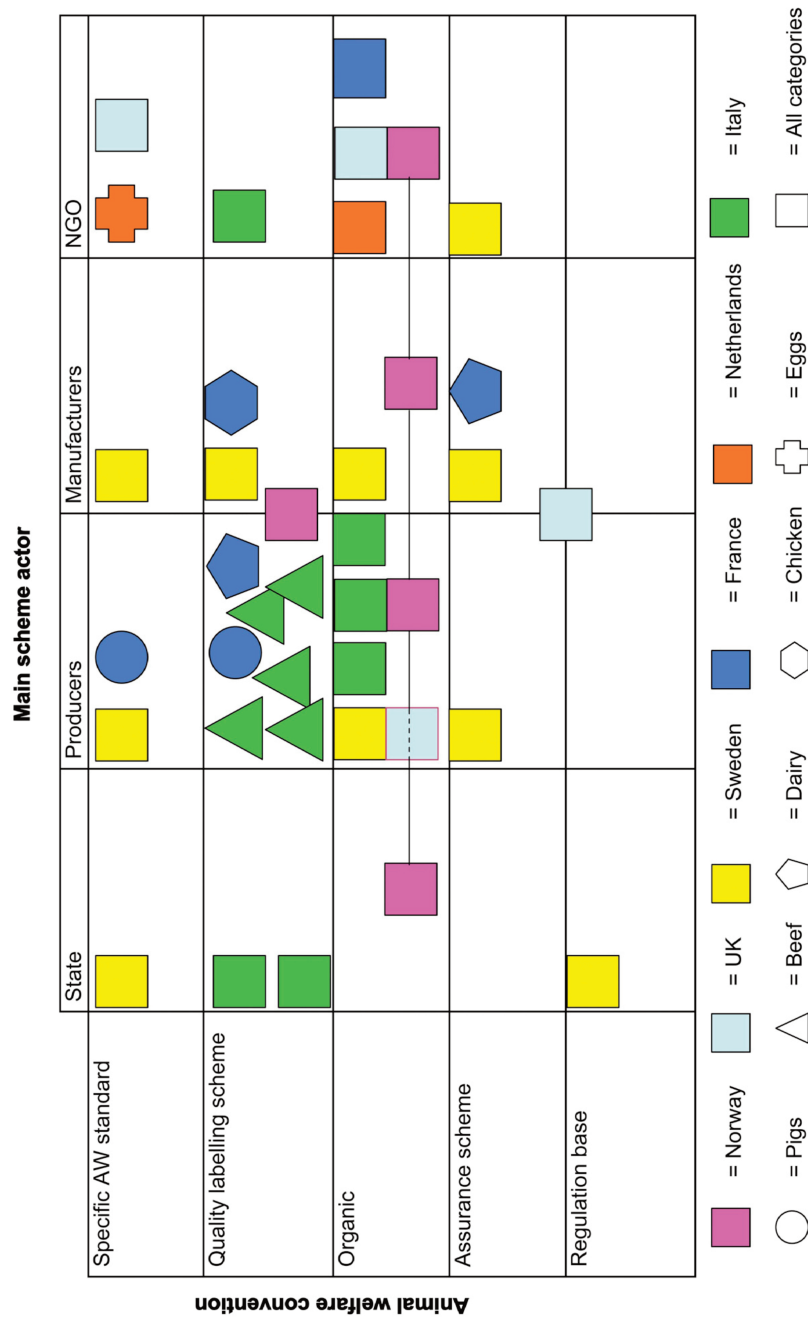


FIGURE 5.1 The characteristics of non-retailer led schemes in different countries.
 Source: Roe and Marsden, 2006; data collected November 2004.

welfare-friendliness seemed to be indelibly associated with notions of product quality and with certain quality brands such as ‘Label Rouge’. This is hardly, surprising as many of the labels on these types of quality products seamlessly mix and intertwine the rhetoric of food quality with the rhetoric of animal-friendliness (see Box 5.2).

In addition to these already existing certified/assured products, participants had a fairly broad perception of the types of products that might be welfare-friendly/unfriendly and

TABLE 5.4 Participants' perceptions of what constitutes a welfare-friendly good and their familiarity with specific products.

Group	Country	UK	Netherlands	France	Sweden	Norway	Italy	Hungary
Urban Mothers		Sainsburys (taste the difference). Little red tractor. farm standard. Organic (chickens). Yeo valley. Organic (soil association). Free range (eggs). Duchy original.	Free-range (eggs). Outdoor access (eggs). Organic meat. or free range butcher. Greenfield beef. Free farm. Biodynamic. Albert heijn organic.	Bio. Label rouge. Expensive. Halal. Organic. AB. 'Farmer'. Low welfare: cheap	Free range (chickens, eggs). KRAV. Traceable products. Arla (milk). Swedish. Ugglarps. Scan. Farmer-direct (eggs). Low welfare: Irish meat	Norwegian products. Wild (elk). Ecological (meat, beef, dairy products). Free-range. Godstagnis (pig).	Esselunga naturama. GS organic. Fileni. Butchers. Italian meat (less travel, better controls). Coop supermarkets (controlled). Local supply. Free range (eggs, chickens). Vallelata. Muller. Granarolo (milk). Yomo (milk, cheese). Organic meat Low welfare: Battery eggs. Meats from the east. Butchers (not controlled)	Bio (eggs, milk, yoghurt). Gyulai products. Heresi. Mangalica pig. Local provenance. Organic.
	Rural Women	Organic (chicken). Freirange (eggs). Freedom food RSPCA.	Free range (eggs, chicken). Butchers. Organic (meat). Environmental label. Small farmers. Low welfare: Battery. Standardised Industrial products. Supermarket. Battery eggs. Young animals	Outdoor reared (eggs). Label rouge (chicken). Provenance. Low welfare: Battery. Products from poor countries/regions	Swedish. Free-range (eggs). Farmer direct. Swedish kronflgel. KRAV (eggs, milk). Local producers (Siljan-Chark). Ecological (eggs, milk),	Free-range (chicken). Local butcher. Gilde. Traceable products. Local farmer direct. Meny (free range eggs).	Organic shop. Coop. Esselunga. Organic (milk, white meat). High quality. Local. Demeter. Free range (eggs). Alnaverde Bio (meat). Coop (eggs). Ovomaremma (eggs). Low welfare: Supermarket meat. Foie gras. Cheese (calves removed from mothers).	Bio (egg, milk, yoghurt).
Empty Nesters	Free range (eggs, meat). Farm-direct. Organic. Wild (boar). Low welfare: Cheap food	Free range (eggs, dairy, meat). EKO. Organic (milk). Outdoor (eggs). Products with mages of happy animals. Low welfare: Battery Radar. Kassa	Expensive. Quality brands. Regional brands. Label rouge. Biological agriculture (AB). Local. Good colour. Low welfare: Fast food. (chicken). Gers products. Battery eggs	KRAV (hens). Swan. Piggham (pork). ICA products. Free-range. Expensive products. Swedish.	Organic. Free-range (eggs). Wild. Expensive products.	Butchers. Region. Free-range (eggs). Traceable products. Organic. Coccodi eggs. Amadori chicken. Coop. Organic.	Bio (milk, eggs). Mangalica pigs. Free range (eggs, chicken).	

TABLE 5.4 CONT. Participants' perceptions of what constitutes a welfare-friendly good and their familiarity with specific products.

Group	Country	UK	Netherlands	France	Sweden	Norway	Italy	Hungary
Seniors		Free range (chicken eggs), Organic (eggs, chicken, milk), Aberdeen Angus meat, Cow, Lamb, Pig, Corn-fed (chicken), Scottish beef, Outdoor reared (eggs), Low welfare: Very large supermarket chickens, Veal, Young animals, Chickens	Organic, Free range (eggs, chicken), Organic chicken, EKO, Demeter, Milieukeurmerk, Low welfare: Battery eggs from large scale industrial farms	Open air, Label rouge, Chicken of Loue, Regional products, Low welfare: Products from large scale industrial farms	Ecological (eggs), Indoor roaming (eggs), Outdoor roaming (eggs), Wild game, KRAV (chicken), Swedish meat, Low welfare: Irish mince meat, Danish meat (pork) welfare: Swedish meat, German meat.	Free range (chickens), Traceable products, Norwegian products, Ecological products (eggs), Stange (chickens), Vestfold, wild (elk), State endorsed labels, Low welfare: Swedish meat, German meat.	Local foods (provenance), Free-range (chicken), Organic, Quality products, Wild, Sheep, Essetunga naturama (chicken), Italian products, Low welfare: Foie gras	Local home raised (provenance).
	Young Singles	Free range (eggs, chickens), organic (chicken, pigs), local sourcing,	Organic, Wild, Adopted chickens (eggs), Grass eggs, EKO, Free range (eggs), Albert heijn, Low welfare: Battery Supermarket, Fast eggs, All non organic, food non assured products	Butcher, Quality, Organic/bio, Loue chicken, Koster pros and cons, Low welfare: Supermarket, Fast eggs, All non organic, food non assured products	Free range (hens), Spratthons, Traceable goods, KRAV, Local supply networks, Ecological (eggs), Parssons (ham), Uggelamps, Scan, Bio, Piggham (pigs), Swedish, Low welfare: Cheap danish meat, Willys own-products	Lamb, Wild animals, Moose, Ecological, Free range (eggs, chickens), Debbio, Norwegian products, Tine, Farmer-direct, Low welfare: Pigs (intensively reared), Chicken welfare: Cheap danish meat, Willys own-products	Local (trust provenance), Italian meat, Farmer-direct (eggs, dairy), Free range (eggs), Butchers, Bio restaurant, Organic, DOP, Beef, Horse, Branded products, Low welfare: Foregin meat, Minceed meat, Pork, Chicken, Non-branded products	Organic, Bio (eggs, milk), Gyulai pork, Free range chicken, Local (provenance).
Political/ Vegetarian	Organic (meat, yoghurt), Free range (eggs), Soil association, Low welfare: Battery eggs, Veal	Organic (yoghurt, milk, eggs), Albert Heijn, Nature-product shop, Outdoor access, EKO, Greenfield, Demeter, Loue chickens, Peters farm, Grass eggs, Adopted chickens, Free range (eggs, meat), Older animals (cows), Low welfare: Free range	Free range (eggs), Organic /bio (milk), Simple products (less packaging and marketing), Milk (cows not killed) Low welfare: Normal Eggs Konsum stores, Swedish, Anglagltds (sausage), Scan (sausage), Parsons (ham), Low welfare: Discount stores (Lidel, Willys, Netto)	Free range (hens), Wild (moose), KRAV (eggs, milk), Ecological (eggs, mincemeat), Hemkop (only free range eggs), Konsum stores, Swedish, Anglagltds (sausage), Parsons (ham), Low welfare: Discount stores (Lidel, Willys, Netto)	Local direct supply, Wild (moose), Lamb, Ecological (meat, eggs), Norwegian products, Free range (eggs), Low welfare: Cheap meat, Pork, Beef, Chicken welfare: Battery eggs	Local farmer (eggs), Italian meat, Coop, Organic (milk, eggs), Free-range (eggs), Supermarkets (controlled), Coop, Granarolo (milk), Maremma milk, Low welfare: Battery eggs	Bio eggs, Milk, Local producers, 'Farm chicken', Biokultúra Association, Krishna products, Caucasian products.	

TABLE 5.4 CONT. Participants' perceptions of what constitutes a welfare-friendly good and their familiarity with specific products.

Group	Country	UK	Netherlands	France	Sweden	Norway	Italy	Hungary
Country Specific		<p><i>Young Singles (N)</i>: Free-range (eggs, meat). Corn-fed. Organic (meat, dairy, sausage).</p>		<p><i>Ethnic minorities</i>: Local. AMAP. Farmed outside. Label rouge. Raised outdoors. Organic. Products from the north of Europe. Low welfare: UK products</p>	<p><i>Political Fathers</i>: Ecological (eggs, milk, sausage). Kronflgel (traceable chicken). Free range (eggs). KRAB. Farmer direct. Swedish products. Low welfare: UK meat. Danish meat</p>	<p><i>Hunters</i>: Local direct meat. Autumn lambs. Low welfare: Chicken. German. Dutch meat. Danish meat. UK meat</p>	<p><i>Gourmet</i>: Organic (chicken). Local farmers (eggs, milk, cheese). Horse meat. Pork. Regional products (Parmigiano Reggiano). Argentinean meat. Esselunga Naturama. Amadori (free range chickens). Low welfare: Chicken</p>	<p><i>Health Conscious</i>: Organic/bio (milk). Bio market. Master farm. Gyulai pork. Local home reared (provenance).</p>

BOX 5.1 Participants' broader perceptions about what constitutes a welfare-friendly food: certification and assurance schemes.

Organic
 'Well, I think of animal-friendly meat then, I think that those animals have been treated well, that's organic, and that they get good feed without pesticides and all those things' (Netherlands, Urban mother).
 'I think that something that is good with information is KRAV. It just feels so good, a clear, big logo on the product so that one does not have to think so much. One knows that regarding these eggs, one has not tortured the hens too much' (Sweden, Vegetarian/Politically active).

Free range
 'A chicken should have the opportunity to walk freely, to me that is important. I buy the free-range eggs because then I know that the chicken has had a good and happy life' (Netherlands, Senior).

Outdoor access
 'For me the 'label rouge' is not that important. What is essential for me when I buy chickens is whether or not it is said on the label if they were raised outdoor' (France, Ethnic minority).

Quality products
 'We nevertheless try not to take the cheapest products and indeed to support a "label rouge" chicken rather than a chicken, which didn't run around and was kept in cages – a "best buy" chicken' (France, Urban mother).

Halal and Kosher
 'They are really controlled Halal butchers. Certainly more than French butchers. Because actually there are all these... ethical rules. And they observe an astonishing cleanliness' (France, Urban mother).
 'Yes because in kosher food, we are not allowed to eat an animal which would have had wounds, diseases' (France, Young single).

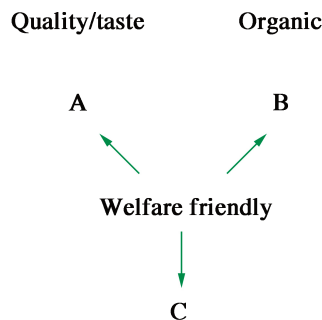


FIGURE 5.2 How notions of welfare-friendliness become bundled with other food characteristics.

BOX 5.2 Two French product labels that illustrate the intertwining of welfare-friendliness with wider discourses of food quality/taste (emphasis added).

Product Label 1: Terre et Saveur, Viande de bœuf (beef meat) *out of respect for taste and nature*
 Certified characteristics:

- Respect for good rearing practices;
- Minimal maturation of 7 days for the pieces to be grilled and roasted (apart from flank, prime cut of beef and fillet);
- Guaranteed tractability, from the rearing to the selling place.

Product Label 2: Label Rouge, Poulet Jaune farmers from the South-East, reared in the open air, Quality Grouping, Origin South-East, Class A, fresh products, characteristics contributing to superior quality: free-range reared in the open-air. Rearing duration at least 81 days. Fed with 100% of plants, minerals and vitamins of which 80% of minimum cereals

BOX 5.3 Participants' broader perceptions about what constitutes a welfare-friendly food: animals.

<p><i>Animal species</i></p> <p>'I think that cattle are better treated than hens. So there are more problems for eggs than for milk' (France, Vegetarian/Politically active).</p> <p>'[F]or example chicken. Everybody knows how they have lived in a box. And that's not a good thing' (Norway, Young single).</p>
<p><i>Older animals</i></p> <p>'I don't buy young animals. An old pig has had a bit of happy life, or that's what I hope' (Netherlands, Rural woman).</p> <p>'An old cow is good as well, but meat from a younger cow that is breed with hormones to become as fat as possible. Or those cows eat forage containing other cows. I prefer to eat old cows' (Netherlands, Vegetarian/Politically active).</p>
<p><i>Wild animals</i></p> <p>'I perceive animal welfare mainly when I think about wild animals, which are the happiest ones; as far as the farms are concerned, I think that the one that lives better is the cow raised in the mountain ranges' (Italy, Senior).</p> <p>'We eat quite a lot of elk meat. They are really what you'd call free range. I eat them with a clear conscience as I know that the elk have to be culled every year or there'll be too many of them. And there's nothing like antibiotics or medicines to be bothered with and hopefully it has been a happy animal wandering in the forest' (Norway, Senior).</p>

BOX 5.4 Participants' broader perceptions about what constitutes a welfare-friendly food: geography (local and location foods).

<p><i>Products from specific areas</i></p> <p>'I have a very idealistic vision of the North, they seem close to nature, to have a more organic relationship with things, with their stags, their fjords' (France, Ethnic minority).</p> <p>'The word "Caucasian" makes you think that it comes from the East, where the air is cleaner!' (Hungary, Vegetarian/Politically active).</p> <p>'I think if you buy Norwegian products, up until quite recently there were rules regarding how many animals were allowed as livestock at a certain place. It was much lower here than, for example, in other places in Europe' (Norway, Senior).</p>
<p><i>Local supply chains</i></p> <p>Participant: 'Yes probably, but I never buy meat in the shops. If I buy meat I buy it from someone I know and am familiar with how he works.'</p> <p>Facilitator: 'So you would like the possibility to know the person who ran the farm or to even see the animals themselves.'</p> <p>Participant: 'See the animals, that's right' (Norway, Hunters).</p> <p>'I've already seen the bio eggs, but since it was more expensive, I prefer to buy my eggs from a producer at the market, whose hens scrape around in the yard' (Hungary, Vegetarian/Politically active).</p>

BOX 5.5 Participants' broader perceptions about what constitutes a welfare-friendly food: food outlets, marketing and price.

<i>Butchers</i>
'Well, I just know that if I go to my butcher who does his own slaughtering. I will get a good piece of meat. I was raised on a farm and my father delivered cows to this butcher, so I am sure that when I want beef I go there. Not to the supermarket' (Netherlands, Rural woman).
<i>Supermarkets</i>
'I get a lot of my stuff at the Albert Heijn. I trust that shop! Why? That is hard to tell. I have thinking about that recently and I cannot tell why. I do not know. I wondered if I was being fooled. I buy a lot of organic products and I think I can trust that. Sometimes I am in doubt, but I think that they have products of good quality and always a wide range of organic products' (Netherlands, Vegetarian/Politically active).
'Anyway, as to buying products with information on animal welfare, I buy Esselunga even though they have little information, because I trust it and I expect that it conforms to these [animal welfare] issues' (Italy, Urban mother).
<i>Fast food outlets</i>
'I've particularly heard about "... chicken", a chain that sells massive chickens, they are animals that are bred in such a way' (France, Empty nester).
<i>Brands</i>
'The only thing I do is not buying unknown labels, because I think those animals are not bred respecting their welfare' (Italy, Young single).
'Like Scan, when you brought it up. Their products are thoroughly inspected. I have relatives who work there, so I know that they do inspections very often. So at these large, famous ones, I think there is quite strict inspection in general also' (Swedish, Urban mother).
<i>Packaging</i>
'[W]ell, just look at the package. The supermarket has Greenfield beef, they have had a better life, I imagine Scottish highlands. Those animals must have had a better life. But then again, the picture is always better than reality' (Netherlands, Urban mother).
'On the package material you often see meadows and you just hope that those animals have actually lived there' (Netherlands, Young single).
<i>Price</i>
'And the children should see that if they want cheap meat it will end up being the animal that will pay. The animals' welfare will be sacrificed' (Norway, Vegetarian/Politically active).

they used a large range of proxy indicators to assess the supposed welfare credentials of a given product. These proxy indicators included; the origin of the product; whether it was sourced locally; the species type and age of the original animal; the store from which the good was purchased; the brand; the packaging; and even the price. Indeed, there appeared to be a whole range of subconscious indicators of welfare that informed participants' perceptions and purchasing habits. Boxes 5.1 and 5.3–5.5 provide detailed illustrations of the types of proxy indicators that participants employed to assess the welfare credentials of animal foods.

5.3 NATIONAL VARIATIONS IN EUROPEAN CONSUMERS' FAMILIARITY WITH WELFARE-FRIENDLY PRODUCTS

It is possible to identify some interesting national variations in the focus group participants' perceptions of, and familiarity with, welfare-friendly products.

In the UK, the majority of focus group participants were very familiar with free-range eggs and most instantly recognised the organic label and uncritically equated it with good animal welfare practice. Participants also believed that veal products were welfare-unfriendly and some associated the label 'corn fed' with high welfare. However, and perhaps surprisingly given the market presence of the RSPCA accredited 'freedom food' label that focuses specifically on animal welfare, very few focus group participants were aware of any specific welfare-friendly brands.

In the Netherlands, focus group participants were very familiar with free-range eggs and organic products, they were also familiar with the animal-friendly products sold in Albert Heijn (a major Dutch retailer). However, when it came to more specialised animal-friendly products, participants' familiarity was more varied, for example whilst they were familiar with the label 'Greenfield' (free-range beef), they seemed almost completely unaware of products such as 'Loué' (free-range chicken) or 'Peter's farm' (free-range veal). Several participants raised concerns about the credibility of 'free range' products, for example one participant stated: "... most information is manipulative. You think that a free-range-hen has had a good life and was able to scrape around, but it did not see any daylight. The pictures look nice but the chicken does not see daylight. It is just like a concentration camp for chickens". (Netherlands, Vegetarian or Politically active). Participants also associated animal welfare with stores such as Albert Heijn, the nature shop, and specialist organic butchers

In Sweden, there are few, if any, brands that are marketed solely on their animal welfare credentials, however there are a variety of organic/bio brands, such as Krav, Ugglarp, Bosarp, Naturkött and Änglamark, which explicitly include animal welfare in their product specifications. Of these brands, focus group participants were most familiar with the Krav label and the Naturkött label was also fairly well know, however few were familiar with the other brands. Swedish participants also seemed to associate traceability with high welfare and many were distrustful of cheap discount stores and foreign meat (especially Irish mince meat).

In France, at present, few exclusively animal-friendly product labels exist. However, many focus group participants were familiar with quality labels such as 'Label Rouge', which make a number of explicit welfare claims. They were also familiar with certain free-range and organic egg products, such as 'Mère Poulard, Le Mont Saint Michel' (eggs from outdoor reared hens) and 'Matines' (organic eggs). However, they were not so familiar with other more specialised products such as 'Terre et Saveur' Viande de Bœuf (a beef

product label that makes claims about traceability and animal rearing) and 'Coop Natura Plan Charcuterie' (Swiss meat that has been reared with respect to animals). French participants also associated local and regional produce with higher welfare standards.

In Italy, focus group participants were most familiar with Esselunga-Naturama products, the meat products sold in Coop, the organic lines of certain retailers and branded products such as Almaverde-bio, Demeter and Maremma milk. Italian participants also associated local products and products of Italian origin with higher welfare.

In Hungary, despite the fact that some explicitly welfare-friendly products were available, such as 'Gyulai' quality controlled pork (natural foraging, special rearing), 'Mastergood' red master farmer chicken (free range) and Herbahus turkey medallion (animal friendly production, free of medicines) very few focus group participants were familiar with any of these products. However, some participants were aware of the label organic/bio. Participants also associated traditional breeds, such as the Mangalica pigs with high welfare. Many participants associated local products with high welfare: "Before buying it I always try to figure out where it could be from. If you go out to the market and buy your meat from old ladies, you can be pretty sure that they are from around the house and were raised on different feed than the chicken you buy in the stores." (Hungary, Young Single). Finally, unlike most other countries Hungarian participants did not associate any products with low welfare.

In Norway, whilst the majority of focus group participants were familiar with organic and free-range products, many complained that they were not widely available and some participants did not trust the claims that were made about these products. Few participants were familiar with more specialised welfare-friendly products, such as Grøstad's farm or Stange chickens. Furthermore, many Norwegian participants associated wild meat products, such as moose or reindeer (which were often obtained through local and informal channels) with high animal welfare standards, which illustrates that their perception of welfare friendly products goes well beyond the purchase of explicitly labelled products in shops. Norwegians also had a high level of trust in Norwegian products as they believed that Norwegian animal welfare regulations were stricter than in other European countries.

To summarise, it would seem that participants from the UK and the Netherlands primarily associated labelled products such as organic and free range with higher welfare standards. Participants from Sweden associated the organic label 'KRAV' with high animal welfare and they also asserted the importance of traceability. French participants tended to associate quality products, such as Label Rouge with higher welfare and they also associated local and regional products with high welfare. Italian participants associated organic labelled goods and local products with high welfare. Whilst participants from Hungary and Norway were familiar with certain welfare-friendly labelled products (especially organic/bio) they seemed to primarily associate high welfare with locally produced products and face-to-face trust relationships with producers and suppliers.

5.4 EUROPEAN CONSUMERS' INFORMATION AND LABELLING DEMANDS CONCERNING ANIMAL WELFARE

5.4.1 European Consumers' Attentiveness to Welfare Labels

Certain focus group participants seemed to be highly reflective about their food purchases and tended to read food labels and take their time deciding what to buy (one consumer-citizen even admitted to being 'fixated with labels'). However, many participants were less reflective about their food consumption choices.

'Let's say that I eat without thinking' (Italy, Rural woman).

'[F]rankly, when I buy food I don't think about animal welfare' (Italy, Rural woman).

'[W]hen I go out to buy a package of eggs I can't spend too much time reading the product' (Italy, Senior).

Furthermore, levels of participants' reflection concerning food choices also varied from day to day and in relation to the nature of the shopping trip (e.g. with children/without children) and the amount of time that they had available.

This non-attentiveness to food labels can be accounted for by two interconnected reasons: Firstly, in contrast to the rational economic model of consumption, which would have us believe that consumers carefully reflect upon (and weigh up the costs and benefits) of every purchase that they make; an alternative model of consumption (see Glennie and Thrift, 1993) views many purchase decisions (especially those regarding everyday items such as food) as essentially mundane, routinised and non-reflective.

'Thus what is now transpiring might be called a more practical approach to consumption, one which is based in a notion of everyday consumption practices as "basically repetitive, intuitive and inventive" (Hermes, 1993, p. 497). Such a notion displaces the vocabulary of rationality, choice and representation by a vocabulary of joint action and embodiment (Thrift, 1996). Thus consumption is seen as a practical-moral and contextually specific activity, rather than as an intellectualised and abstract system of knowledge, which results from the intersection of numerous actor-networks' (Miller et al. 1998, p. 6).

'The theories of consumption inherited from the last decade of scholarly inquiry have particular emphases on choice and freedom, taste and lifestyle, identity and differentiation, image and appearance, transgression and carnival. However, these considerations left out a good deal of the substantive field of consumption: those actions which required little reflection, which communicate few social messages,

which play no role in distinction and which do not excite much passion or emotion, were typically ignored' (Warde and Gronow, 2001).

Secondly, many consumers do not want to be reminded of the connection between the foods that they are about to purchase and consume and the animals from which these products were derived (see Serpell 1986). This point was also illustrated by several focus group participants.

'It would be good to know more, but... then we would be scared about what we eat. People would be disgusted. They wouldn't buy so many products in such quantities' (Hungary, Young single).

'For me it would imply becoming a vegetarian. I don't eat horse meat because it would be like eating my dog; I stopped eating goose pate' because I saw how they make it; when pigs are slaughtered their cries bother me; I eat very little meat, consciously, but to know, to be informed would hypocritically make me too conscious of how these animals are killed and it would certainly stop me. Let's say that I eat without thinking. So I don't face a problem with information; I do it to understand if the eggs come from free-range chickens or if the chicken is organic, but I don't go beyond that' (Italy, Rural Woman).

One way that consumers avoid the need to reflect on their animal food choices, is by delegating responsibility for issues such as animal welfare onto other actors, such as the state, certain supermarkets or certain brands.

'Anyway, as to buying products with information about animal welfare, I buy Esselunga products, even though they contain little information, because I trust them and I expect that they conform to this issues' (Italy, Urban mother).

'So they should invent an image... to make it credible and then eventually, when I do my shopping, I might really check these signs' (Hungary, Vegetarian/Politically active).

These are important issues that will have serious implications regarding the best way to implement the Welfare Quality[®] monitoring scheme and information system.

5.4.2 European Consumers' Preferred Form and Content of Product Information and Labelling about Animal Welfare

Participants expressed a number of preferences regarding the form and content of product information and labelling about farm animal welfare (see Table 5.5). Whilst information demands varied nationally and across socio-cultural groups, it is possible to identify a range of shared priorities, these included; the provision of more information, but in a simplified improved format that did not overwhelm the reader (e.g. in the form of a logo with associated information); information should be clearly legible and any unfamiliar

terms should be clearly explained; the information should appear on the product but this could be backed-up by more detailed resources (such as in-store information, leaflets, websites etc); the label should be trustworthy and be certified, monitored and enforced by a reliable body; labelling should be standardised across different stores. Many participants also expressed a desire to receive specific information regarding; the origin and traceability of the product; the nature of the feed given to the animals (certain participants also wanted to know whether the animal had been given GM feeds or antibiotics); how the animals were treated; whether the animals had access to the outdoors; the method of slaughter that was used; and the distance the live animal had to travel. A certain limited number of participants also expressed a desire to see pictures of the farms from which the product originated and the farmers who looked after the animals.

TABLE 5.5 Participants' preferred form and content of product information and labelling about animal welfare.

Group	Country	UK	Netherlands	France	Sweden	Norway	Italy	Hungary
Urban Mothers		Soil association logo. Simple info. More info. Support info in store. Bigger writing.	Life history of product. Organic. Label clearly visible. Certification. Brand. How produced. labels. What organic means. One single label/standard. Feed.	Date of packing. There is a lack of trust in certain labels. Reared in open air. Bigger writing. Non-GM. Label rouge. Quality. Certification. Provenance. Pictures.	How animals treated. Simple symbol/logo. Labels play on emotions. Info best on package rather than leaflets.	Not enough info. Organic. Lack of trust in labels. Simple info. Producer. Standardised labelling. Date of slaughter. Certification.	Origin. Feed. How animal raised. The information on organic products is good.	Feed. System type. More info about what is monitored. Bigger writing. Certified/controlled. How treated. How animal kept/conditions.
	Rural Women	Organic logo. Need support info (e.g. on TV). How treated. Feed. Hygiene. Meat grade. Method of slaughter. Humanely produced. Simple logo/mark.	Origin. Living conditions. Free-range. Certification. Method of slaughter. Feed.	Reared in open air. Bigger writing. Non-GM. Label rouge. Quality. Certification. Provenance. Pictures.	Bigger writing. Explain terms. Origin. Travel distance. More info on packages.	Producer/supplier. Traceability. Origin.	Traceability. Price. Not enough info on current labels. Origin. Certification. Guarantee. Feed. Outdoor access. Anti-biotic free. Organic. Lack of trust in certain labels. Level of animal welfare. How animals raised. Eggs have good labels, meat has poor labels. Simple logo (with back-up info)	Traceability. Price. Not enough info on current labels. Origin. Certification. Guarantee. Feed. Outdoor access. Anti-biotic free. Organic. Lack of trust in certain labels. Level of animal welfare. How animals raised. Eggs have good labels, meat has poor labels. Simple logo (with back-up info)
Empty Nesters	Free-range. How animals reared. Simple logo. Origin.	Origin. Living conditions. Bigger writing.	Where and how raised. A lot of claims are just for marketing.	Single EU animal welfare mark. Want to know info behind the label e.g. KRAV. Ecological. Free-roaming. Clear info. Simple logo. Certification. Origin.	Not enough info at present. Origin. Traceability. If we have too much info we will be reminded too much of animal origin. Feed. Anti-biotic and hormone free. Hygiene. Eggs have good traceability. Certified/guaranteee.	Origin. Free-range. How animals reared. Feed. Traceability. Space. Outdoor access. Bigger writing. Explain terms. GM. Image of animal's life. There is a lack of trust in certain labels. Certified by consumer organisation. Accompanying leaflet. Simple logo.	Origin. Free-range. How animals reared. Feed. Traceability. Space. Outdoor access. Bigger writing. Explain terms. GM. Image of animal's life. There is a lack of trust in certain labels. Certified by consumer organisation. Accompanying leaflet. Simple logo.	Certification. Credibility. ISO. Lack of trust in labels.

TABLE 5.5 CONT. Participants' preferred form and content of product information and labelling about animal welfare

Group	Country	UK	Netherlands	France	Sweden	Norway	Italy	Hungary
Seniors		More info. Free-range. Origin. Price. Free organic. Country of origin. Humane production. Anti-biotics. Need education to understand labels. Star rating for welfare. Travel distance. Traceability.	Origin. Traceability. Animal feed. Animal kept with mothers. Bigger writing. Label Rouge. Raised with mom's milk. Place of slaughter.	Pictures of farms on packages. Life duration. Feed. Explain logos. Lack of trust in certain labels.	Free-range. Origin (farm name). Treatment. Animal welfare. Feed. Medication. Place of slaughter.	Provenance. Traceability. Outdoor reared. Organic. Consumers need to learn to understand labels. More simple. Bigger writing. How animal raised. Where slaughtered. GM free. Feed. Type of rearing system. Free-range. Follow-up information.	Providing more information would make the product more credible.	
Young Singles		Clearer info. Exactly how animals kept. Info should be on products. Lack of trust in certain labels.	Price. Back-up info about logos. How treated. Feed. There is a Lack of trust in certain labels.	Traceability. Certification. Labels play on emotions (e.g. not separated from mum). Method of slaughter.	Images of producer/fam. KRAV good. Explain the meaning of signs and logos. Lack of trust in some logos.	More info. Ecological not enough on its own. Having a label you can trust.	GM. Lack of trust in labels. Standardised you can info across stores. Traceability. How animal raised. Animal welfare (especially positive welfare). Feed.	Organic. Living conditions. Lack of trust in labels. Treatment. Simple logo/brand. Hungarian origin.
Political/Vegetarian		Soil association stamp. There is too much info at present. A label you can trust.	Certification. How animals treated.	There is a lack of trust in certain labels. Lifespan of animal.	KRAV has good info (clear, big logo). Family groups. Space. Hay to root in. Over idealistic images of farms are annoying. Simple logo.	Compulsory labelling of low welfare products. Simple logo. Labelling is a good way to improve welfare.	Origin. Organic. How animal raised. Class of meat. Place of slaughter. Bigger writing. GMO. Traceability. Anti-biotic free. Space. Animal welfare. Life duration. Certified/monitored. Simple logo. Single logo.	Simple logo. Advertised on TV. Feed. Farm check. Labels misleading, too complex.

TABLE 5.5 CONT. Participants' preferred form and content of product information and labelling about animal welfare

Group	Country	UK	Netherlands	France	Sweden	Norway	Italy	Hungary
Country Specific		Young Singles (N); Outdoor reared. Hand checked. Certification.		Ethnic minorities: Not enough info. Outdoor raised. Traceability. Organic.	Political Fathers: Names and photos of producers. Traceability. There is a lack of trust in certain labels. Simple info. Country of origin. Travel distance.	Hunters: Traceability.	Gourmet: Origin. How animals are reared. Freedom. Feed. Method of slaughter. Traceability. Hygiene. Certification.	Health Conscious: Origin (Hungarian). Feed (free from antibiotics etc). Lack of trust in labels. Name of farmer. Bigger writing. One single label/standard. Traceability. Bio. Not too much info. Name of animal.

6

INCENTIVES AND BARRIERS TO THE PURCHASE OF WELFARE-FRIENDLY FOODS

6.1 INCENTIVES FOR PURCHASING WELFARE-FRIENDLY PRODUCTS

In addition to improved welfare, the focus group participants highlighted two key positive attributes that they believed were associated with welfare friendly products (see Table 6.1). Firstly, several participants believed that welfare-friendly products were *healthier* than lower welfare products.

‘They are sort of both. It is both my welfare about myself and welfare for the chickens or hens. It’s double. It becomes both for the health reasons and for the animals. It’s connected somehow’ (Sweden, Urban mother).

In particular, they believed that welfare-friendly products contained fewer potentially harmful stress-toxins.

‘[T]he well-being of animal and consequently the well-being of humans because if less stressed meat is eaten we will be in better health’ (France, Urban mother).

‘I can say something on the subject: I’ve read an article on a magazine about the high number of depressed people and it said that mistreated animals release endorphins, our body receives them and we are depressed because we eat depressed animals: It had a real impact on me’ (Italy, Urban mother).

‘The fact that the calf is separated from its mum, it will produce meat of bad quality because it would have suffered’ (France, Young single).

They also believed that welfare-friendly animals would have enjoyed higher quality, more natural feeds and would have been given fewer routine medicines, such as antibiotics.

‘I am curious what they eat. What they eat, you eat’ (Netherlands, Rural woman).

'Yes, I probably think so. It feels good to eat a pig that doesn't have antibiotics in her. Above all, I think it accumulates with time, so during a lifetime, so...' (Sweden, Young single).

Secondly, they believed that welfare-friendly products were of a higher quality than lower welfare products.

'What counts finally is that they are reared under good conditions, well nourished, that they can run around, the finished product, i.e. the product on the plate will inevitably be better! The quality of life that brings a finished product of better quality' (France, Urban mother).

In particular, they believed that welfare-friendly products tasted better.

'So I go to supermarkets and the eggs, I buy those on which it is written "open air" because I already believe, I don't know if it is better, but there is the taste already' (France, Senior).

'I have to say that it would probably be because, not so much because of the animal welfare side, but the aspect that if it's organic or free range or whatever, it's probably going to taste better' (UK, Senior).

'On hens it is like that. Those hens that are free-range and all that, they taste completely different than the cage hens that you get. They actually do that. That is true, I didn't believe it myself. But they are juicier, much better and rounder taste' (Norway, Rural woman).

They also believed that they looked better (especially in relation to the colour of eggs) and that welfare-friendly meats had a better texture than low welfare alternatives.

'If you use those the [free range eggs] or farm eggs, you get completely different colour in them. It is that kind of things one notices when cooking. The taste and the colour' (Norway, Rural woman).

'I think eggs are like the prime example of free range that do taste a lot better, because when you crack them open, the yolks are so much more yellow and the shells are not transparent' (UK, Young single).

'[H]ave you ever happened to eat a free-range chicken... you have to pull it, because the meat is attached to the bone, whereas if you eat a battery chicken it comes right away, it looks like boiled meat' (Italy, Senior).

In addition to health and quality benefits, a small number of participants also highlighted the potential environmental benefits of consuming welfare-friendly foods.

'But not just for the animals, but more for the environment' (Sweden, Rural woman).

TABLE 6.1 Participants' perceptions of the (additional) positive attributes and reasons for purchasing welfare-friendly foods.

Country	UK	Netherlands	France	Sweden	Norway	Italy	Hungary
Group	Urban Mothers	Health.	Health. Quality.	Health. Taste. Appearance (egg colour).	Health. Taste. Appearance (egg colour).	Health. Quality. Free from anti-biotics. Fewer toxins and hormones. Taste. Tenderness. No shrinkage.	Health. Taste/texture.
Rural Women	Health.	Health.	Appearance (egg colour). Texture (meat firmer)	Environment. No additives.	Taste. Quality. Juicier meat. Appearance (egg colour).	Health.	Health. Taste/texture.
Empty Nesters	Taste (meaty, rich).	Quality. Taste. Texture. Colour. Leanness.	Quality. Taste. Texture. Colour. Leanness.	Taste.	Quality.	Taste. No stress toxins.	Health. Taste.
Seniors	Taste.	Quality. Taste.	Taste. Quality.	Health.	Taste.	Quality. Texture. Taste.	Appearance (egg colour, chicken colour). Fresher meat.
Young Singles	Taste. Appearance.	Quality. Health.	Quality. Health.	Taste. No anti-biotics.	Quality. Leanness. Taste. Feel.	Quality. Appearance (egg colour).	Appearance (egg colour).
Political/Vegetarian				Fewer stress toxins in meat.	Taste. Fewer stress toxins. Health.		
Country Specific	Young Singles (N): Taste.	Ethnic minorities: Health. Environment. Taste. Quality. Feel-good factor.					

This can probably be attributed to the fact that there are few exclusively animal-welfare oriented products currently available; instead 'welfare-friendliness' tends to appear as one component of a bundle of properties (e.g. in 'quality' products and crucially for the sake of this argument in 'ecological/environmentally-friendly products').

Looking at Table 6.1, it is also possible to identify various national and socio-cultural differences in participants' perceptions of the positive attributes of welfare-friendly goods. With regard to *national differences*, it would seem that both health and quality are deemed to be the most important (additional) positive characteristics of welfare-friendly foods across all countries. However, it would also seem that participants from the UK and the Netherlands were less aware of the positive attributes of welfare-friendly goods than those from other countries such as France and Italy, where participants seemed to have a heightened awareness of (or at least a greater desire to discuss) the positive properties (especially aesthetic properties) of these products. Furthermore, whilst these ideas about health and quality seemed to be equally widespread in most countries, in France and the UK, quality was mentioned as a positive attribute in considerably more focus groups than health.

With regard to *differences between socio-cultural groups*, it is again important to note that health and quality were the most frequently mentioned (additional) positive attributes across all socio-cultural groups. However, participants from the 'vegetarian/politically active' groups did not frequently discuss the additional positive attributes of these foods, perhaps this was because many of these participants did not consume these products, or perhaps it was because they felt that animal welfare was so important, in itself, that these other fringe benefits were merely trivial. Finally, these ideas about health and quality seemed to be equally widespread across most socio-cultural groups, except for 'seniors', who were far more likely to focus on quality than on health. This is an interesting observation that warrants further research as it runs counter to what one might reasonably expect.

6.2 BARRIERS TO PURCHASING WELFARE-FRIENDLY PRODUCTS

The focus group participants also identified a range of negative attributes and barriers that might prevent them from purchasing animal welfare friendly foods (see Table 6.2). Firstly, price was mentioned in nearly all focus groups as something that might prevent participants from purchasing welfare-friendly foods.

'Yes, in a way, "outdoor reared" and "label rouge" are important... I pay attention to labels, even if I do not often eat that kind of meat. I only buy them from time to time, as they're quite expensive' (France, Ethnic minority).

TABLE 6.2 Participants' perceptions of the negative attributes and barriers to purchasing welfare-friendly foods.

Group	Country	UK	Netherlands	France	Sweden	Norway	Italy	Hungary
Urban Mothers		Price. Lack of trust in labels. Difficult to find in stores.	Lack of trust in labels. Price. Availability. Food safety.	Convenience. Price. Taste (not that much better). Lack of trust in labels.	Price. Lack of trust in labels. Availability. Changes to food habits.	Welfare about making life tolerable not about respect. Lack of trust in enforcement. Price. Lack of info.	Price. Lack of trust in labels. Quality (meat too tough).	
	Rural Women	Taste (too meaty if used to processed foods). Price.	Trust in labels (free range not much better). Taste. Price. Lack of choice.	Price. Lack of trust in labels. Convenience (lack of time).	Price. Taste. Availability.	Lack of trust in label. Taste.	Lack of trust in labels. Convenience. Price.	
Empty Nesters		Lack of trust in labels. Price.	Lack of choice. Price. Not convenient. Trust in labels.	Price. Price. Not as important as human welfare. Marketing gimmick. Price. Lack of trust in labels.	Price. Lack of info about welfare.	Lack of info. Should be a state issue. Lack of trust in label. Animal still killed. Price.	Lack of trust in labels. Price. Convenience.	Lack of trust in labels. Price.
	Seniors	Price. No standard method of welfare labelling.	Price. Too many different logos. Lack of trust in label. Labels to small.	Not as important as human welfare. Marketing gimmick. Price. Lack of trust in labels.	Price. Confusion and lack of trust in labels.	Price. Lack of trust in labels. Availability.	Price. Lack of trust in labels. Availability.	Price.
Young Singles		Price. Lack of information. Lack of trust in labels.	Too many different logos. Lack of trust in logos. Availability. Price.	Price. Taste not that much better. Not enough info. Lack of trust in labels. Convenience. Animal is still killed.	Lack of trust in labels. Uncertainty about meaning of labels. Availability (bulk). Price.	Price, lack of trust in labels. Availability. Convenience (stuck in routines). Lack of info. Only benefit a niche not feasible at large scale.	Price. Availability. Lack of trust in labels. Lack of information.	Price. lack of trust in labels. Lack of information.
	Political/ Vegetarian	Price.	Quality. Lack of information. Convenience. Lack of trust in labels.	Lack of trust in logos and marketing claims. Convenience. Price. Lack of trust in labels.	Lack of trust in labels. Lack of info. Too many logos. Price. Taste. Changes to food habits.	Price. Avoid change is purchasing habits. Info too complicated.	Price. lack of trust in label. Info too complicated.	
Country Specific	Young Singles (N):	Price. Lack of information. Availability.	Ethnic minorities: Lack of info. Price.	Political Fathers: Quality. Trust in labels. Convenience. Price. Availability. Lack of information.	Hunters: Price. Lack of trust in information.	Gourmets: Lack of trust in labels. Lack of information. Avoid change.	Convenience. Taste.	Lack of trust in labels. Availability. Convenience. Taste.

'[Y]ou simply have to look at the price, a free-range might be nice and all but you will have to pay the price' (Netherlands, Urban mother).

Furthermore, whilst participants seemed willing to pay a little bit extra for welfare-friendly foods, many seemed unwilling to pay a huge premium for these goods, when they could purchase conventionally farmed products at significantly lower costs.

'Well if it's much more expensive, it's no. On the other hand if it's around 2, 3 euro cents more expensive, then I will buy it yes' (France, Young single).

'Obviously I wouldn't buy that 2600 Ft thing! If there were an acceptable, 10 % difference, then maybe, because of the better quality, I'd accept the more expensive one!' (Hungary, Urban mother).

'Right now you either can buy ecological rib steaks of beef for 500kr or drive to Svinesund and buy them for 59kr. The gap is so wide that nobody wants to pay 500kr for it. But there are a lot of people who would pay a bit more if they knew the animals would have a better life as a result' (Norway, Urban mother).

However, a closer examination of the focus group discussions indicates that there are several practical/sociological factors, which could intervene to rule out any simplistic interpretation of the link between price and desire to purchase. Indeed, it would seem that many participants were actually far more interested in the balance between quality and price, than in price alone.

'If we have quality we will pay more, that is for sure' (France, Rural women).

'What I look for is a good share quality/price' (Italy, Gourmet).

'I'd rather pay 120 kroner and get something that is good than pay 90 kroner and get something bad and that you only eat half of it' (Norway, Rural woman).

'You can tell the difference in the prices, you get what you pay for, you definitely do' (UK, Empty nester).

Furthermore, participants adopted a variety of different practical strategies to avoid having to pay too much for welfare-friendly foods. For example, some adopted the time-intensive, diligent strategy of seeking out reasonably priced, high quality (and high welfare) products across a range of different supply channels, rather than simply relying on what was present (and often overpriced) in the supermarkets. These participants were effectively overcoming the cost issue by exchanging money for time.

'I don't agree with what you say because I don't have a high income and still, I buy my chicken from a vendor at the market, because I know where he brings it from and what's more, he sells it for a normal price and it's not more expensive than anywhere else. Same for the eggs, which we buy from a lady who comes from the country and

sells it for a normal price as well. All right, I don't really eat charcuterie for example, but all I wanted to say was that if you go after it a little, you can buy much better quality food for the same price. So I'd say that people are too lazy rather, too lazy to search a little, it's much more comfortable to go to Tesco's or Cora and buy the shit that hangs on the wall, which they prefer instead of going to the market and having a look there' (Hungry, Health conscious).

Other participants circumvented the issue of cost by consuming less meat.

'If I'm given quality I accept a higher price, maybe having less meat, once a week; I've been raised this way' (Italy, Urban mother).

Or by waiting for the sales to purchase their higher welfare products.

'With meat it's easier to buy it cheap when it is on sale and then it's still good meat. You simply put in the freezer. Albert Heijn quite often has organic meat on sale. I buy a bit more then' (Netherlands, Rural woman).

'I do buy more organic meat at the supermarket when it's on 25% sale. I get more then and put it in the freezer' (Netherlands, Urban mother).

Secondly, many participants cited a lack of trust in the claims made on product labels and packaging as a major barrier to purchase. This clearly has significant ramifications for a project that is interested in supplying information, potentially directly to consumers, about the welfare status of different products. In particular, participants believed that certain labels, such as 'outdoor reared' and 'free range' painted an unrealistic and overly positive image of the living conditions that animals actually experienced under these schemes (which in reality was, at least in certain participants' minds, little better than the welfare standards present in conventional farming:

'The chicken Loue (not sure) in the South-West, I know for sure that even if they are bred in open air, they don't have a lot of... space... So it's sure, they are not enclosed, but for me, this is still battery. I tell myself that yes, they have the sun but they don't have either... They can't scratch about for food a great deal. It's not in ideal conditions neither. I tell myself that I am not a fool but I am not really convinced by this type of label' (France, Young single).

Participant 1: 'And I don't believe that outdoor access crap, that is simply not true.'

Participant 2: 'That's right, I have also read that those animals don't really walk in the grass behind the farm, I don't think that those claims are true' (Netherlands, Urban mothers).

Moreover, certain participants were worried that certain labels amounted to little more than marketing tricks to persuade them to purchase their products.

'It's a good campaign trick. They talked precisely about this only yesterday on TV. They write bio on everything, to make people buy the products. This is the idea' (Hungary, Vegetarian/Politically active).

Participants were also sceptical about the extent to which claims made on labels were actually being monitored and enforced.

'I have always thought about it, but let me repeat: these labels are just paper, there must be someone who goes directly there and rigorously checks everything out and then we would not need the labels to have information, because what would get to our dinner table would certainly be good, at the moment I am convinced that these firms write what they want on the labels, they speak well but they don't act, this is my opinion' (Italy, Senior).

'Can I ask something? Those organic products that are lying in a shelf, that is very nice and you pay more for it, but is it true? Who controls?' (Holland, Empty nester).

Thirdly, many participants complained that it was just not convenient to purchase these goods as it required too much effort and time to either read product labels or to make extra trips to specialist stores.

Participant 1: 'No! But she is right! 90% of the people are in a hurry when they go shopping.'

Participant 2: 'As she explained before women don't have time to read all the labels when they go shopping!' (France, Rural women).

'[I]f I had more time to look, I think that I would buy. You need to have the time to read. Eventually it would become automatic. But at first anyway you need a bit more time and money' (France, Young single).

'No idea. I did it [buy welfare-friendly products] for a while. There is a butcher nearby who sells free-range meat. But it costs effort so that is why I don't. When I go to the supermarket I do not want to go to the butcher as well. I do not have enough time' (Netherlands, Vegetarian/Politically active).

Furthermore, it seems that many participants felt comfortable within their present shopping and eating routines and habits and as such were unwilling to try new things.

Participant 1: 'And then also as I was telling you, to change one's food requires an energy for which I don't have the time.'

Participant 2: 'Me, it's the same. I do not like cooking that much so I always make the same things. And then to change that completely requires a reorganization. We are specially lazy' (France, Urban mothers).

'I'm fond of cheese, so I check freshness that means expiry date. I used to buy always the same things; I also trust the products I already know. I always buy the

same milk (Granarolo) because of its taste. It's hard to experiment, to change, beyond any information you can find' (Italy, Vegetarian/Politically active).

Fourthly, certain participants complained about the limited availability of welfare-friendly products and the lack of choice both between conventional and alternative products and within welfare-friendly ranges.

'I don't think that I have a lot of choice in the organic products. Albert Heijn has a reasonable assortment, Edah less' (Holland, Empty nester).

'There are only two such places in Pest. So, as I said, there isn't a wide range of choice here, whereas in England you have a separate chain of supermarkets, which are proper, regular supermarkets, where they only sell organic things. You walk in and you can get everything. Not mentioning that you can also order stuff on the Internet and have them delivered to your home!' (Hungary, Health conscious).

'I get a bit provoked at the shops, because I think the selection is so bad. There are no possibilities to choose from. It is only eggs from Prior, and that's it' (Norway, Young single).

Fifthly, certain participants also cited a lack of information as an important barrier to purchase. In particular, they complained that whilst one could find information on factors such as whether or not the product was organic or free-range, there was considerably less information relating specifically to animal welfare issues, such as how the animal was reared and the living conditions it experienced.

'Nowhere in France in supermarkets, is it written where the meat comes from and how it was bred. It is only mentioned for chickens whether they were farmed out door or not' (France, Ethnic minority).

Participant 1: 'Sometimes is written on the package material, but very vaguely.'

Participant 2: 'But that too is hard. I have to get my glasses out of my bag and read it. I just cannot. I would like to see a advertisement campaign' (Netherlands, Vegetarian/Politically active).

'But the problem is you don't know right away about the animal welfare, only that it's KRAV-marked, and then there's one which isn't. And there's a rather big difference in price. And then it maybe is Swedish on both. And Swedish is good, then we get that and then maybe you choose something which had bad animal welfare but the problem is you don't know' (Sweden, Empty nester).

Participants were also becoming confused on account of the sheer number of different product labels, claims and assurance schemes that currently appear in the market. Indeed, some felt that it was becoming more difficult to compare different labels and to establish which ones were offering the highest animal welfare standards.

'Well, just use your common sense and less rules and regulations. Making up rules is politics nowadays. In the end there are so... many logos. What's the use?' (Holland, Senior).

'[T]hat is the core of the problem. There are so many sorts, and what does it mean, why is it any better? You just don't know. It is so hard to find out' (Holland, Young single).

Sixthly, whilst the vast majority of participants believed that welfare-friendly products were of a higher quality and tasted better than their alternatives (see Table 5.1), a certain limited number of participants disagreed. Indeed, some felt that certain welfare-friendly products were of a lower quality and tasted worse than alternative products (although as one participant illustrated this could be partly due to the fact that these products are unfamiliar and one needs time to become accustomed to their qualities).

'Well, I suppose that I read an article or something like that, or that I know that some farmer received that label, I hear those things. And then I want to do the right thing and contribute. I do that for a while and then I don't like the taste anymore and I change back again' (Netherlands, Rural woman).

Facilitator: 'Have you ever come across a healthy product which was also animal friendly that for some reason you didn't buy after all?'

Participant: 'It was uneatable. The taste can be an argument against it. In fact, at first I usually don't like their taste' (Hungary, Health conscious).

'It should look good. It does not always look good, that is hard sometimes. Especially when you get eggs. I want to buy organic eggs because I want to do the right thing, but sometimes the shell is so fragile. It almost broke when I picked it up. It makes you sick, that is bad' (Netherlands, Vegetarian/Politically active).

Finally, it is possible to identify a number of interesting national and socio-cultural differences in relation to participants' perceptions of the barriers to purchasing welfare-friendly goods.

1. Price was cited as an important barrier to the purchase of welfare-friendly goods across focus groups in all countries and across all socio-cultural groups. Indeed participants mentioned price as an issue in all but four focus groups (France vegetarian/politically active; Norway rural women; Italy rural women; and Italy vegetarian/politically active).
2. Similarly, the lack of trust in certain labels was a frequently occurring theme that seemed to crop up equally across different countries and different socio-cultural groups (although one could argue that participants from the UK saw this as less of a barrier than those from other countries).
3. It is difficult to identify a pattern in the occurrence of comments regarding convenience, however this issue was mentioned in more focus groups in France than in other countries.

4. Availability was cited as a barrier in more focus groups in Sweden than in other countries. Similarly, availability seemed to be more of an issue for ‘young singles’ and ‘urban mothers’ than for other socio-cultural groups.
5. Participants from Sweden (and to a lesser extent Norway) and from the ‘young singles’ groups were more likely to cite ‘a lack of information’ about animal welfare as a barrier to purchasing welfare-friendly goods than participants from other countries and socio-cultural backgrounds.

6.3 EUROPEAN CONSUMERS’ ETHICAL DILEMMAS REGARDING WELFARE-FRIENDLY FOODS

Focus group participants seldom discussed any ethical dilemmas that they were having in relation to welfare-friendly foods. This is probably due to the fact that ‘ethical dilemmas’ are inherently reflective, as they involve contemplation about the pros and cons of conflicting goals (a mental weighing up of alternatives), in contrast, it would seem that many focus group participants operated in accordance with more tacit everyday routines and practices and furthermore many had a desire to dissociate the food that they were eating from its animal origins (in other words they preferred to avoid thinking about ethical dilemmas rather than confronting them head on). Having said this, certain participants did mention certain explicit ethical dilemmas that they had been wrestling with in relation to animal welfare, including; animal welfare versus cost; animal welfare versus feeding the poor; animal welfare versus cultural traditions and taste; animal welfare versus human health; animal welfare versus animal rights; and animal welfare versus environmental issues (see Box 6.1). It would be valuable to investigate these ethical dilemmas in more detail and to delve more deeply into the lines of reasoning behind these different positions; however, this is beyond the scope of the current research.

BOX 6.1 Participants' ethical dilemmas regarding welfare-friendly foods.

<i>Animal welfare versus cost</i>
'We want it to be better and maybe it becomes a bit more expensive and better products and better for the animals. But later on when you stand there, and are short of money then it happens that your wallet decides what you buy and you take the cheaper options' (Sweden, Politically active fathers).
<i>Animal welfare versus feeding the poor</i>
'[B]ut this [ensuring welfare through low intensity, extensive systems] also means a more expensive meat that would be reserved for rich people, for rich countries' (France, Empty nester).
<i>Animal welfare versus cultural traditions and taste</i>
'But I also think of animals' rearing conditions even if paradoxically it doesn't prevent me from eating foie gras... Because I like foie gras. There is a contradiction... It is part of our culture, all the more so since I've grown up in rural areas. I have been "force-fed" with foie gras' (France, Ethnic minority).
'[W]ith regard to force feeding, I don't know much but I would find it a pity to stop geese force feeding, that we can't eat liver pate any more because it's nice' (France, Young single).
<i>Animal welfare versus human health</i>
'The producers want the cows not to be sick and to put on weight. The consumer does not want the cow that he will eat to be stuffed of veterinary products. There is a conflict of interest' (France, Vegetarian/ Politically active).
<i>Animal welfare versus animal rights</i>
'I grew up on a farm and I have a love of animals and that's why I can't eat anything that has been treated badly. You can say it's a strange contradiction that animals you love, and have loved, you eat. But animals that have been treated badly, you don't' (Norway, Senior).
<i>Animal welfare versus environmental issues</i>
'One thinks Argentina, and one thinks pampas [and hence good for welfare] but it can be that they have cut down the rain forests and then created pastures. So you cannot buy that either' (Sweden, Politically active fathers).

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 IMPROVING SCIENCE-SOCIETY DIALOGUE AROUND ISSUES OF FARM ANIMAL WELFARE

Before beginning this section, it is crucial to note that consumer-citizens are only one of many different ‘stakeholder’ groups that have a vested interest in issues of farm animal welfare. Indeed, a variety of other groups such as producers, retailers, NGOs, policy makers, supply chain managers and of course animal welfare scientists, all have an important role to play in contributing to animal welfare debates and in bringing about improvements in farm animal welfare (researchers in Welfare Quality® have produced similar reports relating to the views and concerns of these other groups, see for example Roe and Marsden, 2006, Bock and van Huik, 2006). However, consumer-citizens clearly have an important role to play within this debate, furthermore they are able to influence farm animal welfare conditions both through their purchasing habits (their consumer role) and through their wider engagement in societal debates, campaigns and political voting (their role as citizens). In addition, it is perhaps better to view the designation ‘consumer-citizen’ as a role that all stakeholder groups perform (e.g. whilst, shopping, preparing and eating food or whilst voting etc) rather than as a separate group of individuals that can be clearly separated from, and even defined in opposition to, other groups. Bearing these points in mind, and based on the results of the focus group discussions, we would like to make a number of suggestions about how one might improve the dialogue between scientists and consumer-citizens.

Firstly, scientists must redouble their efforts to provide consumer-citizens with clear, non-biased, information both in relation to the nature of contemporary animal farming and in relation to current scientific understandings about farm animal welfare. Based on the focus group discussions it would seem that consumers might benefit from receiving information about; more technical, animal-centred, welfare issues (such as those related to different animal breeds, animal biologies/physiologies, animal behaviour, and animal diseases); the specific nature of different farming types and the relationship between farm type and animal welfare (indeed it will take a considerable amount of effort to convince consumers that highly-intensive ‘factory’ farms can provide animals with a good level of welfare); and finally the complexities that might influence the link between high animal welfare and high food quality/safety.

Secondly, we must avoid a simplistic 'deficit' model of science-society dialogue, in which knowledge only flows in one direction (from scientists to consumer-citizens) and instead we should seek to understand not only what scientific understandings have to offer to consumers but also what consumer understandings have to offer to scientists. Indeed, many of the consumer-citizens who contributed to the focus groups made useful observations concerning issues such as; the pros and cons of industrialised farming techniques; the living conditions experienced by certain farm animals; the importance of good-human animal relationships in maintaining good welfare; the connections between animal welfare and food quality; and the wider societal dimensions of farm animal welfare.

Thirdly, to avoid misunderstandings and charges of irrelevance, we must ensure that both scientists and consumer-citizens are sensitive to the different ways in which members of the other group implicitly 'frame' and define the scope of farm animal welfare issues. For example, whilst scientific understandings of farm animal welfare are tightly focused around the physical health and behaviour of animals, consumer-citizens' understandings of farm animal welfare span from farm to food and incorporate a range of wider societal concerns about human health, bio-security, environmental degradation, naturalism, animal welfare and animal rights. Consumer concerns are also influenced by wider discourses about nature (and the natural), the industrial (and the anti-industrial), food quality, care and hygiene. Furthermore, whilst scientific understandings of animal welfare are primarily (but not only) embedded in socio-material settings such as laboratories and experimental farms, consumers' understandings are grounded in more everyday practices of food consumption, food shopping, newspaper reading, pet 'ownership' etc.

Fourthly, scientists (and also to a certain extent consumers) must attempt to 'translate' the specific terminologies and styles of expression that they employ into terms that have resonance with other groups. For example, whilst issues of 'naturalism' or 'natural living' are important in both scientific and lay discourses of farm animal welfare, they are expressed in very different ways. Indeed, within scientific discourses these ideas are often incorporated within (or hidden behind) notions of 'animal health' (in terms of the ability of a given animal to cope with its *environmental conditions*) or 'appropriate behaviour' (frequently informed by the behavioural characteristics exhibited by the wild predecessors of contemporary farm animals). This in turn leaves scientists open to the accusation that they are not paying enough attention to these issues.

Fifthly, each group must be genuinely prepared to take on board the views of the other and be open to the possibility of change, both at the level of ideas and perhaps more crucially at the level of methods and techniques of information gathering.

Sixthly, any attempt at dialogue should be sensitive to the range of different views and opinions within scientific and consumer understandings. Indeed, rather than talking in terms of a single scientific approach to farm animal welfare and trying to reconcile this with a single consumer-citizen view, we should try to map all the complex interactions between different scientific approaches and different consumer-citizen understandings.

Seventhly, we should bear in mind the more radical notion that many distinctions drawn between scientific and societal forms of understanding are illusory, as the scientific is ‘always already’ social (embedded in a range of social practices and conventions) and the societal is ‘always already’ scientific (at least in many contemporary Western societies, where scientific forms of understanding exert a pervasive influence).

This process of science-society dialogue is already well advanced within the Welfare Quality® project and many animal scientists have made considerable efforts to take-on-board consumer-citizens’ animal welfare concerns (see Veissier and Evans, 2007). Partly as a result of this dialogue, scientists have undertaken new research into how to measure positive emotion in farm animals. They have also incorporated additional resource-based measures (such as whether or not the animal has outdoor access) into their monitoring scheme and they have consulted consumer citizens and social scientists with regard to how different measures of welfare can be amalgamated into a single overall indicator (particularly in regard to the issue of whether or not it is possible to make trade-offs between different areas of welfare, such as ‘good feeding’, ‘good housing’, ‘good health’ and ‘appropriate behaviour’). However, one will only be able to gauge the overall success of this consultation process when the final decisions are made in relation to which measures will be incorporated into the final monitoring scheme and how these measures will be combined.

7.2 THE NATURE OF THE MARKET FOR WELFARE-FRIENDLY GOODS FROM A CONSUMER PERSPECTIVE

In this section, we draw together some observations about the nature of the market for welfare-friendly goods from a demand-side perspective and we attempt to illustrate the implications that these observations might have for different ways of implementing the Welfare Quality® monitoring scheme and its associated information system (for example the new Welfare Quality® method of assessing and monitoring animal welfare could be used as a tool to provide feedback to producers; incorporated into legislation; incorporated into retailers’ corporate social responsibility guidelines; incorporated into pre-existing product labels such as ‘organic’; or provided direct to the consumer in the form of a new product label/logo etc.).

The first key point to make in this regard relates to the fact that the nature of the market for welfare-friendly goods and indeed consumers’ understandings about what might even constitute a ‘welfare-friendly’ product differs from country to country. For example, UK and Dutch focus group participants tended to associate welfare friendly goods with pre-existing labelled products, such as ‘organic’ and with certain ‘welfare-friendly’ supermarkets, such as Albert Heijn. This in turn implies that it would be feasible to implement the new Welfare Quality® standards in the form of a product label or at the

level of retailer CSR (Corporate Social Responsibility) in these countries. In contrast, French participants tended to associate quality products, such as 'Label Rouge' with higher welfare, which indicates that there might be some benefit in attempting to incorporate Welfare Quality® standards into quality assurance schemes in France. Furthermore, participants from Italy, Hungary, Norway and France associated high welfare with locally produced products and face-to-face trust relationships with producers and suppliers, which in turn implies that it might be sufficient to use the monitoring scheme as a tool to aid producers in these countries. However, it is clear that these methods of implementation are not mutually exclusive and ultimately it might be more beneficial to adopt a variety of different implementation strategies in different countries. Nevertheless, even a multi-stranded approach must be sensitive to the current nature of the market in different countries.

Secondly, if the Welfare Quality® monitoring scheme were to be implemented in the form of a separate product label aimed at consumers, then it would be essential to understand how the new label and the range of products with which it was associated, fitted in with both the range of welfare-friendly goods currently available and with the range of (often subconscious) proxy indicators that consumers use to assess the welfare credentials of a given product. Problems might emerge if there were discrepancies between the new Welfare Quality® standard and notions of animal welfare incorporated in other product labels and within consumers' tacit expectations of the qualities that a welfare-friendly good should possess. For example, it might cause increased uncertainty amongst consumers if certain types of 'free range' or 'outdoor access' products received lower Welfare Quality® ratings than products originating from well-managed intensive indoor systems. Or if those products that received a high Welfare Quality® rating didn't appear to be of an inherently higher quality and taste than alternatives. Or if the geography of Welfare Quality® ratings conflicted with consumers' tacit assumptions about the link between product origins and welfare standards. By making these observations we are not in any way trying to imply that these contradictions should be avoided (indeed one of the key benefits of the Welfare Quality® monitoring scheme is that it provides one of the first truly objective, animal-based means in assessing welfare) merely we want to indicate that there might be a transitional period in which consumers would need time (and perhaps also a range of support information and promotional materials) to adjust to these new labels/products.

Finally, one way of helping to promote the sale of welfare-friendly products would be to try and overcome, or at least ameliorate, all the barriers that consumers identified to purchasing these types of goods (such as price, a lack of trust in claims made on product labels and packaging, convenience, limited availability and a lack of product information). A potentially more problematic issue relates to the extent to which it is justifiable to promote welfare-friendly products on the basis of their perceived positive benefits to humans (especially their quality and healthiness). Links between animal welfare and food quality (especially links between positive welfare and improved food quality) are often very complex and difficult to scientifically validate. Furthermore, this strategy runs the risk of re-enforcing the link between animal welfare and food quality in consumers' minds, which as we have already discussed can have both positive and negative results.

7.3 DESIGNING INFORMATION SYSTEMS FOR WELFARE-FRIENDLY PRODUCTS

One of the key points to note about consumers' food shopping practices is that they are often highly routinised and non-reflective. Indeed, whilst certain focus group participants did take time to read product labels (and some even admitted to being 'fixated with labels'), others were far less attentive to what was written on food packages. Levels of reflection concerning food choices also varied from day to day and in relation to the nature of the shopping trip (e.g. with children/without children) and the amount of time that they had available. Furthermore, many participants actively avoided seeking detailed information about animal welfare on food packaging as they did not want to be reminded of what for them was a disturbing link between animals and food (see Serpell, 1986). This has significant implications in relation to how the Welfare Quality® monitoring scheme should be implemented. On the one hand it points to the fact that alternative implementation strategies that are not reliant on consumer-choice could be more effective in bringing about improvements in farm animal welfare (e.g. legislation, producer-feedback and self regulation, incorporation into retailers CSR policies etc.). On the other hand it indicates that any product information system that is aimed at consumers should take the form of a simple logo or identifying mark (with all the associated information) that would be easily recognisable, so that products carrying this label could eventually be purchased in a routine fashion without the need for in-depth reflection.

Whilst many focus group participants admitted to not being regularly attentive to product labels, they were still able to express strong opinions about the types of animal welfare information that they would like to receive. In particular, they wanted information regarding; the origin and traceability of animal products; the nature of the feed given to animals (certain participants also wanted to know whether the animal had been given GM feeds or anti-biotics); how the animals were treated; whether the animals had access to the outdoors; the method of slaughter that was used; and the distance the live animal had to travel.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Appleby, M.C. and Sandoe P. (2002) 'Philosophical debate on the nature of well-being: implications for animal welfare', *Animal Welfare*, 11, pp. 283–294.
- Bazeley, P. and Richards, L. (2005) *The Nvivo Qualitative Project Book*. Sage Publications, London.
- Bennett, R. (1995) 'The value of farm animal welfare', *Journal of Agricultural Economics*, 46, pp. 46–59.
- Bennett, R. and Blaney, R. (2003) 'Estimating the benefits of farm animal welfare legislation using the contingent valuation method', *Agricultural Economics*, 29, pp. 85–98.
- Bock, B. and van Huik, M. (2006) *Pig Farmers and Animal Welfare: A Study of Beliefs, Attitudes and Behaviour of Pig Producers across Europe*. Welfare Quality® Deliverable D1.11, Wageningen University.
- Buller, H. and Morris, C. (2003) 'Farm animal welfare: a new repertoire of nature-society relations or modernism re-embedded?', *Sociologia Ruralis*, 43(3), pp. 216–237.
- European Commission (2005) *Attitudes of Consumers towards the Welfare of Farmed Animals*, Special Eurobarometer 229(2)/Wave 64.4. European Commission, Brussels.
- Evans, A. and Miele, M. (2007) *Consumers' Views about Farm Animal Welfare: Part I. National Reports Based on Focus Group Research*, Welfare Quality Reports no 4. Cardiff University, Cardiff.
- Fraser, D. (2003) 'Assessing animal welfare at the farm and group level: The interplay of science and values', *Animal Welfare*, 12, pp. 433–443.
- Gibbs, R. (2002) *Qualitative Data Analysis. Explorations with Nvivo*. Open University Press, Maidenhead.
- Glennie, P.D. and Thrift, N.J. (1993) 'Modern consumption: theorising commodities and consumers', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 11, pp. 603–606.
- GRAIN Briefing (2006) *Fowl Play: The Poultry Industry's Central Role in the Bird Flu Crisis*, February 2006, published online <<http://www.grain.org/go/birdflu>>.
- Greenbaum, T.L. (1988) *The Practical Handbook and Guide to Focus Group Research*. D.C. Heath, Toronto.
- Gronow, J. and Warde, A. (2001) *Ordinary Consumption*. Routledge, London.
- Hutchins, E. (2000) *Cognition in the Wild*. MIT Press, London.
- IGD (2007) *Consumer Attitudes to Animal Welfare*. IGD, Watford, published online <<http://www.igd.com>>.
- Irwin, E.A. and Wynne, B. (1996) *Misunderstanding Science? The Public Reconstruction of Science and Technology*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Kjaernes, U. and Lavik, R. (forthcoming) *WPI.1 Results from the Population Survey of European Consumers' Opinions about Farm Animal Welfare*, Welfare Quality® deliverable. SIFO, Oslo.

- Kjorstad, I. (2005) *WP 1.1 Population Survey 2005: Frequency Tables Including 7 Study countries; Hungary, Italy, France, Great Britain, Netherlands, Norway and Sweden*, Welfare Quality® deliverable. SIFO, Oslo.
- Krueger, R.A. (1988) *Focus Groups: A Practical Guide for Applied Research*. Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks, CA.
- Latour, B. (1993) *We Have Never Been Modern*. Harvester Wheatsheaf, Hemel Hempstead.
- Latour, B. and Woolgar, S. (1986) *Laboratory Life: The Construction of Scientific Facts*. Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ.
- Law, J. (1991) (ed.) *A Sociology of Monsters*. Routledge, London.
- Miller, D. (1995) *Acknowledging Consumption: A Review of New Studies*. Routledge, London.
- Miller, D., Jackson, P. Thrift, N., Holbrook, B. and Rowlands, M. (1998) *Shopping, Place and Identity*. Routledge, London.
- Pickering, A. (ed.) (1992) *Science as Practice and Culture*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago, IL.
- Roe, E. and Marsden, T. (2006) *Analysis of the Retail Survey of Products that Carry Welfare-claims and of Non-retailer Led Assurance Schemes whose Logos Accompany Welfare-claims: Cross-country Comparative Report of Sub-deliverables 1.2.2.1 and 1.2.2.2*, Welfare Quality® deliverable 1.8. Cardiff University, Cardiff.
- Serpell, J. (1986) *In the Company of Animals: A Study of Human–Animal Relationships*. Basil Blackwell, Oxford.
- Shotter, J. (1993) *Cultural Politics of Everyday Life*. Open University Press, Milton Keynes.
- Tsovel, A. (2005) 'What can a farm animal biography accomplish? The case of a portrait of a burger as a young calf', *Animals and Society*, 13(3), pp. 245–263.
- Veissier, I. and Evans, A. (2007) Rationale behind the Welfare Quality® Assessment of Animal Welfare, in I. Veissier, B. Forkman and B. Jones (eds) *Proceedings of the Second Welfare Quality® Stakeholder Conference, 'Assuring Animal Welfare: From Societal Concerns to Implementation', 3–4 May 2007, Berlin Germany*, published online <<http://www.welfarequality.net>>.
- Vygotski, L.S. (1962) *Thought and Language*. MIT Press, Cambridge, MA.
- Whatmore, S. (2002) *Hybrid Geographies: Natures Cultures Spaces*. Sage Publications, London.
- Wilkins, D.B. (ed.) (1999) *Animal Welfare in Europe: European Legislation and Concerns*. London, Kluwer Law International.

APPENDIX

A1 THE FOCUS GROUP RECRUITMENT GUIDE

STAGE 1: The initial criteria for selecting participants

- There should be 7 focus groups, with 6–8 participants per group.
- All participants should be aged 18–70.

Filter 1: All focus group participants should be meat-eaters who eat meat at least once a week (except for those within the politically active/vegetarian group). See recruitment questionnaire.

Filter 2: All focus group participants should have at least some bare minimum level of interest in either the farming of animals for food (e.g. the different systems of production that are used), or animal welfare issues. See recruitment questionnaire.

STAGE 2: The criteria for selecting participants for individual focus groups

There should be seven focus groups reflecting the different socio-demographic characteristics and ‘lifestyles’ discussed at the Florence meeting. Each of the groups will explore the various motivations for seeking improved animal welfare (for a more detailed explanation of the rationale behind the selection of these groups, see the Irish contributions to the recruitment discussion). These groups include:

Group 1: Urban mothers

Gender	Female
Age	Under 50
Children	With children (50% with at least one child under 5, 50% with at least one teenage child)
Relationship/Marital Status	No restrictions
Rural/Urban	Urban dwellers
Other Criteria	No restrictions

Group 2: Rural women

Gender	Female
Age	Under 50
Children	No restrictions
Relationship/Marital Status	No restrictions
Rural/Urban	Must live in or have grown up in a ‘rural’ area (or in countries where this is not possible a less urbanised area).
Other Criteria	They must not be farmers or farmers’ partners

Group 3: Married or living with partner but without children

Gender	Mixed gender
Age	50% over 40
Children	Childless, or no children living at home at present (empty nesters)
Relationship/Marital Status	Married or living with a partner
Rural/Urban	Urban
Other Criteria	All participants must do at least 50% of food shopping

Group 4: Seniors

Gender	Mixed gender
Age	55–70
Children	No restrictions
Relationship/Marital Status	No restrictions
Rural/Urban	No restrictions
Other Criteria	All participants must do at least 50% of food shopping

Group 5: Young singles

Gender	Mixed gender
Age	Under 35
Children	No restrictions
Relationship/Marital Status	Single
Rural/Urban	Urban dwellers
Other Criteria	No restrictions

Group 6: Politically active and vegetarian consumers

Gender	Mixed gender
Age	No restrictions
Children	No restrictions
Relationship/Marital Status	No restrictions
Rural/Urban	No restrictions
Other Criteria	50% of the participants should classify themselves as vegetarians (vegans should not be included) 50% of the participants should be 'politically active' consumers (see recruitment questionnaire), who are non-vegetarian

Group 7: Country specific group

Criteria	To be decided by individual research teams. For example, this could be used to gain insights into the opinions of groups not covered above (but which are important in their particular research country), or to revisit a particularly interesting group again.
----------	--

Summary table (the nature of participants across all 7 groups)

Gender	2 female only groups, 4 mixed gender groups, 1 group no restrictions
Age	1 senior group (55–70), 1 middle-aged group (under 50 with children), 1 young group (under 35), 1 group under 50, 1 group 50% over 40, 2 groups no restrictions
Children	1 group with children (50% with at least one child under 5, 50% with at least one teenage child), 1 group childless or with no children living at home at present (empty nesters), 5 groups with no direct restrictions
Relationship/Marital Status	1 group single, 1 group married or living with a partner, 5 groups with no direct restrictions
Rural/Urban	3 urban groups, 1 group must live or have grown up in a rural region, 3 groups with no direct restrictions
Other Criteria	Group 1: No restrictions Group 2: They must not be farmers or farmers' wives Group 3: All participants must do at least 50% of food shopping Group 4: All participants must do at least 50% of food shopping Group 5: No restrictions Group 6: 50% of the participants should classify themselves as vegetarians (vegans should not be included), 50% of the participants should be 'politically active' consumers (see recruitment questionnaire), who are non-vegetarian Group 7: No restrictions

How to carryout the selection criteria

Whilst some of the selection criteria above are relatively straightforward, such as gender, age, marital status and number of children, others are more complex, especially those concerning:

- Filter 1
- Filter 2
- The selection of politically active consumers for group 6

As such, we have outlined in detail the strategies that should be used to select for these groups in the recruitment questionnaire. Hence, it is vital that you look at the recruitment guide and the recruitment questionnaire in unison.

Further information about participants

As one can see from the criteria listed above we have decided not to select participants on the basis of their social class, income, or level of formal education. However, we still feel that it is important to record these details about the participants, as this will enable us to; (a) see if any group has been under-represented (and, if desired, to take measures to rectify this in Focus Group 7); (b) for use in the analysis.

As such, researchers should also record:

- (a) Level of formal education (preferably using a three-tiered classification)
- (b) Some indicator of income or social class (preferably using a three-tiered classification)

Suggestions as to how this might be achieved are included in the recruitment questionnaire, however we acknowledge that individual research teams may want to go about this in different ways that relate to the specific socio-economic-educational context of their study countries. For comparative reasons it would be useful if each research team could adopt a three-tired classification (low – medium – high) relative to the context of their individual countries (or at least a classification system that can be easily collapsed in to three levels)

Alternative guide for vegetarian consumers

We have decided not to issue a separate discussion guide for vegetarian consumers due to the following reasons:

- (a) The vegetarian group is no longer separate, as it has been joined with the politically active group.
- (b) We are no longer including vegans in the focus groups
- (c) Vegetarians are still consumers of a range of different dairy products and eggs and pilots have indicated that they can still make useful contributions to the discussions.
- (d) The final version of the discussion guide is more flexible and has more room for individual research teams to add additional questions and pursue additional topics that would be particularly relevant to vegetarians, similarly there is a degree of flexibility in the types of products and product labels that can be used in the focus groups. In other words, individual research teams should take the initiative in 'tweaking' the discussion guide for vegetarians, whilst still focusing on the same core themes and asking the same core questions.

A2 THE FOCUS GROUP RECRUITMENT QUESTIONNAIRE

This questionnaire is intended to accompany the recruitment guide and to provide a more detailed explanation of Filter 1, Filter 2 and the selection of politically active consumers. Furthermore, it illustrates the types of questions that are necessary to fulfil all of the different criteria in the recruitment guide. Whilst we have presented the questionnaire in the form of a written survey, we realise that individual research teams will want to adapt the STYLE in which the questions are presented (BUT NOT THE FUNCTION) in accordance with the methods they intend to use to administer the questionnaire (e.g. via the phone, face-to-face with a facilitator, via the post etc.). Furthermore, we have presented this questionnaire in a format to illustrate the ways in which questions relate to the selection criteria in the recruitment guide and individual research teams will clearly need to alter this ordering in the versions that they administer.

(i) Filter 1

1. How often do you eat meat?

(Place a tick in the box that best applies)

(a) Everyday	<input type="checkbox"/>
(b) A few times a week	<input type="checkbox"/>
(c) Once a week	<input type="checkbox"/>
(d) Less than once a week	<input type="checkbox"/>
(e) I am a vegetarian	<input type="checkbox"/>
(f) I am a vegan	<input type="checkbox"/>

Instructions: To pass filter 1, respondents must eat meat at least once a week (options a, b and c above). To qualify as a vegetarian, respondents must tick option e (vegans (f) should be excluded)

(ii) Filter 2

Please indicate how often you have done each of the following in the last year. For each statement, place a tick in the relevant box.

1. Checked the labelling or packaging of a food product for information about where or how it was produced (e.g. free-range, organic, freedom foods).

Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Very often
-------	--------	-----------	-------	------------

2. Chosen not to purchase a food product because of the way it was produced (e.g. Battery cage eggs, veal, foie gras).

Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Very often
-------	--------	-----------	-------	------------

3. Read newspaper articles or listened to radio programmes about animal farming.

Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Very often
-------	--------	-----------	-------	------------

4. Watched television programmes about animal farming.

Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Very often
-------	--------	-----------	-------	------------

5. Thought about issues concerning animal farming when buying, preparing or eating food.

Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Very often
-------	--------	-----------	-------	------------

6. Thought about the content or origin of a meat product you have bought.

Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Very often
-------	--------	-----------	-------	------------

Instructions: This filter should select those consumers who have at least some bare minimum level of interest in either the farming of animals for food (e.g. the different systems of production that are used), or animal welfare issues. Only the following participants should be selected:

- (a) Those who have answered 'often' or 'very often' to at least one of the questions above.
- (b) Those who have answered sometimes to at least two of the questions above.

(iii) The Selection of 'Politically Active' Consumers

Please indicate whether or not you have participated in any of the following activities in the last year.

	Yes	No
Deliberately chose certain products for political, ethical or environmental reasons		
Deliberately avoided certain products for political, ethical or environmental reasons		
Encouraged friends or family to purchase products for political, ethical or environmental reasons		
Voted in a European, national or local election		
Participated in a protest or demonstration		
Contacted a politician		
Wrote a letter supporting a political, ethical or environmental cause		
Donated money or volunteered time to a political organization or interest group		
Signed a petition		
Worn a campaign button or T-shirt		

Instructions: These questions should be used to select politically active consumers. Respondents would qualify as 'politically active' if they answer yes to at least 4 of the 10 questions above.

(iv) Other Questions for Recruitment

1. What is your name?

2. What is your address?

3. What is your telephone number?

4. What is your gender? (Inclusion of this question depends on method of administration)

--	--	--	--

5. What is your date of birth?

6. What is your present marital status?

(Tick the box that best applies)

Single	<input type="checkbox"/>	Widowed	<input type="checkbox"/>
Married or living with partner	<input type="checkbox"/>	Divorced or separated	<input type="checkbox"/>

7. Do you have any children, if so how old are they and do they live at home with you?

Yes (at least one child)	<input type="checkbox"/>	No (No Children)	<input type="checkbox"/>
--------------------------	--------------------------	------------------	--------------------------

	Age	Live at Home (yes/no)
Child 1		
Child 2		
Child 3		
Child 4		
Child 5		

8. What type of area do you live in at present?

Predominantly rural	
Predominantly urban	
Mixed	

9. What type of area did you grow up in?

Predominantly rural	
Predominantly urban	
Mixed	

10. Are you or your partner farmers?

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

11. Approximately what proportion of your household's food shopping do you do, either on your own or with your partner?

(a) All	
(b) More than half	
(c) About half	
(d) Less than half	
(e) None	

(Note: Question 11 is to assess whether a potential participant 'does at least 50% of the food shopping' – categories a, b and c above would qualify)

(v) *Other information to collect:*

Whilst we are no longer using income, social class or level of formal education as selection criteria, we still think that it is important to record these details (see recruitment guide). Individual research teams are encouraged to develop their own means of recording this data in accordance with their own national contexts. However, for comparative purposes it would be useful if we all adopted a three-tier classification (low-medium-high). The examples listed below are provided for illustrative purposes.

The recording of low, middle and high income groups:

1. What is your household income?

(Tick the box that best applies)

Less than £25,000	
£25,000–£70,000	
Over £70,000	

Notes: The question above is purely meant to be illustrative of possible bands for low, medium and high household income groups. Each research team will have to set their household income thresholds to reflect the economic situation in their study country. However, we do feel that household income should be used as opposed to individual income. If desired, individual research teams can record occupational status rather than income but again a three-tiered classification would be preferred.

The recording of low, middle and high formal education groups:

1. What educational qualifications do you have?

(Tick the box that corresponds to your highest level of achievement)

(1) No qualifications	
(2) O levels, CSEs, GCSEs, School certificate, NVQ level 1 or 2, Foundation or intermediate GNVQ	
(3) A levels, AS levels, Higher school certificate, NVQ Level 3, Advanced GNVQ	
(4) First degree (e.g. BA, BSc), Higher degree (e.g. MA, PhD, PGCE), NVQ levels 4-5, HNC, HND	

Notes: In the question above people ticking boxes 1 and 2 would be classified as low formal education, people ticking box 3 as medium formal education, and people ticking box 4 as high formal education. Clearly, the categories for individual countries will be different. In the example above:

- The 'low formal education group' consists of people with either no formal educational qualifications or people who have qualifications that are usually (but not always) taken whilst it is compulsory for them to still attend school (e.g. 16 in the UK and the qualifications listed in box 2)
- The 'medium formal education group' consists of people who have qualification that are below degree level but above those listed in the first group (e.g. in the UK those exams usually (but not always) taken at around 18 years old and listed in box 3)
- The high 'formal education group' are educated to degree level (or equivalent) or above
- Care was taken to include equivalent national vocational qualifications (such as NVQs, GNVQs, HNC and HNDs in the case of the UK). Care was taken to account for those people who have gained qualifications as mature students

A3 THE FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION GUIDE

CONSUMER VIEWS REGARDING THE PROVISION OF INFORMATION ABOUT ANIMAL WELFARE IN THE CONTEXT OF EVERYDAY PRACTICES OF FOOD CONSUMPTION, PREPARATION AND SHOPPING.

Introduction

Before we begin, I would like to say a little bit about what we are researching. We are conducting this research as part of a large European project that is interested in issues surrounding the consumption of food. We are interested in finding out more about the different ways in which people consume, prepare and shop for their food. We are also particularly interested in what people think about the amount and types of information that is available about the foods they eat. Throughout the conversation we would like to discuss your views concerning the provision of information about the following food

products; beef, veal and dairy products (including cheese, milk and yoghurt); pork, ham and sausages; chicken meat and eggs; and lastly other processed foods containing any of these products. Finally, we would like to remind you that there are no right or wrong answers to the topics we will be discussing and that we are interested in the ideas, feelings and opinions of all participants.

Begin by asking each member of the focus group to introduce themselves to the others and to say a little bit about themselves (for example, where they live and what their hobbies are). N.B. this is the 'icebreaker question', whereas Theme A is an important topic in its own right – see title.

Theme A: Food consumption, preparation and shopping habits (this session should last about 10 minutes)

Introduction: I would like to begin today by asking you all some simple questions about your food consumption and shopping habits.

1. This theme should begin with at least one question regarding general food consumption habits.

Individual research teams are free to develop their own questions, as long as they provide insights in to general food consumption habits, for example one could ask: Try to think back to your main meal yesterday – what did you eat, where did you eat it and whom did you eat it with? (The overall logic of the ordering of Theme A was to start with what is most familiar (eating) and work our way backwards).

2. (OPTIONAL) Question exploring food preparation and cooking practices.

3. Where do you usually buy your meat, dairy products and eggs and why do you shop there? What do you look for when choosing which meat, dairy products and eggs to buy and are you satisfied with the choices available?

In relation to whether respondents are happy with the choice of products available try to find out what their frame of reference is because satisfaction is relative and dependent on previous experience. If they are not happy with the range of choices available what other types of products would they like to see for sale?

There should be scope to explore other issues within this theme, such as food preparation and cooking, recent changes in participants' eating habits, food norms/expectations and routines, and any other topics that might be of particular relevance to the specific study country.

Theme B: Information and involvement; political consumption, ethical dilemmas and barriers; human-animal relationships (this session should last about 45 minutes)

(Bi) Information and involvement

Introduction: I would now like to move on to consider what you think about the types of information that are available to consumers about meat, dairy products and eggs.

4. (OPTIONAL) What do you understand by the term animal welfare in relation to farming and food production?

5. How well informed do you think you are about the different ways in which animals are farmed? Where do you get your information? What do you think about the information currently available? (Initially allow unprompted comments regarding animal welfare but if these don't arise, the facilitator should explicitly ask about welfare.)

For example, do participants know much about the treatment of farm/husbandry animals in their country and are they satisfied with the current situation? Do participants get their information from television, video, newspapers, radio, books, magazines, the Internet, from shops, from labels on food products, or from friends? What other specific types of information would participants like to know about animal products? How do participants evaluate the information currently available?

6. What do you think about the public debate on animal welfare and to what extent are you interested in this debate?

What do participants think are the most effective ways of being involved with, and influencing, the animal welfare debate (when voting for political parties, by joining animal welfare NGOs, by protesting etc.)? If participants are not personally involved in the debate do they feel that it is still important for others to be involved?

At this point participants should be presented with some examples of the types of information about welfare friendly products that are already available to consumers (ideally from within their study country). This could include product packaging, product labels, product logos, leaflets about products, or alternative information sources (we should avoid giving the impression that the provision of information about animal welfare is limited to labels) and if possible the actual products that these refer to should also be used. The information should relate to a selection of (but not necessarily all of) the following products: beef, veal and dairy products (including cheese, milk and yoghurt); pork, ham and sausages; chicken meat and eggs; and finally other processed foods containing any of these products (no other products should be used as these will not be covered by the project's monitoring and information systems, however if participants choose to mention other products they should be permitted to make their remarks). Some of these stimuli should relate to items with an explicit welfare content (e.g. free range eggs, freedom foods), others should relate to items where the welfare content is more implicit (e.g. organic) and finally some should relate to quality assurance labels (such as corn-fed

chicken, in which the welfare component is even more uncertain/contested or totally absent). The resources should also be chosen to represent a wide range of different styles of information presentation. TO ENSURE CONTINUITY FACILITATORS SHOULD USE THE MARKET AUDITS CONDUCTED BY MEMBERS OF WP2 IN THEIR STUDY COUNTRY TO HELP THEM CHOOSE THEIR PRODUCTS. After having sufficient time to look at the information, participants should then be asked the following questions.

7. (OPTIONAL) Are you familiar with any of these products and have you ever bought or eaten any of them? If so, did you buy them for animal welfare reasons?

Do participants ever look for animal welfare information on the products they buy? Are animal welfare considerations important for participants in influencing the types of products they would buy? Try to find out what the different logos actually represent to the participants, i.e. what other expectations do they have of the products (such as higher quality, healthier).

8. Which of these labels/leaflets etc. do you think provide the best information about the welfare of the animals used in making these foods? Is there any important information that these sources leave out that you would like to see included?

What do you think would be the best way of informing people about animal welfare issues? How would you like to be provided with this information (i.e. what type of source)? What level of detail would you want to know? What types of information would you want to know?

9. (OPTIONAL) Which of these labels/leaflets etc. would be the most useful for helping you to choose between products?

(Bii) Political consumption, ethical dilemmas and barriers

10. (OPTIONAL) Do you ever think about animal welfare issues in your everyday routine of shopping, eating, or preparing food?

In what circumstances do participants think about animal welfare issues - at home, watching television, reading the newspaper, talking with friends, during dinner, at the supermarket, whilst buying goods? What types of things do they think about?

11. (OPTIONAL) What do you think that you personally could do to improve the welfare of animals used in the production of food and what difficulties or barriers might you encounter in trying to achieve this?

Do participants feel that they have an important role to play in bringing about better welfare standards or do they feel powerless?

12. Have you ever deliberately avoided buying certain meat, dairy products or eggs because you dislike or distrust the producer/company involved in making or selling them, or have you ever deliberately purchased specific types of these products for their positive image?

Do participants feel that their consumption choices exert any influence or do they feel powerless? If participants mention certain products that they have boycotted or 'buycotted' try to find out why. If it does not come up in the conversation try to find out if participants ever purchase any 'ethical' foods, such as organic foods, 'freedom foods' (in UK, equivalent elsewhere) or fair trade products. If so, which ones and why?

13. What properties or qualities do you think meat, dairy products or eggs should possess? Do these properties ever conflict with each other?

Prompt only after their spontaneous answers:

Properties or qualities might include taste, healthiness, cost, welfare, appearance etc. Conflicts (or ethical dilemmas) might include good taste but unhealthy, good welfare but expensive etc.

Is animal welfare an important property/quality and does this conflict with other properties/qualities. If participants do experience conflicts (or ethical dilemmas) how do they overcome them? Do different family members have different dilemmas?

14. Is there anything that would prevent you from purchasing welfare-friendly products?

This question is designed to investigate the barriers to purchasing welfare-friendly goods, these might include; lack of choice, price, convenience, lack of or unclear information, poorer quality, health reasons, reliability of supply.

(Biii) Human to (non-human) animal relationships

15. Do you think that animals deserve similar rights to humans?

If not what rights do animals deserve? Are there any rights that animals should not be entitled to? Should some animals have more rights than others, if so which ones and why? (differences between species e.g. great apes versus other mammals versus insects or differences between companion animals and farm animals). How should humans relate to animals - should we hunt animals, use animals for food, use animals for medical experiments, keep animals in zoos, keep animals as pets, use animals for sport and entertainment? This question is an attempt to address the issue of how participants position themselves in relation to animals.

5 minute break

Theme C: Assessing animal welfare; ten welfare principles from the 'Welfare Quality' project; towards an information system (this session should last about 45 minutes)

Introduction: Before we move on to the next discussion topic I would like to tell you more about the nature of this research project. (Provide participants with an edited copy of the first page on the Welfare Quality public website). As you can see from the handout this research is part of a major European project that is looking at issues of animal welfare in the food chain. As such, one of the major aims of this research is to develop and improve ways of monitoring and measuring animal welfare in cattle, pigs and chickens across Europe.

Task 1: Ask each individual participant to consider what animal welfare actually means to them in the context of food production and ask them to draw up a list of the issues that they think should be important when assessing the welfare of animals used in food production. Once everybody has finished their own list the group as a whole should be asked to share their insights to produce a combined list. Participants should also be asked to consider whether they think that the importance of the issues they have identified varies between cattle, pigs and chickens.

After they have completed the above task, participants should be informed that people working for the Welfare Quality project are also in the process of developing a list of animal welfare principles. Participants should then be presented with a short written summary of the 10 preliminary welfare categories being developed by the Welfare Quality project. The facilitator should then briefly discuss these categories (reading the text aloud should be sufficient) and address any questions that the participants might have. The facilitator should then ask the following questions:

16. What are your overall impressions of these ten animal welfare categories?

Which of the ten categories do you think are the most important and which do you think are the least important and why? Try to find out how participants interpret each of the categories and try to probe the meanings they invest in the different categories.

17. Does this list cover all the concerns that you developed in your own list?

In other words, do participants feel that there is anything important missing from the list? If so, what? Do participants feel that anything should be excluded from the list?

18. If the EU developed an animal welfare standard based on the ten welfare categories we have shown you, do you think it would help to improve the welfare of animals involved in food production? Do you think it would help you to choose between animal products? Would it influence your food consumption habits?

18 a. IF YES: How would you like to receive information about this welfare standard?

By a simple system similar to the stars for hotels (e.g. 1 to 3 smiley-faced animals depending on how welfare-friendly a product is), or something with more detailed information? Do you see this standard as a tool for helping consumers to choose between products, or as a tool to allow producers to communicate to retailers what they do (and then retailers could reward/penalise producers according to their performance, but not necessarily call on consumers to choose between products)?

18 b. IF NO: Why? And what are your concerns, or what information you would like to receive that is not included in this list?

For example, concerns that are not addressed in the list developed by the Welfare Quality project might include the agreed list of issues elaborated in task 1 of theme C, go back to the agreed list.

Theme D: Trust and responsibility (this session should last about 15 minutes)

19. Who would you trust to provide fair and unbiased information about animal welfare issues related to food products?

Prompt only after their spontaneous answers:

For example, which of the following organisations do participants trust; The European Union, national governments, local or regional governments, independent scientific bodies, independent organisations like the Food Standards Agency, food producers, retailers, the media, NGOs such as the RSPCA. Does their level of trust in these bodies vary in relation to the issue being considered?

20. Who do you think should be responsible to ensure that animals used in food production experience a good level of welfare and Why?

Prompt only after their spontaneous answers:

For example do you think that consumers have a role to play through the types of products they purchase or do you think that the government or producers or retailers should take responsibility? Who do you think is actually taking responsibility for these issues at present? Should different people/organisations be responsible for different issues?

Thank everybody and close.

Debriefing questionnaire

A4 THE FOCUS GROUP PROTOCOL

Participants

6–8 people per focus group, selected in accordance with the recruitment criteria.

Facilitators

The primary facilitator is responsible for ensuring that the conversation runs smoothly and that all the themes and questions listed in the discussion guide are covered (except those marked as optional). They are also responsible for ensuring that each theme is allocated approximately the same amount of time as detailed in the discussion guide, in other words there is some flexibility in terms of timing and facilitators should take in to account the natural flow of the conversation, however it is vital that each theme (especially Theme C) is given proper attention. Finally, they are responsible for managing and facilitating the group dynamic and trying to ensure that every participant is given the opportunity to sufficiently express their own views or opinions.

In addition to the primary facilitator there should be at least one (and possibly two) helpers who should be responsible for; (a) taking notes to aid transcription (e.g. listing the order in which people speak and taking brief notes in relation to what they are saying); (b) checking that the recording equipment is functioning properly and if necessary changing tapes; (c) handing out materials, such as the food products, the front page of the website and the 10 animal welfare criteria developed by the project; (d) helping the facilitator with timekeeping; (e) setting up the equipment and preparing the room.

Equipment and resources

Room: The room should be large enough to comfortably seat 6–8 people (and 2–3 facilitators). If you have decided to use video recording equipment, there should be sufficient space for the video recorder to be placed discreetly (and lighting should be sufficient for good quality recording).

Audio recording equipment: If possible, researchers should use two audio recorders, preferably digital and with high quality microphones. These should be placed strategically to capture all the conversation and facilitators should check their recording equipment for sufficient sound quality before conducting the focus group. Recordings should be transcribed in full and translated in to English.

Video recording equipment: THIS IS OPTIONAL, however if researchers do decide to use video equipment, if possible, they should use a digital camera, with a wide-angle lens mounted on a tripod. Facilitators should test the equipment prior to the focus group and ensure that the camera is positioned to capture all the participants (we had problems with

this in Cardiff, despite placing the video recorder in the extreme corner of quite a large room) and that the lighting is sufficient.

Some means of displaying respondents' suggestions on a large scale: During task 1 within the 'assessing animal welfare' theme respondents are required to share their insights and to jointly produce a combined list of animal welfare criteria. As participants make suggestions either one of the facilitator's helpers or one of the focus group participants should record this information so that it is visible to the rest of the group (e.g. on A1 flip chart, on overhead projector etc.)

Pads of paper and pens: One for each participant to enable them to record their animal welfare criteria in task 1.

Watches: To ensure that the timings listed in the focus group discussion guide are approximately adhered to.

Refreshments: To be provided at the beginning of the focus group and during a 5 minute break after the first hour (before the final theme).

Prompts and handouts: (a) animal welfare products with accompanying labels/logos/leaflets etc (selected in accordance with the criteria in the focus group discussion guide); (b) a brief summary of the project taken from the website (1 for each participant); (c) a condensed summary of the 10 preliminary animal welfare criteria developed by the project (1 for each participant); (d) the debriefing questionnaire (1 for each participant).

Large printed name labels for participants and facilitators: To facilitate discussion between participants and to help the second facilitator when taking notes of who is talking to aid transcription.

Permission forms for participants to sign: These should be used to gain consent for; (a) taking audio and visual recordings; (b) subsequently using these recordings for academic purposes; (c) any other legal and ethical requirements pertaining to the specific study country.

Facilitator's resources: Prior to the focus group the facilitator should have a list of all the participants and some brief information about them derived from the recruitment questionnaires (or from the recruitment agency). The facilitator should also have a list of all the products/leaflets/labels etc that they will be using in the focus group and they should be aware of the rationale for choosing these particular products. The facilitator should also have a reasonable knowledge of the 10 welfare categories developed by the Welfare Quality project so that they are able to answer (within reason) any questions that participants might have.

After the focus group

When the focus group has finished facilitators should collect the following:

- (a) The lists that each individual participant made during task 1 (with their names recorded). This should be transcribed and entered in to N-VIVO
- (b) The combined list that participants produced in task 1. This should be transcribed and entered in to N-VIVO
- (c) The debriefing questionnaires

A5 THE DEBRIEFING QUESTIONNAIRE

Name:

1. Were you able to sufficiently express your views and opinions within the focus group?

2. Is there anything that you would like to add to the comments you made in the focus group?

3. Do you think that the focus group was a useful exercise that shed light on the topics being discussed? If not, how do you think it could have been improved?

4. Would you like to find out more information about the research being conducted by the welfare quality project? If so, what topics are you particularly interested in?

5. How would you like to be informed about the project results?

(Please tick all boxes that apply)

Website	Email	Brochure	Workshops

6. Where would you usually look for information on issues relating to food and animal welfare (e.g. what websites, what magazines etc.)?

7. If you are interested in receiving further information about the project please write your contact details, including email address, below.

A6 FOCUS GROUP HANDOUT (BRIEF EXPLANATION OF THE WELFARE QUALITY® PROJECT)



Welfare Quality® is an EU funded project about the integration of animal welfare in the food quality chain: from public concern to improved welfare and transparent quality. Animal welfare is of considerable importance to European consumers. Nowadays food quality is not only determined by the overall nature and safety of the end product but also

by the perceived welfare status of the animals from which the food is produced. This project aims to accommodate societal concerns and market demands, to develop reliable on-farm monitoring systems, product information systems, and practical species-specific strategies to improve animal welfare. Thirty-nine institutes and universities (representing thirteen European countries) with specialist expertise participate in this integrated research project. The project started in May 2004 and will take five years to complete.

A7 LIST OF PRODUCTS USED IN CARDIFF PILOT FOCUS GROUP

This is just to give everyone some idea of the types of products they could use in their focus groups and how different products relate to the three groups that we have suggested. Ideally, facilitators should use actual products in their focus groups, in conjunction with their accompanying labels/logos/leaflets etc. Products should also be chosen from their own study countries and to ensure continuity facilitators should use the market audits conducted by members of WP2 in their study country to help them choose their products. One weakness with the choice of information sources we selected was the over-concentration on labels and we would recommend that researchers use a greater variety of alternative information sources in their pilots.

Explicit Animal Welfare Products

Tesco's Free Range Fresh Chicken Thighs (Labelling: free range and corn fed)

Wootton Organic Free Range Organic Eggs (Labelling: allowed to range freely, mature at their own pace, additive-free diet).

Farmhouse Freedom Eggs Organic Eggs (Labelling: certified organic, freedom food and vegetarian society approved. Small flocks; family run farms; hedges to provide shelter; kept on organically farmed land; no battery cages; frequent testing of birds, poultry houses and feeding stuffs for salmonella).

Pasteurised Manor Farm Organic Semi-skimmed Milk from Dorset (Labelling: dedicated to the organic principles of sustainability, animal welfare and nature conservation, information was also provided about the farm and its owners).

Organic (Implicit Welfare Friendly)

Tideford Organic Foods Rice Pudding (Labelling: soil association pudding of the year award. Made from farmer Watson's cows and their organic milk. No explicit mention of welfare).

Tesco's Organic Wafer Thin Ham (Labelling: organic production prohibits the use of GM materials. No explicit mention of welfare).

Tesco's Organic Chicken Nuggets (Labelling: strict organic standards, no GM. No explicit mention of welfare).

Craig Farm Organic Dry Cured Bacon Unsmoked (Labelling: award-winning taste, fully traceable. Traceability details were recorded including the farmer and breed and a reference to a website for more information. No explicit mention of welfare).

Quality Labels (With Ambiguous or Non-existent Welfare)

Single Gloucester Cheese (From the 'Fresh and Wild' store, presented with an accompanying leaflet about Gloucester Cattle, entitled 'Give a Bright Future to an Ancient Breed'. There was some mention of welfare in this leaflet but fundamentally the product was being marketed as a quality good and the welfare implications were secondary)

Tesco's Finest Pork Chops (Labelling: specially selected, reared outdoors - once again some mention of welfare (reared outdoors) but predominantly a quality-based product)

Tesco's Finest Aberdeen Angus Sausages (Labelling: quality and breed mentioned but no explicit mention of welfare – however consumers might perceive that a product such as this has welfare implications)

Tahira Grill Steaks Halal (A product with contested welfare implications) (Labelling: quality mentioned, pictures of 'happy' cows on the packaging.)

A8 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE SUBMISSION OF RAW DATA COLLECTED
FROM THE FOCUS GROUPS

(1) Details of the raw data required

The data required falls into 5 main categories:

- Word documents containing English translations of the focus group transcripts and other complementary data
- Data tables listing the attributes of each speaker
- NVIVO documents coded with the basic communal coding structure discussed in Toulouse (English transcripts coded in English)
- English translation of the most recent NVIVO coding structures that research teams have developed over and above the basic communal coding for their own study country.
- Summary results from the de-briefing questionnaire

(2) Word documents containing English translations of the focus group transcripts and other complementary data

(i) As agreed during the meeting in Florence we require English translations of the focus group transcripts. These should adopt professional transcribing protocols and each speaker should be clearly marked (in a way that preserves their anonymity but enables us to link speaker attributes, such as gender, age etc., to each utterance – see below).

(ii) At the beginning of each focus group transcript the name and location of the focus group should be clearly marked and the details of the selection criteria used to select the group should be listed (paying special attention to any additional criteria used over and above the communal guidelines and paying special attention to the country-specific groups).

(iii) In addition to containing all the oral discussion, each focus group transcript should also include translated transcriptions of the written tasks that participants were asked to perform (i.e. the spontaneous lists of AW concerns that participants were asked to generate). These can be inserted in the text at the relevant point but must be clearly marked and differentiated from the oral transcription.

(iv) Each focus group should also contain a list (and brief description) of the products/leaflets/logos/information sources that were used as prompts. For those teams that used the same products throughout all their focus groups a single list of products will suffice.

(v) Each separate focus group participant should be clearly assigned a number that is unique to them (across all focus groups and across all countries). We propose the following allocation of numbers for each country and each separate focus group:

Italy 0–99 (1st focus group 0–9, 2nd focus group 10–19, 3rd focus group 20–29, etc.)

France 100–199

Hungary 200–299

Netherlands 300–399

Norway 400–499

Sweden 500–599

UK 600–699

(vi) Each utterance made by a separate speaker should be clearly marked with that speaker's unique identification number followed by a full stop (e.g. 1.). This identification label should occur on the same line as the beginning of the transcribed utterance but a 'return' should be added between speakers. This might all sound very long-winded and unnecessary but it will greatly assist us when it comes to assigning individual nodes to each speaker inside NVIVO. For example:

4. Welfare quality, welfare quality, welfare quality, welfare quality, welfare quality, welfare quality, welfare quality, welfare quality, welfare quality, welfare quality, welfare quality, welfare quality

1. Welfare quality, welfare quality, welfare quality, welfare quality, welfare quality

(3) Data tables listing the attributes of each speaker

In addition to the focus group transcripts we also require data tables listing a range of socio-demographic information for each participant (which can be linked back to each separate utterance made by that participant in the focus group transcripts). The data tables should contain the information listed below, it will also save us a considerable amount of time if all teams use the exact codes listed below (e.g. M for male and F for female). It should be noted that we only requested information relating to 'some indicator of social status' and so numbers 10 and 11 below were either/or options and we do not expect all teams to have information on both these variables. As the classification criteria for low, medium and high groups for formal education and income/social class will differ between study countries, we would also like some information relating to how each study country defined these groups.

(i) The participant's unique identification number (see section (a) point (5) above)

(ii) Focus group that participant belonged to (urban mothers=Urbmo, rural women=Rurwo, married or living with partner but without children=Emptynest, seniors=Seniors, young singles=Yosing, political active and vegetarian=Paveg, country specific 1=CS(insert first two letters of your country)1, country specific 2=CS(insert first two letters of your country)2

(iii) Gender (Male=M, Female=F)

(iv) Age (20-29= AG1, 30-39=AG2, 40-49=AG3, 50-59=AG4, 60 and over=AG5)

(v) Marital status (Single=Single, Widowed=Widowed, Married or living with a partner=Partner, Divorced or Separated=Separated)

(vi) Number of children (No children=0Child, 1 child=1Child, 2 children=2Child, 3 children or more=3Pluschild)

(vii) Number of children under 5 years old (No children under 5 yrs=NCU5, At least one child under 5=YCU5)

(viii) Experience of rural living (Either grew up in, or currently live in a predominantly rural area=Rural, have no experience of living in a rural area – i.e. have only lived in predominantly urban or mixed areas=Urban)

(ix) Level of formal education (low formal education=Lowed, Medium formal education=Meded, high formal education=Highed)

(x) Household income (low household income=Lowinc, medium household income=Medinc, high household income=Highinc)

(xi) Occupational status (managerial etc. occupations=OS1, intermediate occupations=OS2, routine manual etc. occupations=OS3, other=OS4)

(xii) Vegetarianism (vegetarian=YVEG, non-vegetarian=NVEG)

(xiii) Politically active consumers (participant classified as politically active=YPA, participant not classified as politically active=NPA)

(xiv) Frequency of eating meat (everyday=Highmeat, a few times a week=Medmeat, once a week=Lowmeat)

(4) NVIVO documents coded with the basic communal coding structure discussed in Toulouse (English transcripts coded in English)

The NVIVO documents should follow all the same criteria as the word documents outlined in point (a) above (in terms of the layout, the inclusion and location of speaker IDs and the inclusion of complementary data). We would not like the NVIVO documents delivered to Cardiff to be coded for participants' attributes as this would be very difficult for us to merge (this is why we have requested data tables instead). The NVIVO documents should not be submitted as an alternative to the word documents but as a supplement to them (it is very important for us to have both the un-coded transcripts in word and the NVIVO transcripts with the basic coding, in case we discover any coding inconsistencies and need to go back to the originals). Listed below are the communal codes that we developed for the focus groups, these should serve as both an indication of what we would like to be delivered to Cardiff and as a starting point from which individual countries can move on to develop their own more complex and nuanced coding structures.

Basic communal coding for focus group research:

Below are our suggestions for eleven basic themes/nodes that should form the basis of a communal coding structure across all seven European study countries. We have also provided a brief description of the types of things that should be coded for under each node. Clearly, this is a very basic, minimal structure and research teams should see it as a mere starting point from which they can develop more detailed coding structures (for example under node 1 'practices' one could have 3 more nodes for eating, food preparation and shopping and, continuing on, under the node 'shopping' one could have further nodes relating to the location of different purchases and what people looked for when purchasing meat etc., or alternatively one could adopt a totally different classificatory system within the practices node, which reflects your own empirical data and theoretical perspective).

(i) Practices

This should include: Any text relating to eating practices (e.g. what food participants ate, where they ate this food and whom they ate it with, food norms, food expectations and routines, recent changes in food habits etc.). Any text relating to food preparation and cooking practices. Any text relating to food shopping (e.g. where meat, dairy and eggs were purchased, what people looked for when shopping and choosing these food products, how satisfied participants were with the availability of these goods etc.)

(ii) Knowledge and Information (general)

This should include: Any text relating to consumers' knowledge about farming practices and consumers' knowledge about animal welfare generally (including their general perceptions and definitions of animal welfare and the sources of their knowledge). Any text relating to consumers' evaluation of the provision of information regarding animal welfare generally (including any recommendations that were made to improve the provision of this information).

(iii) Knowledge and Information (products)

This should include: Any text relating to consumers' knowledge of and experience/familiarity with welfare-friendly food products, including their knowledge of the different certification/assurance schemes that different products belong to. Any text relating to consumers' evaluation of the provision of information about welfare-friendly food products (especially their evaluation of different types of food labels and certification/assurance schemes and their practical recommendations for how food labels and certification/assurance schemes might be improved).

(iv) Preferences, Dilemmas and Barriers

This should include: Any mention of the properties or qualities that participants thought meat, dairy and egg products possessed, or should possess, (e.g. taste, quality, cost, reliability of supply, health benefits, good welfare). Any discussions relating to the

perceived conflicts between these properties (e.g. good welfare but too expensive) and any discussions about how these conflicts could be resolved. Any mention of the barriers that would prevent participants from purchasing welfare-friendly products (e.g. lack of choice, price, convenience, lack of or unclear information, poorer quality etc.).

(v) Responsibility

This should include: Any mention of who participants thought should be responsible for ensuring good standards of animal welfare in their own country and any reasons for these ascriptions of responsibility. Any comments relating to what roles participants thought that organisations/individuals such as producers, retailers, consumers and the state should play in bringing about improvements in animal welfare. Any comments relating to who participants thought was actually taking responsibility for these issues at present. Any comments relating to the constraints and barriers that might prevent organisations and individuals from taking responsibility for animal welfare (e.g. do consumers have sufficient power to take responsibility, do producers have sufficient welfare expertise to take responsibility etc.).

(vi) Agency/Involvement

This should include: Any text relating to the extent to which participants were interested/involved in wider debates about animal welfare and how important they thought these debates were. Any text relating to what participants thought were the most effective ways of being involved with and influencing the animal welfare debate (e.g. voting, protesting, joining political parties, through their purchases etc.). Any text relating to participants' perceptions of their own ability to influence animal welfare (e.g. comments about how powerful/powerless participants felt, comments relating to the wider barriers participants perceived to be preventing them from exerting their agency in relation to animal welfare issues). Any text relating to participants' strategies of political consumption (e.g. the goods participants boycotted/buycotted and the reasons they gave for doing this)

(vii) Trust

This should include: Any text relating to the level of trust that participants had in different organisations (e.g. the state, experts, consumers, producers, retailers, the EU, Media, NGOs etc.). This could include explicit comments about trust or more tacit indicators of whom participants trust (e.g. as illustrated in shopping practices or preferences for certain types of food label/shop).

(viii) Human–Animal Relationships

This should include: Any text relating to participants' broader ethical stances towards animals and the ways in which participants 'positioned' themselves in relation to animals. For example, the rights that participants thought different animals should be entitled to; comments relating to any ethical differentiation that participants made between different animal species/types; the roles that participants thought that it was ethically acceptable

for animals to be made to fulfil (e.g. pets, animal experiments, zoo animals, circus animals, etc.).

(ix) Spontaneous Welfare Concerns

This should include: Any text relating to task 1 of theme C in the discussion guide (including all the oral discussion relating to this topic and all the written lists of concerns that participants produced – these lists should be transcribed, entered into NVIVO and coded with the above node). This will include a list of all the unprompted issues that participants thought were important when assessing the welfare of farm animals, as well as any other comments that were made during this exercise, such as the justifications for their choices, any debates between the participants and whether participants thought that these criteria would differ for different species (cattle, pigs, chicken).

(x) Reactions to the Ten Animal Welfare Concerns

This should include: Any text relating to participants' responses to the list of ten welfare concerns developed by members of SP2 (including how participants interpreted the list and how they evaluated the list of concerns that the scientists had developed).

(xi) Welfare Quality Information System

This should include: Participants evaluations of the likely success of a practical labelling standard based on the scientists' list of ten concerns and participants' practical recommendations for an information system based on the scientists' list of concerns.

(5) English translations of the most recent NVIVO coding structures that research teams have developed over and above the basic communal coding for their own study country

This will give an indication of the directions in which individual teams are heading over and above the basic communal coding. It would also be useful if research teams could add a very brief rationale for some of their less self-explanatory coding choices (especially if there are totally new coding categories that emerge from the empirical data).

(6) Summary results from the de-briefing questionnaire

This should consist of brief summary results from the de-briefing questionnaires. Research teams are free to develop their own means of representing this information.

A8 PRESENTING THE WELFARE QUALITY® MONITORING SCHEME TO CONSUMERS

Information about the Welfare Quality® monitoring scheme presented to focus group participants (page 1)

ANIMAL WELFARE: TEN AREAS OF CONCERN

Animal scientists working on the Welfare Quality project have identified ten key areas of welfare concern to use as a starting point for assessing the welfare of cattle, pigs and chickens on farms, during transport and at slaughter. Researchers are also in the process of developing a range of specific welfare measures that can be used to assess each of these concerns. An important feature of this scheme is its emphasis on assessing welfare from the animal's 'point of view', as such increased importance will be placed on animal-based welfare measures (e.g. bodily condition, presence of injuries) rather than on resource or management-based measures (e.g. space, temperature, handling), which only measure risk to welfare rather than actual welfare status. The ten preliminary concerns are as follows:

Information about the Welfare Quality® monitoring scheme presented to focus group participants (page 2)

1. Hunger, thirst or malnutrition

This occurs when animals are denied a sufficient and appropriate diet or a sufficient and accessible water supply and can lead to dehydration, poor body condition and death. Malnutrition may also arise when diets are sufficient in volume but deficient in key nutrients.

2. Physical comfort and security

Animals can become uncomfortable and have problems lying down, getting up, walking and standing. This can occur when they are kept in inappropriately designed housing (e.g. insufficient space, poor ventilation, unsuitable flooring and bedding) or when they are transported in poorly designed or poorly ventilated vehicles.

3. Health: injuries

Animals can suffer physical injuries, such as skin lesions, bruises and broken bones due to factors such as: poor bedding conditions, uneven or slippery flooring, enclosures with sharp edges and environments that promote aggressive behaviours between animals.

4. Health: disease

Animals can suffer a range of diseases (e.g. inflammation of the udder in cows or heart disease in broiler chickens). Poor hygiene, irregular monitoring and unnecessary delays in treatment can amplify these problems.

5. Pain (not related to injuries or disease)

In addition to suffering pain from injuries and disease, animals can experience intense or prolonged pain due to inappropriate management, handling, slaughter, or surgical procedures (e.g. castration, dehorning) and as a result of intense aggressive encounters.

6. Normal/natural social behaviours

Animals can be denied the opportunity to express natural, non-harmful, social behaviours, such as grooming themselves and each other and huddling for warmth. Separating females from their offspring and preventing sexual behaviour are specific examples of this.

7. Normal/natural other behaviours

Animals can be denied the possibility of expressing other intuitively desirable natural behaviours, such as exploration, foraging, running, flying and play. The denial of these possibilities might lead to abnormal and/or harmful behaviours such as tongue rolling in cattle and feather pecking in chickens.

8. Human-animal relationship

Poor interactions with people can be reflected in increased avoidance distances and fearful or aggressive animal behaviours. This can occur due to inappropriate handling techniques (e.g. slapping, kicking and the use of electric prods), or when farmers, animal transporters or slaughterhouse staff are either insufficiently skilled or possess unsympathetic or non-compassionate attitudes towards animals.

9. Negative emotions (apart from pain)

Animals can experience emotions such as fear, distress, frustration or depression when they are kept in inappropriate physical or social environments (e.g. where there is mixing of unfamiliar groups of animals, or when there is not enough space to avoid aggressive interactions). These emotions can be reflected in behaviours such as panic, flight, social withdrawal and aggression and in behavioural disorders.

10. Positive emotions

Animals can also experience positive emotions such as comfort, satisfaction and excitement when they are healthy and kept in good physical and social environments. Positive emotions are difficult to assess but may be reflected in certain behaviours, such as: play, group activity, 'choice' of partner animals within a group, exploration, grooming, and by certain vocalizations.

Information about the Welfare Quality® monitoring scheme presented to focus group participants (page 3)

SPECIFIC PARAMETERS RELATING TO EACH CONCERN

In order to assess each of the ten broad concerns, scientists working on the project are in the process of identifying and measuring a series of welfare parameters. The table below provides a small illustrative selection of the parameters that researchers intend to use as a starting point for assessing the welfare of cattle. Over the course of the next five years researchers will develop and test a variety of different measures that relate to each of these parameters. Only measures that are deemed to be valid, reliable, repeatable and feasible to collect will be included in the final welfare assessment scheme.

Areas of Concern	Animal Based Parameters (Cattle)	Resource and Management Based Parameters (General)
Hunger, thirst or malnutrition	Body condition & dehydration Mortality	Provision of food and water on farm, during transport and prior to slaughter Management strategies
Physical comfort and security	Difficulties rising or lying Slipping and falling (on farm and during loading) Cleanliness of animal	Housing design (e.g. space, flooring, bedding and litter) Air quality Duration of transport
Health: injuries	Panting after stress or effort Injuries on farm/at slaughter Mortality and life expectancy	Method of slaughter Handling strategies Records of injured, diseased and culled animals Treatment procedures
Health: disease	Mortality and life expectancy Occurrence of disease	Records of diseases, treatments and culls
Pain	Carcass damage Lameness Routine mutilations (e.g. dehorning) Effectiveness of stunning Meat quality at slaughter	Identification and treatment Presence of sharp edges Use of electric prod Stunning method
Normal/natural social behaviours	Frequency of allo-grooming (grooming each other) Occurrence of other natural social behaviours	Grouping and regrouping of animals Physical contact with members of the same species
Normal/natural other behaviours	Abnormal behaviours (e.g. tongue-rolling) would receive a negative score	Presence of key resources
Human-animal relationship	Avoidance distance Fear Aggression	Attitudes and skills of farmers, drivers and slaughterhouse staff
Negative emotions	Fear (freezing, running away) Vocalization (on farm and at slaughter) Qualitative assessment	Does the environment foster the ability to avoid aggressive interactions and to make choices?
Positive emotions	Play (in young) Qualitative assessment	Environmental enrichment Does the environment foster the ability to groom, explore, play etc.?



This report is an official deliverable of the Welfare Quality® project.

Welfare Quality® is a European research project focusing on the integration of animal welfare in the food quality chain: from public concern to improved welfare and transparent quality. Welfare Quality® is co-financed by the European Commission, within the 6th Framework Programme, contract No. FOOD-CT-2004-506508.

Project Office Welfare Quality
Animal Sciences Group of Wageningen UR
Edelhertweg 15
P.O Box 65
NL - 8200 AB Lelystad
The Netherlands
Phone +31 320 293503
Fax +31 320 238050
e-mail: info@welfarequality.net
Internet: www.welfarequality.net

The text of this report represents the authors' views and does not necessarily represent a position of the European Commission who will not be liable for the use made of such information.

