



Turun yliopisto
University of Turku

Lotte Suveri

“PLANTS ARE LIVING TOO”

THE DIVERSE CARNISM OF FUR FARMING DISCOURSES IN FINLAND

- Values and Institutions.

Master's thesis of Geography

Keywords: Fur Farming, Carnism, Speciesism, Values, Institutions, Discourses

Turku 2016

The originality of this thesis has been checked in accordance with the University of Turku quality assurance system using the Turnitin OriginalityCheck service.

Turun yliopiston laatu järjestelmän mukaisesti tämän julkaisun alkuperäisyys on tarkastettu Turnitin OriginalityCheck – järjestelmällä.

THE UNIVERSITY OF TURKU
Faculty of Mathematics and Natural Science
Department of Geography and Geology

SUVERI, LOTTE: "Plants are living too" The Diverse Carnism of Fur Farming Discourses in Finland – Values and Institutions

Master's thesis, 84 p., 9 reference p.
40 credits
Geography
September 2016

Various elements shape and sustain values related to animals in the society. Speciesism defines the value of animals depending on their use for human purposes and creates a base for carnistic culture that justifies the commodification of animals. There are various basic human values that interrelate with the justifying mechanisms of carnistic behaviour and create a base for institutions supporting carnistic values. This research paper examines fur farming in Finland as a phenomenon constructed by different values. The main discourses related to fur farming are identified through interviews conducted by Q-methodology on a national and regional level.

The discourses were interpreted by combining the theory of basic human values (Schwartz 1992) with the theory of carnism (Joy 2010). In national discourse actors emphasized the ethical aspects of fur production and concluded that fur farming should be prohibited with a period of transition. Regional discourse was supportive of fur farming, pointing out the economic importance, tradition and trust in the certification guaranteeing animal welfare. A third discourse consisted of conciliatory aspects such as seeking of alternative solutions for fur farming. Carnistic elements were found in all discourses. Regional discourse consisted mainly of anxiety-avoiding values supporting carnism, whereas national discourse highlighted anxiety-free values helpful in deconstructing the carnistic schema. All discourses consisted of motivationally opposing values which supported contradictory ways of thinking about animals that were reasoned through personal consumption of animal products. Institutions supporting and creating values related to fur farming such as education, legislation and certification were also identified in these discourses.

Keywords: Fur Farming, Carnism, Speciesism, Values, Institutions, Discourse

TURUN YLIOPISTO
Matemaattis-luonnontieteellinen tiedekunta
Maantieteen ja geologian laitos

SUVERI, LOTTE: "Kasvitkin ovat eläviä" Moniulotteinen Karnismi Turkistarhaus
Diskursseissa Suomessa. Arvot ja Instituutiot.

Pro gradu -tutkielma, 84 s., 9 liites.

40 op

Maantiede

Syyskuu 2016

Lukuisat seikat muokkaavat ja ylläpitävät eläimiin liitettäviä arvoja yhteiskunnassa. Spesismi määrittelee eläinten arvon ihmisten niille luoman käyttötarkoituksen mukaan perustuen karnistiselle kulttuurille, joka oikeuttaa eläinten tuotteistamisen. Useat perustavanlaatuiset arvot ovat yhteydessä karnistista käytöstä oikeuttaviin mekanismeihin, jotka luovat pohjan karnistisia arvoja tukeville instituutioille. Tämä tutkimus tarkastelee turkistarhausta Suomessa erilaisten arvojen rakentamana ilmiönä. Päädiskurssit turkistarhauskeskustelusta on eritelty kansallisella ja alueellisella tasolla tehdyistä haastatteluista käyttäen Q-metodologiaa.

Diskurssit on tulkittu yhdistämällä teoria ihmisten perusarvoista (Schwartz 1992) karnismiin (Joy 2010). Kansallinen diskurssi painotti eettistä näkökulmaa ja turkistuotannon lopettamista siirtymäajan puitteissa. Alueellinen diskurssi tuki turkistarhausta ja korosti sen taloudellista merkitystä sekä tuotannon perinteisyyttä. Lisäksi sertifiointin nähtiin takaavan eläinten hyvinvointi tarhoilla. Kolmas diskurssi etsi vaihtoehtoisia tapoja jatkaa turkistuotantoa. Karnistiset elementit olivat läsnä kaikissa diskursseissa. Alueellinen diskurssi koostui pääosin karnismia tukevista arvoista, joiden avulla eläinten tuotteistamisen ristiriitaisuuden aiheuttamaa ahdistusta pyrittiin välttelemään. Kansallinen diskurssi taas painotti arvoja, jotka auttavat yksilöä purkamaan karnistista maailmakuva. Kaikista diskursseista löytyi ristiriitaisia eläinkäsityksiä tukevia vastakkaisia arvoja, joita perusteltiin henkilökohtaisilla eläintuotteiden kulutustottumuksilla. Myös turkistarhaukseen liitettäviä arvoja tukevat ja ylläpitävät instituutiot kuten koulutus, lainsäädäntö ja sertifiointi olivat löydettävissä diskursseista.

Asiasanat: Turkistarhaus, Karnismi, Spesismi, Arvot, Instituutiot, Diskurssit

Table of Contents

1. Introduction	6
2. Fur farming in Finland.....	7
2.1 Institutional regulations and recommendations on fur farming.....	11
3. Commodified animals shaping values and discourses in society	15
3.1 Discourses and values (in society)	16
3.2 Basic human values.....	19
3.3 Institutions creating and sustaining values related to animals	21
3.4 Speciesism and animal imagery.....	28
3.5 Carnism – the ideology behind animal consumption?.....	31
3.6 The psychology of consuming animals.....	33
3.7 Carnistic values	35
3.8 Carnism and views on animal ethics	37
4. Materials, methods and research ethics.....	42
4.1 Q-methodology.....	43
4.2 Ethics: Reflexivity in research	53
5. Fur discourses in Finland.....	58
5.1 Economic regional discourse.....	60
5.2 Ethical national discourse	63
5.3 Conciliatory Discourse.....	68
5.4 Values and carnism	70
5.5 Carnistic institutions	81
6. Discussion.....	84
7. Acknowledgments	86
8. References	87
Appendix. 1. Statements for Q-sorts	98
Appendix 2. Participants in Q-Methodology.....	100
Appendix 3. The document selection for Q-Methodology	101

1. Introduction

Animal production has become more and more of an issue in Western countries as the public concern for societal, ethical and environmental aspects of factory farming practices has increased. This can be seen in Finland in the polarization of public debate about fur farming, where different values related to animal production are being emphasized. These values are based on various mechanisms that construct how animals are understood in human societies. There is very little or none research on the relation of carnism and basic human values, as well as the values related to animal production. This thesis answers these shortcomings.

Carnism is an ideology that justifies the commodification of animals (Joy 2010). Common values towards animals are based on speciesism (Singer 1975) where animals are valued according to their use for human purposes. Speciesism is producing and maintaining carnistic culture and it can be used to understand how values towards fur are constructed. Carnism has various justification mechanisms that allow a person to love animals yet eat and wear them without acknowledging a contradiction in this behaviour. Anxiety-avoidance values (Schwartz 1992) support justifying this, often contradictory, use of animals. Institutions create and sustain values (Vatn 2005a) and alienate the feeling of responsibility for carnistic behaviour. Values are being understood and spread through discourses.

This research paper identified the main discourses related to fur farming, produced by the main actors in the fur farming debate such as politicians, journalists, researchers, activists and farmers acting on national and regional levels. The research questions are:

1. What are the discourses concerning fur production, by regional and national key actors?
2. What kind of values do these discourses consist of?
3. How are carnistic elements reflected in the discourses?
4. What kind of institutions are reflected in these discourses?

The focus of this study is to understand fur farming as a societally and culturally constructed phenomenon which is supported by certain values and institutional structures. Research of values related to animal production touches a sensitive area, being related to moral and ethical

thinking of an individual, which is often shaped by different interests. To increase the transparency in this research a personal research position and experiences from the field are being examined through the concept of reflexivity. This research is done as an assignment for a research project “Geographies of Dissociation: The Social Construction of Value From a Spatial Perspective”. Project is managed from the Leibniz-Institute of Regional Development and Structural Planning (IRS), Germany.

2. Fur farming in Finland

Finland is one of the biggest fur producers in the world. Fur farming has been a political and societal issue in Finland since the animal ethics discussion raised it into public debate in the 1990's (Sipilä 2011). As an outcome of animal ethics debate, countries such as United Kingdom, Croatia, Austria and Bosnia-Herzegovina have forbidden fur production. Sweden, Switzerland and Holland have strict regulations which have mostly ended fur farming. Animal rights movement in Finland are trying to push the development into similar direction.

The Finnish animal rights movement was founded from punk genre in the 90's. They raised conversation about fur farming by activism such as making illegal attacks on farms and releasing fur animals into the nature (Sipilä 2011). At firstly the media publicity was mainly negative and judgmental. On the other hand it raised the animal right issues permanently to the sphere of general discussion. In the 21st century the Finnish animal rights movement transformed into a more professional and moderate group (Sipilä 2011) still aiming to forbid the fur farming mainly through actions such as campaigns and releasing information about the topic.

Different actors in fur discussion see fur production in a very different light. A document series made by fur industry (Profur & Sagafurs 2015) presents fur products as professionally produced and ecologically sustainable commodities and the welfare of the animals as first priority. On the other hand the Finnish Animal Right movement points out very different aspects, like raising animals in fur farms being unethical and neglecting the animal welfare, fur being an unnecessary commodity and it having a significant negative environmental impact.

In the year 2010 the animal rights movement started a “Campaign for prohibiting fur farming” (Tarhauskielto 2010) and in the following years two petitions to prohibit fur farming were implemented. In 2013 the Finnish parliament received a petition written by 70 000 people against fur production (Yle 2014). It was rejected in the parliament with votes going 146-36 (Yle 2013). The parliament emphasized the domesticity products and economic importance of the trade. In 2015 a new petition with 200 000 names was handed to the government at the end of a protest against fur industry in Helsinki 2015 (Helsingin Sanomat 2015).

Petitions raised a lot of public discussion about fur farming, and dialogue between different actors was difficult to form because of conflicts of interests. For example, a working group established by The Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry was created to construct new regulations for fur farming in 2015. This working group consisted of representatives of specialists, fur industry, animal rights organizations and environmental NGO’s. Eventually the working group was disbanded as a consensus was not found on how to combine animal welfare and fur farming in such a way that it would be economically profitable (Helsingin Sanomat 2015).

Economic matters are central since Finland is Europe’s biggest producer of fox fur and 4th biggest producer of mink fur (Pickett & Harris, 2015: 11). In the year 2014 Finland bred 2.1 million minks (*Neovison vison*), 2.2 million foxes (*Vulpes lagopus*, *Vulpes vulpes*) and 134 000 raccoon dogs (*Nyctereutes procyonoides*) (Profur 2015a). Production is highly clustered to Ostrobothnia region in Western Finland, where 97% of fur farms are located (figure 1). In total there are 973 fur farms in Finland that employ directly c. 3000 persons and indirectly 1300 persons (Helsingin Sanomat 2013).

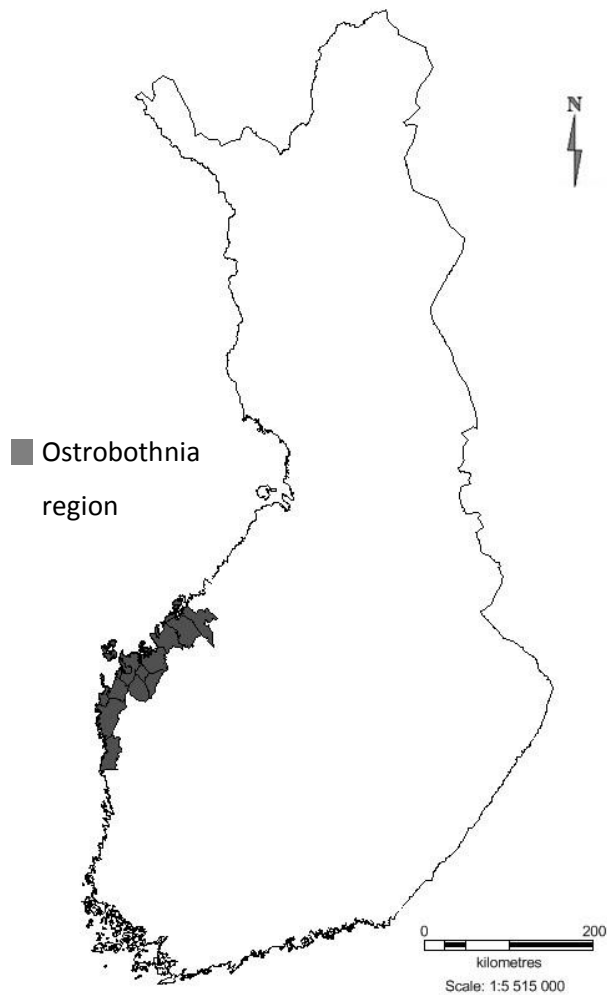


Figure 1. 97% of Finnish fur farms are located in Western coast of Finland in Ostrobothnia region.

Fur produced in Finland is sold mainly to other countries where it is being treated and processed for textile industries (figure 2). In Finland furs are sold in auctions that are organized by Saga Furs 4-6 times per year in Vantaa, Finland. Saga Furs is among the world’s biggest auction houses distributing fur to different suppliers such as international fashion and fur business. In years 2013-2014 their sales total on fur was 505.4 million euros (Saga Furs 2014).

The Finnish Union of Fur Farmers (STKL) has been funding a lot of research related to fur farming and fur animals. Turkistila – 2020 and Welfur - project were initiated to answer the modern-day challenges of farming (Luke 2016; Mononen 2012). There is also a large amount of research being

done by Finnish universities on farmed foxes, minks and finnraccoons (see for example Ahola 2009, 2001; Koistinen 2008).



Figure 2. Mink furs ready to leave the farm to be sold in the auction. Fur farm in Finland. (Lotte Suveri)

Some studies have been done on animal rights activism and fur farming in Finland but not directly related to values, as in this study. There is one ethnographic study *“The Finnish fur farmer impaled in social change”* (Karkinen 2009) that examines what kind of an institution a fur farm is and how the economic changes have affected it together with the campaigns of animal rights activists. Sipilä (2011) has examined the media strategy of animal rights organization *“Oikeutta Eläimille”* in their campaign against fur farming and Lappalainen (2010) touches on fur farming in his study *“Breaking the Traditional Style of Finnish Civic Activity”* by analysing how Finnish animal rights activism has changed the traditional style of civic activity in Finland. There is also a Swedish

study examining the political pressure on domestic fur farming created by the Swedish animal rights movement (Wahlström & Peterson 2006).

Central actors in fur farming discussion in Finland are different organizations concerned about animal welfare like Oikeutta Eläimille, Animalia, Sey (The Finnish Union for Societies for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals) and Suomen Luonnonsuojeluliitto (The Finnish Association for Nature Conservation). Fur industry consists of the Central Union for Producers (STKL) that was founded in 1928 and is lobbying and providing education (Turkistieto 2016). Fur Finland (Turkiskaupan liitto ry) is another organization representing the interests of fur businesses by cooperating with lawmakers and other societal actors and also with media, academics and different organizations (Turkiskaupan Liitto 2016).

2.1 Institutional regulations and recommendations on fur farming

This section is a short overview of different institutional regulations from national and international level that are controlling fur farming. The regulations inside the fur industry are also presented.

The Finnish law on protection of animals (Finlex 247/1996) creates a base for regulations followed by the animal industry. According to this law animals should be treated well and they should not face unnecessary suffering. It is also prohibited to bring unnecessary pain or distress to animals. Animal husbandry should promote the health of the animals and consider the physiological and species-specific behavioral needs. The environment where an animal is being kept should provide the needs of the specific animal species. Animals should get enough to eat and drink and receive treatment when needed. It is also prohibited to breed animals if it produces suffering or significant harm to the health of an animal. It is prohibited to keep wild animals if they are not caught for zoo keeping.

However there are practices in animal industry that conflict with the law on prevention of cruelty towards animals. For example inflicting unnecessary suffering is sometimes a decision of the farmer. In Finland male piglets can be castrated without anesthesia and calves can be polled (burning the beginning of the horn in order to stop the growth) also without anesthesia (Lappalainen 2014). These procedures are extremely painful for the animal but there exists only

recommendations to use painkiller or local anaesthetic. Also breeding regularly creates physical deformations that cause pain on farmed animals (Lundqvist 2014).

There are different authorities controlling the law on protection of animals (Finlex 247/1996). The Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry is the highest supervising authority. Finnish Food Safety Authority EVIRA is also guiding and supervising this law as well as the office of regional administration and local officials like communal vet and police, inspection vet and the inspector of prevention of cruelty to animals. The local officials have the right to make inspection checks on animal farms if there is reason to suspect animal right offences.

The law on protection of animals (Finlex 247/1996) and the regulation of prevention of the cruelty on animals (Finlex 7.6.1996/396) create a base for fur farming practices. However, fur farming is being regulated mainly through the regulation of The Finnish Council of State (VNa 1084/2011). The European Union has no regulations on welfare of fur animals (Aloitemuistio 2012) but the Council of Europe (CE) has given optional recommendations on the keeping of fur animals (Neuvoston direktiivi 98/58/EY, 93/119/EY, EY N: o 1099/20095) that relate to killing methods of fur animals.

The Advisory Board on the Welfare of Production Animals (Tuotantoeläinten hyvinvoinnin neuvottelukunta) functions under The Ministry of Agriculture in Finland. They give recommendations on animal welfare and species-specific behaviour of production animals. The board has classified different species-specific behavioural needs for production animals which include being able to move nutrition, rest and sleep, social behaviour, taking care of their body, temperature regulation, examination of the environment, playing, reproducing and taking care of the offspring.

The Advisory Board on the Welfare of Production Animals (Tuotantoeläinten hyvinvoinnin neuvottelukunta 2014) has listed how fur farmed species, foxes, minks and raccoon dogs, are behaving in nature. All of them move while searching for food, patrolling their territories and while searching new ones. Minks can swim and climb and hunt also in the water. Foxes can dig while searching for food. Minks, foxes and raccoon dogs rest 50-80% of the time. Foxes like to rest and sleep outside, preferably in places where they can see the surrounding environment

well. Minks like to rest in their nests and raccoon dogs prefer under bushes. Adult minks are solitary while foxes are socially flexible. Raccoon dogs are very sociable and can form lifetime partnerships and treat socially each other's furs. Minks, foxes and raccoon dogs are all using different kind of stimuli material throughout their lives. Stimuli refer to material such as these animals are using for building their nests or to play with.

The Advisory Board (Tuotantoeläinten hyvinvoinnin neuvottelukunta 2010) has listed what kind of research is needed in the different fields of animal production – according to them in fur farming there is a need to find innovative solutions for the farming environment such as finding alternatives between cage and ground bottoms.

Regulations inside the fur trade – certification and research

The fur trade uses a certification system and funds research related to fur farming. The Finnish Union of Fur Farmers (STKL) uses ISO 9001 – certification system based on accurate bookkeeping (STKL 2016). According to STKL the producer promises to keep a constant documentation that guarantees the traceability of product, helps reinforce good practices and note shortcomings (Profur 2015b). Participating is voluntary but already 91% of the farms are certified (Profur 2015b). According to STKL (2016) certified farms need to meet criteria regarding animal health and welfare, farming conditions, fodder service, breeding, environmental care, the hygiene of the farms, education and being prepared for emergencies. Certification is following also the pedigree of each animal (figure 3). Auditors are making inspections for farms and certification is given for a three-year period (STKL 2016).

The Finnish Union of Fur Farmers (STKL) has participated in research projects aiming to develop animal welfare and increase competitiveness of the fur products in the foreign markets (Profur 2015c). STKL participated in an international WelFur project in order to develop scientifically valid indicators for evaluating fur animal welfare (ProFur 2015). Based on the results of WelFur a national research project Turkistila 2020 – project (*engl. Furfarm 2020*) was initiated. Investing in animal welfare research was seen vital for the continuity of the trade.



Figure 3. Each animal's pedigree is being followed by certification document situated above the cages. Fur farm in Finland. (Lotte Suveri)

WelFur (The animal welfare project on fur-farmed species) was a research project that ended in 2012. The project was initiated by the European Fur Breeders' Association (EFBA) which is a European interest group consisting of 21 national fur breeders' associations. According to EFBA they work to "promote a realistic public image of European fur-farming based on openness and transparency" (EFBA 2016a) The focus of the WelFur-project was on establishing good welfare standards on European fur farms: "To promote a more scientifically based objective and transparent view on the status of animal welfare in our European fur farms" (EFBA 2016b). The project also created an European certification program, where a third-party is doing assessments (EFBA 2016a).

Turkistila 2020 – project utilized and tested the welfare measurements developed in WelFur project. It measured welfare of foxes and minks through WelFur standards and developed new ways to measure the welfare of finnraccoons in Finnish fur farms (Luke 2016). Aim of the project was to “*secure the employment of fur business through meeting the requirements of modern ethical animal production*” – to find ways to develop fur farming and animal welfare without risking the profitability of the trade (Luke 2016).

WelFur uses Welfare Quality® approach to specify animal welfare. The four principles are *good feeding* including absence of prolonged hunger and thirst, *good housing* including possibility for comforting rest, thermal comfort and ease of movement, *good health* including absence of injuries, disease and pain induced by management procedures and finally *appropriate behaviour* including expression of social and other behaviours, good human-animal relationship and positive state of mind.

3. Commodified animals shaping values and discourses in society

Using animals have shaped human societies throughout history. According to Peter Beatson, (2011) it has affected culture, traditions and values, human welfare and communities. It has also shaped politics and economy. Using animals as a resource has created economic growth in countless sectors in the society. There are many areas in the world where the regional economy is based merely on commodifying animals. Use of animals is based on human – animal relationship that is formed by different cultural definitions and images of how animals are considered. The relationship between humans and animals has been changing according to how humans have used animals. According to Beatson, (2011) after mankind began domesticating animals around 10 000 years ago this relation changed from mutual respect and spirituality towards seeing animals as resource, game or pets.

How animals are understood and defined has a fundamental effect on everyday actions in the society. Animals are used in countless ways as food, commodities, as a resource or pets and companion to humans. What is accepted and not is based on culturally learned values that often manifest as contradictory behavior such as a person can love animals and yet eat and wear them.

Joy (2011) names this kind of behavior as hidden and invisible ideology called carnism where animal use is considered normal, necessary and natural.

Understanding values behind the human – animal relationship is central in modern society. Using animals as a resource has lead, for example, into large scale environmental degradation (Cowspiracy 2014, Boggs 2011, Oppenlander 2001, Sage 2015), is endangering human health (Springmann et al. 2016) and causes remarkable greenhouse gas emissions (Goodland & Anhang 2009). Values form a base for human behavior and interaction – they affect how individuals interpret different situations and what kind of choices and actions are taken (Knafo et al. 2011). An individual understands values through discourses. Discourses are impressions of reality that are expressed through, for example, spoken or written word (Pietikäinen 2000, Remes 2006). Institutions are creating and sustaining values (Vatn 2005a). They are forming a base for values related to animals. The theory in this research observes the relation between values and animals in the society by focusing on how values related to animals are formed. This chapter's focus is on defining discourses and values. Values are presented more in detail through a theory of basic human values by Schwartz (1992) together with individual-level values. After this, the relationship between institutions and values is examined. National-level values affect society through institutional structures and shape values related to animals. Behind these values are different animal imageries that are constructed through speciesism and carnism. After the contemplation of values theory focuses on speciesism and analyzes how animal imagery is formed. Then there is a closer definition of carnism and of the psychological mechanisms supporting it. In the end there are examples of carnistic values and different views on animal ethics that show elements of carnistic thinking.

3.1 Discourses and values (in society)

Language is the base for discourses that sustain and create values. Discourses are present in the structures of society and in its practices. Discourses can be found, for example, in agency of the opinion leaders of the society (Aalto 2003b) and in institutional rules. The following chapter presents discourses and values.

Language has many dimensions at the same time: it can be used as a means of communication, through it representing the surrounding world becomes possible and it creates social relationships and identities (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004). Language can be seen as social behavior and a resource that constructs reality and it can be used in many ways and its use has many consequences (Mäntynen & Pietikäinen 2009). Discourse is created through language and it means a way to speak, to perceive, to understand and to accept certain phenomena (Aalto 2003b: 130). More generally discourse can be understood as an impression of reality that is produced by humans (Remes 2006: 331).

Discourses affect socially the surrounding world through spoken and written language (Pietikäinen 2000: 192–193). According to Foucault, (1969) discourse is a set of statements that build an understanding about certain phenomena. Discourses are more than just spoken or written collection of sentences – instead they are culturally shared relevance of speaking and thinking that have sociohistorical context where they are being produced. This context is defined by group of relation by allowing certain discourses and by forbidding others (Foucault 1969).

Jokinen et al. (1993:17-18) notes that discourses are based on different assumptions that relate to the ways of using language. Language is not reflecting reality instead it is actively building it. Different meanings of discourses are produced with language in a social interaction. Another assumption is that there are many competing systems of meaning (Jokinen et al. 1993: 24). According to this view the social reality is not consistent and things can be understood from different perspectives. For example, a single person can be a spouse or a mother or a representative of a certain profession or political party. Also discourses are always tied to a certain context that happens in time and place and is also connected to the actors who produce discourses. Discourses can include hidden assumptions of what is considered normal or natural which varies depending on culture and society (Jokinen et al. 1993). Through using language, an individual creates images of how he or she behaves as a moral actor – what he or she considers normal or strange and what he or she values.

Values are related to the way how an individual understands reality and they are important in defining personal importance and the reasons why something matters. An individual understands this through discourse. According to Barberio, (1997) values can be understood as desirable goals

and ways of living. He argues that *"values are multidimensional in the intensity at which they are held and the differences in their meaning to the individual"* (1997: 25). According to Albrecht, (2006) values emerge in ordinary life as judgments or points of view on behaviors and social problems. He defines values to be *"a set of principles or standards concerning the relative worth, utility, or importance of things and experiences"*.

According to Post, (2004) values are used to interpret how and why distinct realities matter, since humans tend to recognize the realities in the world that matter personally. According to him values are ideas, images and notions that attract us and offer us to find our own good in them. Post (2014: 2540) argues that *"Virtually everything we experience has valuative significance: objects, states of affairs, activities, processes, performances, relational networks, and so on"*.

Post (2004) points out that in the field of values exists a subset of moral values. According to Scheler, (1973) moral values form around different scales like personal identity and interpersonal relationships, and form the foundation of groups, associations, social institutions, whole societies and even the global community. Morality can be defined as *"a recognized code of conduct or set of ethical principles that guide actions and relationships, based on the difference between right and wrong"* (Park & Allaby 2013). Moral values are connected to development of sympathy, are constructed socially and culturally and have evolutionary aspect. Moral attitudes are constructed by personal preferences and also by cultural norms as moral issues are culturally normative and are causing social pressure on an individual to behave morally (Vauclair et al. 2015). Vauclair et al. (2015) It must be noted that culture also relates to morality in a few ways – cultural values can be socially desirable standards or have a positive such as being tied to hedonistic outcome.

Schwartz (1992) notes that there are many elements characterizing values: values can be understood as beliefs linked to emotions. They also refer to the goals individual see as appealing and thus motivate action. Values can also serve as standards to estimate policies, action, events and people and they can be formed hierarchically. Schwartz (1992) emphasizes, it is seldom that everyday value decisions are conscious, however all attitudes or actions are being guided by different values that constantly compete with each other.

3.2 Basic human values

Values exist on two main levels (Knafo et al. 2011). Individual-level values relate to motivational goals and affect how an individual perceives situations and choices. National-level values relate to a broader societal framework and affect, for example, societal institutions. In this chapter individual-level values are examined through Schwartz's (1992) theory of basic human values.

According to Knafo et al. (2011) values existing on an individual-level affect how an individual perceives and interprets different situations and what kind of preferences, choices and actions are taken. Individual-level values indicate motivational goals that guide how people explain their behaviour and judgement. These values are a unique product of every individual's social experience and dissimilar genetic heritage (Schermer et al. 2008, Knafo 2011). However, individual values cannot be totally disconnected from surrounding social and cultural context – every individual in a society has to adapt to cultural institutions and their norms and practices.

Understanding individual-level values can be done through a theory of Schwartz (1992) that has cross-cultural perspective on studying values. Schwartz identified 10 types of values that can be found in any society. Strong research evidence supports this theory (Knafo et al. 2011). These values can be presented in a square form (Figure 4) that shows how different values conflict and resemble each other (Cieciuch et al. 2015, Schwartz 1992). This structure can be understood also as a two-dimensional human value space (Fischer et al. 2011). In the following text the characters of this value space are described, as in Cieciuch et al. (2015), by dividing them in three different ways:

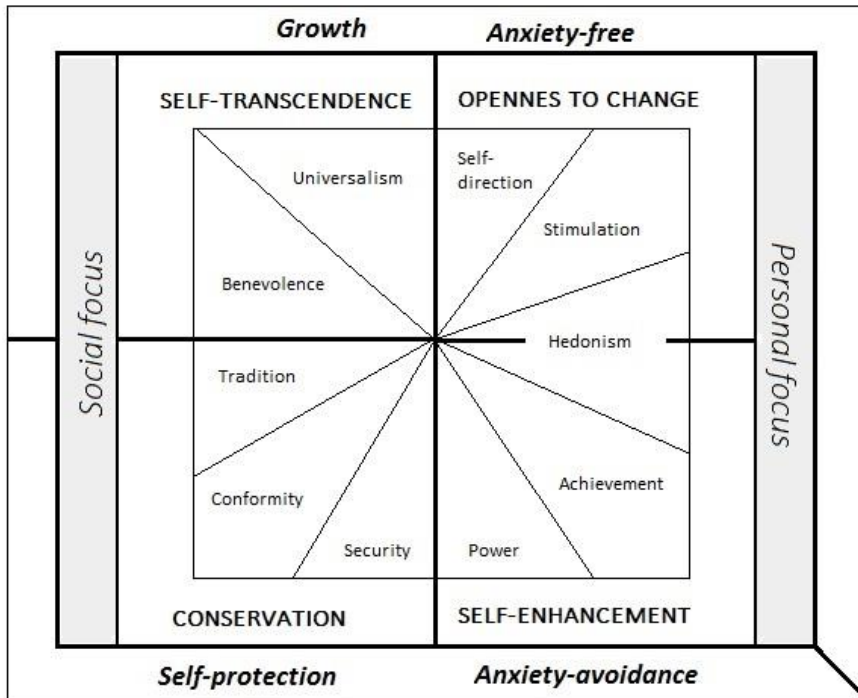


Figure 4. Theory of basic human values (adapted from Cieciuch et al. 2015).

Firstly, the square can be divided into four categories that place values under such dimensions as *conservation*, *self-enhancement*, *openness to change* and *self-transcendence*. Values next to each other are compatible motivationally (e.g., power, achievement, hedonism). One can also apply values that are next to each other in quarters in a single action (e.g., tradition, conformity and security can be pursued in religious rituals). The more distance values have between them the more dissimilar they are with each other. Motivationally opposite values are on the opposite side of the square (e.g., benevolence opposes power, achievement and hedonism) and an individual cannot hold opposing values at the same time.

Secondly, the square can be divided into two parts according to the interests different values serve. Values located on the left side of the square have a *social focus* that affects how an individual relates socially to other people and affects their interests. Values on the right side have a *personal focus* and describe how an individual expresses personal characteristics or interests. Thirdly, values can be divided according to their relation to *anxiety*: Values in the top half are

anxiety free and relate to *growth*. Values in the bottom half are related to *anxiety-avoidance* and *self-protection*.

According to Schwartz, (1999) the life circumstances have an effect on what kind of values an individual is pursuing or expressing. The individual's age, gender and education are shaping these circumstances. Highlighting different values can depend on how rewarding or costly they are in the social surrounding – people tend to modify their values to their life circumstances. According to Schwartz and Bardi, (1997) the importance of the values that are harder to pursue is downgraded. On the other hand values that are relevant to the individual's direct attention and perception – an individual tends to interpret situations through his or hers values by seeking value-relevant aspects from situations (Schwartz et al. 2000). It is common to experience value conflicts between *openness to change* and *conservation* values or between *self-transcendence* or *self-enhancement* values.

3.3 Institutions creating and sustaining values related to animals

National-level values can be understood as generally accepted, abstract ideas about what is desirable, good and right in a society (Williams 1970) and they are based on societal institutions. Institutions provide rules of the practices that affect the way animals are considered in a society. This chapter presents national-level values and their relation to institutions. Second part of this chapter focuses on the dynamics between institutions and values related to animals.

National-level values have developed in response to challenges faced by societies (Hofstede 2001, Schwartz 2007) and explain a significant amount of the variation in different policies, practices and societal rules between cultures (Knafo et al. 2011). National-level values are base of societal institutions. Institutions sustain values as they develop and reinforce norms, practices, rituals and symbols that reflect these values (Sagiv & Schwartz, 2007). Thus, personal-level values are also affected and shaped by different institutions, since individuals have to adapt to institutional systems such as of education, media, legal, governmental and market (Sagiv & Schwartz 2007).

According to Vatn, (2005a) institutions shape human behavioral patterns by influencing motivations of individuals. Institutions are present everywhere and they affect choices on

different levels of society. Scott (1995) defines an institution as something that brings meaning to socially constructed reality: *"Institutions consist of cognitive, normative, and regulative structures and activities that provide stability and meaning to social behavior. Institutions are transported by various carriers – cultures, structures, and routines – and they operate at multiple levels of jurisdiction"* (p. 33).

According to Vatn (2005a) institutions are often seen as so fundamental a part of everyday life that it is difficult to even notice them. In practice, institutions emerge in society as everyday choices through conventions, norms and externally sanctioned rules. North (1990) defines an institution as something that gives humans a code of behavior: *"Institutions are the rules of the game in a society or, more formally, are the humanly devised constraints that shape human interaction"* (p. 3).

According to the sociological definition, institutions are controlling human behavior because they provide readily accepted modes of behavior for members of the society – they can be considered as ways of thinking that are justifying courses of action (Ruonanvaara 2014). Institutions are part of the culture, consisting of meanings, symbols, conventions of thinking and behavior and unities of values and norms. Institutions often have written rules that define their norms and roles. Norms are conventions about how an individual is supposed to behave and can vary depending of the role of the individual (Ruonanvaara 2014). Social institutions are established conventions in certain social systems, groups, communities or societies and they fulfill important functions in societal life (Allardt 1981). A few examples of different institutions are the institution of marriage that regulates human relationships, the institution of religion that gives existential meaning to life, the democratic institution that governs society and market institutions that organizes economy. The economic system is most probably the most extensive of all institutions (Ruonanvaara 2014). According to Inglehart and Baker (2000), the development of the economic institution is connected to large scale cultural changes towards increasingly trusting, tolerant and rational postindustrial values. Many institutional rules of practice are based on economic values and protect the economic interest of different actors.

Bathelt & Glückler (2014) focus on defining institutions through economic action from the perspective of economic geography. They criticize that institutions are often vaguely defined as

rules, organizations or behavioral regularities. Instead according to them economic action as social action is guided by patterns of correlated interaction and mutual expectations that define the dynamics of institutions better.

Values and their relationship to institutions are presented in figure 5. Individual-level values are shaped by life circumstances such as age, gender and education and by the surrounded society. Universal structure of these values can be found in Schwartz's theory of basic human values where opposing values cannot be pursued at the same time. Individual-level values are guiding motivation, action and goals in a person's life. These values also direct choices and judgment in certain situations. Individual-level values transform into national-level values when they form habits and customs of everyday life - they are norms and codes of behavior on a cultural and societal level. These norms create a base for values in institutional structures. Institutions implement national-level values by regulations, legislation and rules and conventions and also reflect these values back to individuals through education, media and economy.

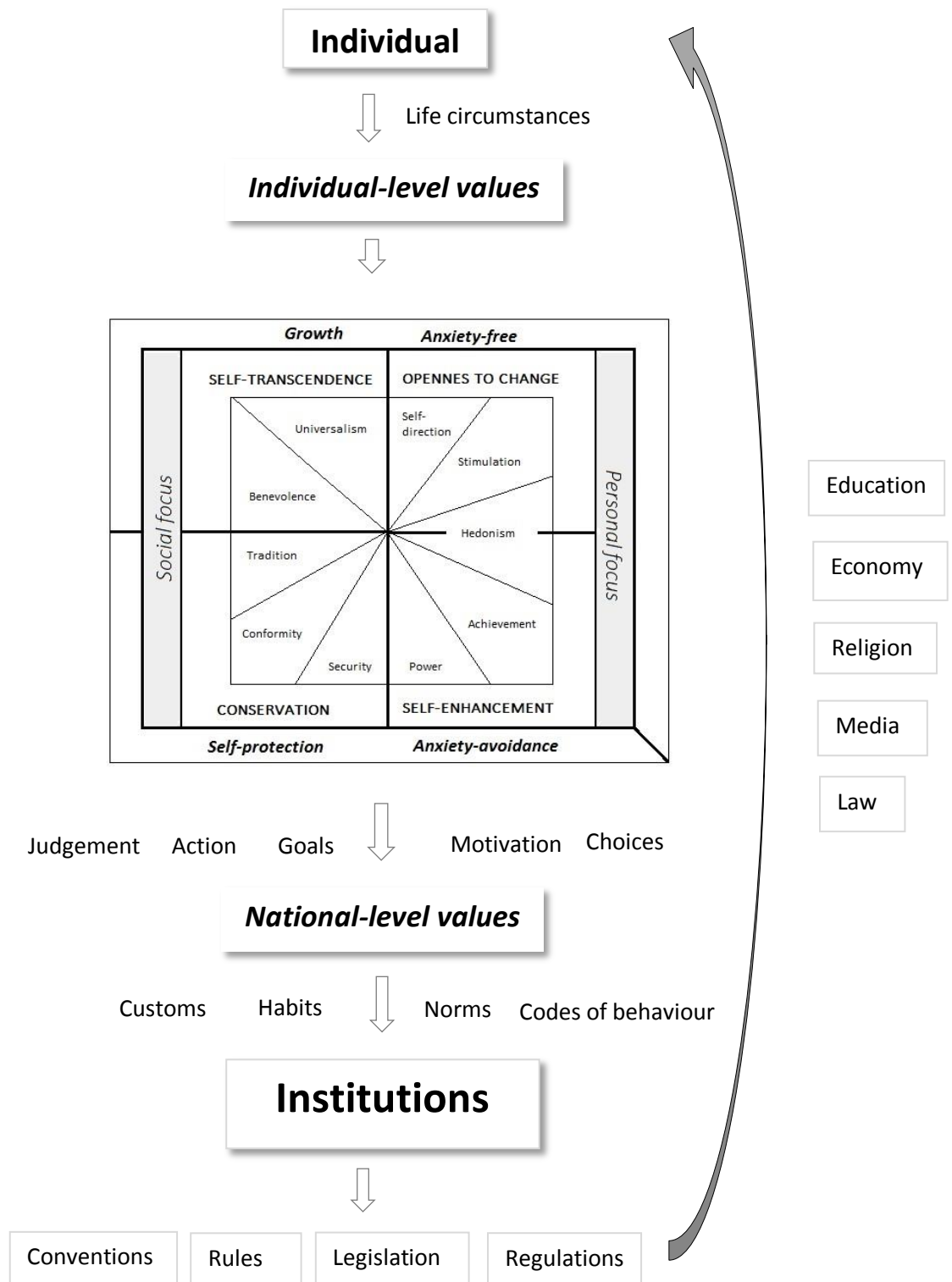


Figure 5. Values form a base for institutions that create and sustain values. (Adapted from Schwartz 1992; North 1990; Vatn 2005; Knafo et al. 2011; Cieciuch et al. 2015).

Institutions alienate responsibility

Institutions provide rules of practice through law, regulations and farming subsidies that affect the conditions of different animal species utilized by humans. Institutions are creating the societal framework of values that enable different conventions with animals. For example a zoo is an institution where animal keeping is regulated by different laws than in factory farming. However, same animal species can be on display in zoos and as units of production in factory farms. The institutional framework affects what kind of conditions animals are facing and how people consider them. In the following chapters, the dynamics of how institutions affect values is examined through the concepts of phenomenal dissociation and administrative violence, an analysis about whose interests are considered with animal welfare labels and finally Finnish consumers trust on institutions regulating animal welfare is examined.

Worthy (2008) argue that modern institutional structures lead to phenomenal dissociation. *Phenomenal dissociation* refers to the lack of direct sense based engagement with the consequences of every day actions. Institutions such as corporations and governmental agencies work as mediators between resource, nature and nonhuman nature. They alienate individuals from responsibility by distancing the possibly harmful consequences of their actions (Worthy 2008). Worthy (2008) reflects on the dynamics of phenomenal dissociation through Milgram's (1974) obedience studies. These studies were done in the field of social psychology and measured destructive obedience to authority. This was done through a research setting where a participant was commanded by an authority to give electric shocks to another person.

In the studies the proximity between the participant and the victim was the crucial factor on how much harm participants inflicted on the victim (Lüttke 2004). When a victim's suffering is abstract and lacking visual, auditory or kinesthetic cues, it obscures the empathic responses which might be unpleasant by giving a more complete understanding of the victim's situation. Other aspects reaffirming phenomenal dissociation related to the lack of reciprocity such as having an eye contact with the victim, lack of individual's understanding of the consequences of his or her actions for the victim and the spatial relationships such as closeness of an authority affected how much suffering was inflicted on the victim by the participant (Worthy 2008, Milgram 1965).

Meeus and Raaijmakers (1986, 1995) also figured that an individual can cause significant harm to the victim if he or she is receiving commands through administrative authority. Obedience to authorities is high when it is generated through administrative means – this kind of “psychological-administrative violence” is a characteristic of modern Western societies (Meeus & Raaijmakers 1986) and is connected to an individual’s positive attitude towards social institutions (Meeus & Raaijmakers 1995).

Worthy (2008) argues that cultural norms and institutions have the authoritative power in a society that is comparable to the authority configuration in Milgram’s studies: *“Placing trust in authority-wielding modern institutions, individuals comply by carrying out acts they know to result harms”* (2008: 162). According to Worthy, (2008) individuals transfer responsibility of their agency to modern institutions that propagate these consequences into the physical and social spheres.

Phenomenal dissociation can be connected to animal production as well – institutions alienate consumers from farmed animals and obscure the environmental and ethical concerns related to the production. Worthy (2008) notes, how in the United States the remoteness and secrecy of the facilities that process meat prevents consumer from getting any kind of phenomenal encounters with the lives and deaths of animals. Also a good example of how individuals apply administrative violence can be found in slaughter house practices. A slaughter house gives an institutional framework for killing and commodifying animals.

Common values related to animals are changing. This was seen in the previous years as increasing public concern for animal welfare and in the outcome that animal industries have created animal welfare labels (Pirscher 2016). In practice this means that the consumer is given a chance to affect animal welfare through his or her willingness to pay for a certain product. Markets can be seen as transforming animal welfare into calculable commodity (Buller & Roe 2012). Pirscher (2016) argues that the motivation of the animal industries to create these options is mostly economic, as labels are aiming to maintain or increase the markets of the product by giving options for consumers concerned for animal welfare. Thus, scientific standards and standards of retailers about animal welfare are not necessary similar.

The market as an institution is governing the choices of individuals (Vatn 2005b) through defining the set from which to choose by giving different product options (Bromley 2006). This places the responsibility for animal welfare on a personal choice (Pirscher 2016). Above all institutions define distribution of property rights which is fundamentally a moral question about whose interests count and who's don't (Bromley 2006). Labels mostly redefine the property rights of humans - animals retain the status of property while new possibilities for income open up for farmers (Pirscher 2016).

A study by Jokinen et al. (2012) points out that compared to other European countries Finnish people have the highest trust on the institutions taking care of animal welfare in food production and thus concern for animal welfare is relatively low. According to them, *"Finland seems to be also an extreme case among the EU25 countries concerning trust in animal welfare legislation"* (2012:108). Habitual and policy-generated trust are the base building blocks of institutional trust (Bildtgård 2008). Habitual trust refers to the presumption that events have certain continuity and keep occurring as they have before. A subcategory of habitual trust is policy-generated trust that refers to the knowledge that institutions are a regulating society, which allows individuals to feel relaxed about dealing with other people. Jokinen et al. (2012) notes that as food production systems have become very complex and involve many actors, it distances consumer from the producer. This distance is common in all animal production industries and a significant factor related to concern for animal welfare. The consumer feels a lack of knowledge related to production and gives responsibility about animal welfare to public authorities and institutions (Jokinen et al. 2012).

The high trust in authorities can be connected to the rural characteristics of the country and late urbanization of the Finnish society – even nowadays only 65% of the population lives in urban areas (Hanell & Lähteenmäki-Smith, 2006). Jokinen et al. (2012) note how urban people have the tendency to be more concerned for animal welfare compared to rural people. According to Kendall et al. (2006) this can be an outcome of the lack of direct dependency on animals for livelihood. Also vegans and vegetarians were found to feel a lack of trust on authorities, while people consuming animal products regularly possessed a high trust on authorities (Jokinen et al. 2012).

Institutions are affecting the way an individual considers animals. Institutions place different species in different categories (e.g., zoo animals, farmed animals, free-ranged or organic animals) and create a framework of practices that are allowed regarding certain animal categories. Institutions work as mediators between animal production and consumers, which obscures the consequences of an individual's actions causing phenomenal dissociation and a feeling of lacking responsibility. Animal welfare labels and trust on the institutions responsible for regulating animal welfare reflect how the responsibility of an individual's actions is given to institutions and thus the individual is protected from thinking further ethical aspects of the production. This can affect the values related to animals by creating new means of justifying their consumption. Also Pirscher (2016) criticises especially the animal welfare labels because they can be seen as "*relief from further political steps*". Animal welfare labels are a popular political instrument since they are easy to implement and they release governments from domestic political pressure of responsibility for animal welfare.

3.4 Speciesism and animal imagery

Speciesism is an ideology affecting fundamental values that are related to animals. Also, animal imagery is directing how different animals are conceptualized. Animal imagery is constructed, by discourses and categorization. This chapter presents the relation between speciesism and animal imagery.

According to Peter Singer (1975) speciesism is an ideology where countless animal species are sacrificed to satisfy human purposes. It can be defined as "*the unjustified disadvantageous consideration or treatment of those who are not classified as belonging to a certain species*" (Horta 2009). Speciesism is a largely accepted belief that allows treating members of certain species as morally more important than members of other species. For example, in Western culture dogs are treated morally different than pigs based on the species they belong to. Speciesism can be compared to racism, because both of them are based on prejudices regarding appearance – different looking individuals can be closed outside of a moral behavior (Ryder 1989).

According to speciesism, individuals cannot be seen belonging to the moral system if they do not belong to the *Homo sapiens* species (Regan 1985). This is, to say that being a human is enough a reason to have morally more rights than other animals have. The premise is that certain actions can't be directed towards an individual who has moral rights. Since most members of other species do not have moral rights, it is acceptable to do morally unpleasant actions on to them, such as abusing, torture and killing (Zamir 2007).

To understand speciesism it is central to interpret concepts regarding animals that are often constructed around *animal imagery* which "*consist of what we understand the animal to be like*" (Aaltola 2006). These concepts are based on humanity's understanding of reality, typical for each epoch of time. According to Aaltola (2004) our images about animals are socially and culturally constructed. Media, cinema and science are building animal imagery not based on reality. She uses a bear as an example: even though a bear is an actual animal living in Finland its true nature is unknown to humans. How a bear is perceived exists only as a culturally constructed image in the human mind. Aaltola (2004) emphasizes how objective understanding of an animal is impossible. However, it is possible to comprehend animals better through analyzing how the imagery regarding them is formed.

Many things have shaped the current animal imagery. Natural sciences and physical reality are the starting point of the human – animal relationship (Ratamäki 2009: 38–39). The biological features and species specific characteristics of animals have affected how they are treated and used. In addition to biology, cultural history, societal context and individual experiences and ideas about animals are shaping the animal imagery. (Hirvonen 2014).

In the western society the relationship with nature has been traditionally dualistic (Valkonen 2010). A dichotomy between humans and animals has been considered as fundamental as the division between nature and culture. This dualism is based on a hierarchy where humanity is located on the highest level – humans are considered as the most developed beings compared to other animals (Aaltola 2004). This hierarchy has been used to justify prerogative power over animals (Arluke & Sanders 1996).

Different discourses are often used to create psychological distance from animals and this facilitates their exploitation (Adams 2000, Dunayer 2000). Also Aaltola (2004) emphasizes the aspect of language. The uniqueness of humans is expressed through terminology related to individuality - when talking about animals plural sense is used, putting all species under the same generic term. However, it is normal to talk about humans as their own species, highlighting humans as individuals while animals are considered as beings without their own perspective. When animals are not considered as individuals it is easier to reject their mental capacity and thus justify their consumption. Bastian et al. (2011) found out in their study that less mental capacity is given to animals considered appropriate for human consumption than to other animals. Denying the mind is reducing negative affect associated with dissonance. This dissonance comes from, among other things, liking to eat meat but being reluctant to harm things that have minds.

Part of the animal imagery is to categorize animals according to their use-value to humans (Aaltola 2006). According to Beatson (2011) animals are categorized according to whether they live inside or outside the human communities. Animals considered outside human communities are wild animals that can be seen as resource, game or pests. Inside the human communities are mostly domesticated animals which are categorized as production animals that can be seen as a resource as well. These kinds of animals are emotionally neutral. For example fur farmed animals are living inside human communities. Many farms are located alongside homes where farmers and their families are living. However the relationship to fur animals is emotionally neutral since they are seen as resource. The closest to humans are animals that are accepted as family members such as pets to which humans form emotional bond. This kind of categorization is affecting the moral value given to animals. A study by Bratanova et al (2011) found that animals categorized as food were thought to be less sensitive to pain and given less moral value than to other animals.

Speciesism justifies a large variety of uses for animals. This use is normally based on culturally accepted customs of commodifying animals. Textile industries are a good example of speciesism, since only certain species are used for wool or fur production. These species are valued according to the material they naturally produce that is found economically profitable.

3.5 Carnism – the ideology behind animal consumption?

This chapter presents a theory about carnism which was created by Melanie Joy, a social psychologist and a vegan activist. Even though Joy (2015) is presenting carnism mainly as “the psychology of eating meat” the dynamics of carnism can be extended not just into eating animals but also to the use of other animal products as well.

Speciesism creates a base for carnistic culture. According to Joy (2010), carnism is an invisible belief system that conditions people into eating certain animals. It is the opposite of veganism. “*Carn*” means *flesh* or *from the flesh* and “*ism*” refers to a belief system. Carnism is an ideology based on the dominant culture and reinforced by social norms. Joy (2010) emphasizes that as carnism is not anymore necessary for human survival it is a choice that originates from belief.

One of the most known definitions for ideology is that it represents a so called wrong awareness. Typical for ideology is that it is invisible and that individuals inside the ideology are unaware of its existence. Ideology is regarded as natural and justified by “reality”. However, it is always a matter of choice based on values (Tarasti 2004). According to Althusser, (1971) ideologies are essential for every society, because through ideologies individuals learn dominant norms and rules of behavior. Ideology is a cultural and mental mechanism that makes a subject experience himself as a free actor while being all the time directed by the ideology (Seppänen 2005).

According to Joy (2010) universal values are normally seen as reflections of the mainstream way of life but what are considered normal are actually the beliefs and behaviors of the majority. This is why it is easier to name ideologies that exist outside of the mainstream like veganism and feminism. According to Joy the mainstream ideologies stay vital because they are invisible and unnamed. The carnistic ideology can be defined as violent, another typical feature is low awareness due to invisibility of the system. Modern meat industry slaughters every year, according to the minimum estimations, around 55 billion land animals (Sage 2015) and catches 2-3 trillion marine animals (Mood & Brooke 2010). According to estimates by FurFreeAlliance (2016) around 80 million minks and foxes were killed for fashion in the year 2014. Even though eating animals and consuming animal products is everyday behavior in the carnistic culture, most people have never seen the consumed animal when it was still alive. Factory farming is enabling

the invisibility of this large scale mass production where most of the animals are raised in concentrated animal feeding operations (=CAFO's).

Leder (2012) is opening up the paradigmatic structures behind factory farms by dividing them into anthropocentric, capitalistic and mechanistic structures. According to him, the Western tradition is characterized as anthropocentric, meaning that human beings are seen as having unique significance and nonhumans as only having instrumental value serving human needs. This justifies the placing of animals as a resource for capitalism, where they became part of the mechanism of a factory farm as a unit of production. Also highly mechanized ways of production facilitate fast mass production (Leder 2012). Leder (2012) points out that maximizing yield in CAFO's leads into cruel practices such as converting the genetic stock of the farmed animals, manipulating and accelerating their growth while minimizing losses through use of antibiotics, dietary supplements and mutilations.

Hudson (2011) ties spatiality to the invisibility of the factory farm systems by pointing out how urban isolation from animals has affected human relations with nature and animals, for example by moving the slaughter houses outside the city centers so that animal suffering would be invisible. Not just slaughter houses but also factory farms are often isolated from human habitats. Rothgerber (2014) points out that the physical isolation of factory farms supports the observation of Bandura's (1999) that taking part in harming others is easier when their suffering is not being seen. Also Hudson (2011) reflects on how the human – animal relationship has been shaped by the spatial relationships of capitalism. She emphasizes that when nature is seen through capitalistic values the relationship to animals is determined by how scarce the specie is or to what human purposes different species are used.

Institutions of a capitalist economy support carnism. According to Joy, (2010) other institutions that support legitimized practices of carnism and speciesism are education, religion, law and politics. Jacques Derrida's (1995) thoughts about animal consumption also support carnism. He names a logic where death, sacrifice and consumption of animals are seen as natural, vital and essential to life as *carnophallogocentrism* that creates a "natural" basis of politics, law and morality.

3.6 The psychology of consuming animals

There are many ways to avoid thinking of the suffering or violence towards animals caused by consumer choices. According to Rothgerber, (2014) this avoidance has established a cultural norm instead of a personal strategy. This section will give an overview of some of the strategies individuals have constructed to cope with the contradictions of human – animal relationships in the carnistic society when it comes to consuming animal products. These include psychological mechanisms like cognitive dissonance and psychic numbing which support the carnistic schema.

According to Joy, (2010) carnism is shaping the way we understand reality by affecting the mental classification systems called schemata. Schema can be understood as a psychological framework that organizes present knowledge about the world and is guiding behavior and cognitive processes (Michalak 2011). According to Gilstrap & Laub (2005) schemata develop in early childhood and affect almost every aspect of behavior. Schemata can be social roles, stereotypes and worldviews – an individual interprets and organizes new information and present that information to oneself according to schemata (Michalak 2011, Joy 2010).

Joy (2010) emphasizes how humans are not born with certain kind of schema that on the contrary it is partly built by belief systems and by the surrounding culture. Carnistic schema protect individuals from feeling unpleasant feelings while eating animals or using animals products by classifying animals into different categories (Joy 2010) such as edible/non-edible, domesticated, farm-animals, game or- fur-animals etc. Categorization depends on cultural norms. In India cow is a holy animal and in Korea dogs are eaten regularly when in Finland cows are eaten and dogs kept as pets. In the Western culture there are only around twelve species justified to be eaten and used in food production, even though there are millions of animal species suitable for eating (Gibert & Desaulniers 2013).

According to Joy (2010) carnistic schemata blur the missing link, the perceptual process, between an animal product and the living animal. The schemata is blocking the empathy felt for other living being and perhaps makes the individual lose the sense of disgust when confronted with, for example, raw body parts of animals. This happens because values and behaviors collide – a person can love animals and still wear and eat them. The block in the perceptual process can be

understood better through the dynamics of cognitive dissonance, which can be understood as a mechanism keeping a certain schema unchanged.

Cognitive dissonance refers to a situation that includes conflicting attitudes, beliefs or behavior for an individual (McLeod 2008). This situation can lead to feelings of discomfort. The tendency to seek cognitive consistency is normal behavior for human beings, so an individual has three options – to change their behavior, to change the way of thinking or selectively collect information or opinions that support old behavior (Festinger 1957). The last option is common since it is difficult to change learned behavior or cognition.

In carnistic culture cognitive dissonance is related to animal consumption. In the western society an individual can believe that raising a dog in a cage and killing it for food is wrong. However this kind of treatment is justified for animals categorized as farm animals. Loughnan et al. (2014) call this kind of controversial thinking and behavior as the “meat-paradox”, where a person can care about animals and eat them. According to Joy, (2015) carnistic culture is encouraging to ignore this paradox. This leads to cognitive dissonance where individuals rationalize animal consumption in a way that support carnistic behavior.

The following studies underpin the connection between consuming animals and the ways to reduce cognitive dissonance. Joy (2010) emphasizes how the rationalization of animal consumption includes objectification, deindividualization and dichotomization of animals. Bratanova et al. (2011) also suggest that categorizing animals as food helps close them outside moral consideration. Loughnan et al. (2014) examines how perceiving animals as very different from humans and as seeing them lacking mental qualities support meat-eating. Also Rothgerber (2014) figured out different strategies omnivores use to reduce cognitive dissonance regarding animal consumption. These include avoidance of information about animal production, pro-meat justifications relying on taste, hierarchy and religion, reducing perceived choice by believing meat to be a necessity for survival, denial of animal pain and denial of the animal mind. Also Bastian et al. (2011) found an existing tendency to deny the mind of animals used for human consumption. Piazza et al. (2015) point out that common rationalizations people use for justifying eating meat were based on claims of it being natural, normal, necessary and nice.

Joy (2010) remarks that cognitive dissonance prevents humans from identifying with animals thus leading them to feel less empathy, which is the base for a sense of morality. She concludes that carnistic culture is enforcing individuals to disconnect mentally and emotionally from their experience to help cope with the violence. This psychological process is called psychic numbing. According to Lifton (1974), it is an adaptive strategy for individuals to cope in extreme social conditions like genocide and situations of excessive violence. Psychic numbing happens through de-sensitization. Also, Rothgerber (2014) suggest that information about animal production could be too overwhelming and thus possibly cause psychic numbing.

3.7 Carnistic values

There are some studies conducted about values of vegans, vegetarians and omnivores. Findings are supportive of Joy's (2011) theory about carnism. This chapter presents values that are connected to consumption of animal products and thus seem to be central in carnistic culture, as eating animals seems to affects general values. In the end of this chapter a contemplation of how these values are formed and transferred is done through the concept of indoctrination.

According to Appadurai (1986), food has a wide range of "regimes of value" They can vary from material and nutritional into political, economic and even symbolic (Lavis et al. 2013). Allen (2000) and Ruby (2012) note how especially meat has socially constructed value, including symbolic meanings that are often gendered. Red meat particularly has been associated with power and masculinity and vegetable, fruits and grains with weakness and femininity (Allen 2000). Meat can also be seen as a symbol of environmental control and human domination over nature (Fiddes 1989, Twigg 1979).

Allen (2000) found out in his study that omnivores had a tendency towards social domination and right-wing authoritarianism. They also valued self-control, rationalism and masculinity. Omnivore values were also associated with conservatism (Ruby 2012). A study by Dhont and Hodson (2013) supports Allen's (2000) findings. The connection between social dominance and right-wing authoritarianism is connected to the attitudes toward seeing animals as objects for human consumption - right-wing ideologies endorse a higher approval of animal exploitation and meat-

consumption. This is explained through the omnivore belief of human superiority over animals and resistance to cultural change (Dhont & Hodson 2013).

Vegetarians and vegans on the other hand seem to prefer values such as equality, peace and social justice and also value their emotional stages (Allen 2000). Also compared to omnivores vegetarians seem more likely to have altruistic values (Dietz 1995), to be more liberal (Ruby 2012), to support anti-violence (Hamilton 2006) and to have a "more positive state of mind" (Beezhold 2010, Dwyer 1974). As meat-eaters value masculinity, it is not surprising that vegetarianism seem to be more common among women than men (Smart 1995, Worsley & Skrzypiec 1998). Indeed the perception of meat being mainly men's food is found across the world in many cultures (Ruby 2012).

Consuming animal products seems to have an effect on values also by influencing an individual's capacity to feel empathy. According to Preylo and Arikawa (2008), vegetarians had more human-directed empathy compared to omnivores. Also Filippi et al. (2010) found that ethical vegetarians and vegans had more activity in the empathy-related areas in the brain compared to omnivores.

Tuttle (2005) points out how commodifying animals has formed a base for human values by changing them towards inequality and violence. According to him, domestication of animals required violent and oppressive means to be used for wild animal herds to be bred and used for human purposes. With time these means became established as the base for common values. Shipman (2011) also points out how economic and cultural change happened through domestication. This affected the ethical framework of societies (DeMello, 2012: 84-98).

Biases related to animals seem to lead towards inequality between humans. Dhont et al. (2014) found that speciesism can be connected with negative attitudes towards ethnic outgroups. Seeing humans as superior to animals and remarkably different from them is central in evaluating outgroups such as immigrants and blacks negatively (Costello & Hodson 2012, Hodson et al. 2013). Children might develop racial prejudice through learning to treat animals in speciesist ways (Hodson & Costello 2012). According to Tuttle (2005) and Singer (1975), early childhood indoctrination has a key role in teaching speciesist values to children.

Indoctrination means teaching something that is believed to be true (Honderich 2005). Indoctrination can happen unconsciously or consciously in a way which prevents the critical evaluation of the topic by students. This can happen, for example, if a teacher is an authority that cannot be questioned by students due to his or her position (Honderich 2005). According to Singer (1975) when children learn speciesism, the eating of animals is in a key role - children are encouraged to love their pets and at the same time finish their plate of meat. However many children naturally resist eating animals and often need to be persuaded by their parents to do so (Singer 1975). Rothgerber (2014) points out that this moral discrepancy of speciesism has existed already a century ago, citing Isaacs (1930): “there is probably no moral field in which the child sees so many puzzling inconsistencies as here” (cited as in Rothgerber 2014: 32).

3.8 Carnism and views on animal ethics

Carnistic values form a base for anthropocentric views on animal ethics such as animal welfarism and utilitarianism. Animal welfarism is representing predominant paradigm that shapes the moral and legal obligations to nonhuman animals (Francione 2012). According to the animal welfare position, animals can be used by humans as long as they are treated “humanely” and don’t experience “unnecessary” suffering (Francione 2010). According to Guy Cook (2015), the animal welfarism is connected to anthropocentric views of human exceptionalism where humans are given a higher moral worth and more rights than animals. Common to anthropocentric views is that they are speciesist - the starting point of moral and ethical reasoning is human life rather than a free-standing moral reality (O’Neill 1997).

Anthropocentrism uses many justifications for using animals for human benefit. Religions such as Christianity and Islam claim humans to be superior over animals (Genesis 1:27-29, Ruthven 1997). Qualitative differences of humans compared to animals such as uniqueness of a language (Pinker 1994) and human rationality, self – consciousness and culture is seen to justify human superiority over animals (Aaltola 2004). Evolution serves as a reason as well. According to the anthropocentric view, the human is seen as the highest form of evolution when animals are still in the world of biology and senses (Aaltola 2004) – according to the welfarist view, animals are not self-aware; they live in an eternal present and have no interest in continuing to live (Francione

2010). Consuming animals is also seen as normal, natural and necessary (Joy 2010, Piazza et al. 2015).

The base of moral reasoning is central when considering the moral value of animals. The anthropocentric view argues that the starting point of a moral value can be found in biological features like accepting being human as a value in itself, or in the complexity of mind compared to animals. *The argument from marginal cases* offers criticism for this approach (Aaltola 2004, Arneson 1999, Dombrowsky 1997): Regan (1985) argues that the ability to think on an abstract level can't be the base for moral rights. Some mentally retarded humans and babies have less intellectual capacity than certain grown animals. If some feature is a premise for moral value, then logically all the beings that have it should have moral rights which is not the case with regard to animals (Regan 1985).

Thoughts of human superiority relying on biology and evolution face *the escalator fallacy* (Midgley 2002). It refers to forgetting the common history with other animals. Humans have developed in a continuum from other species and have many physical similarities to them – it would be then irrational to deny their mental capacities (Aaltola 2004). According to Darwin's theory of evolution, the differences between animal and human minds are a matter of degree, not of kind (Francione 2010). However, the capacity of animal minds has been denied through a psychological approach called behaviourism. This denial of animal consciousness has had moral implications that affect animal use in agriculture and scientific research today (Rollin 2006).

One way the behaviouristic view has affected the animal research is that the recognition of the cognitive skills of animals is considered to be anthropomorphist where human attributes are given to animals (Aaltola 2006). Aaltola (2004) emphasizes how most animal studies have forgotten the animal perspective and the abilities searched for in animals have been anthropocentric. Also, research is often done in a laboratory environment where bare and unnatural environment can hinder the development of an individual. Aaltola (2004) reflects on this with a thought experiment: If we were to study the mental capacity of a human who had been born and raised only in a room without stimulation and separated from other humans would the results be reliable? Animals should be studied in their natural habitats taking into

consideration their species-specific behaviour. Examples of this kind of research can be found in the field of cognitive etology (see for example Griffin 2001).

The way of understanding animal minds seems to be central in how much moral value is given to them. Like Donald Griffin (2001), a researcher of animal mentality, puts it: *“Our ethical judgements about how we should treat members of other species are strongly influenced by what we believe about their consciousness”* (2001:ix). According to the research done so far, it is reasonable to claim that animals possess many kinds of mental abilities. According to their brain physiology, animals are capable of feeling emotions (Panskepp 2000). Griffin also notes that recent studies of animal minds indicate that animals are capable of intentional behaviour and being self-aware at some levels. *“The Cambridge Declaration on Consciousness”* (Low 2012) made by a neuroscientist also suggests that animals possibly have complex mental capabilities like consciousness: *“Consequently, the weight of evidence indicates that humans are not unique in possessing the neurological substrates that generate consciousness. Nonhuman animals, including all mammals and birds, and many other creatures, including octopuses, also possess these neurological substrates.”* (Low 2012)

However, as there is still a lot that is unknown about the animal cognition, maybe a better starting point for ethical reasoning would be the similarities between humans and animals like the capacity to experience pain and pleasure. Jeremy Bentham captures this in the following: *“the question is not, Can they reason? nor, Can they talk? but, Can they suffer?”* (1948: 310-11). Griffin on the other hand considers what this would possibly in in practice:

“This leads to further and difficult question of degree to which particular animals suffer when treated in various ways. It is customary to assume that mammals and birds are more deserving of sympathetic treatment than fishes of insects. And even the most extreme advocate of animal rights is unlikely to mourn the extinction of the smallpox virus.” (2001: 267).

So to what degree of suffering to draw a line and what kinds of beings would then belong to the moral community? Trees and plants are living too and might be able to suffer at some level, should they have moral rights? Francione (2010) points out that the line could be draw in the ability to be sentient, which means to experience, feel or perceive life subjectively and thus to

have a consciousness that can be defined as being able to feel what is happening (Damasio 1999). According to Francione (2010) all sentient beings have the interest to live, this is why they are harmed by death and have the right to continue existing.

Utilitarianism, which can be seen as the least speciesist of anthropocentric positions, also supports taking sentience as criterion for moral standing (O'Neill 1997). However, according to utilitarianism the morally right action is the one that will bring the most benefit or "the greatest good for greatest number" (Singer 1975). How the greatest good can be measured? John Stuart Mill (1987) argues that humans are in a higher being of existence and experiencing life in more valuable ways than animals that "*it is better to be a human being dissatisfied than a pig satisfied*" (1987:281) and so human benefit will outweigh that of animals. However, Singer (1975) emphasizes that interests – like the interest to live or to have a good life – should be objective bases for moral and thus can't depend on the identity or species. To say that human interests are more important than those of animals faces *the argument for marginal cases* and struggles to reason *why* humans are more valuable than animals (Aaltola 2004). According to the argument for marginal cases if the moral value of animals is denied relying on the lack of certain capacity such as rationality this would logically lead into a situation where the moral value of many human beings such as babies or persons who are mentally deficient be denied as well. Regan (1985) criticises utilitarianism, as according to him, moral value can't depend on numbers. Instead he suggests that all individuals who are *subjects of a life* – that is, experiencing life having intentional behaviour and emotions - have *inherent value* which means that their value doesn't depend on their use for others. Regan (1985) underlines that to be *subject of a life* gives all animals natural moral rights and thus they must not be harmed or killed. According to this view some might claim that a rabbit has the right not to be eaten by a fox (Scruton 1996). Would this moral right mean that humans should interfere in the cycle of nature? According to Regan, (1985) if an individual understands the nature of morality he or she has the obligations to act according to it. A fox or a rabbit is not such a moral actor and thus is not obligated to act morally. However a fox and a rabbit can have moral rights - similarly like Somali girls can have the right not to be circumcised even if they would not be aware of this right (Aaltola 2004).

Recognising the moral value of animals would evidently lead to conflicts of interests. In this case, in which situations should the human interests be taken into consideration and in which those of animals? Aaltola (2004) concludes that the base for this kind of consideration should be in welfare and in necessity. Regan, Singer and Rowlands (1998) emphasize that we cannot harm the primary interests of animals when we want to satisfy our own secondary interests. From this kind of view a cow's interest to stay alive outweighs the human culinary interests to eat a steak. Yet if the only means for survival would require hunting and eating an animal then it would be acceptable – humans can only harm the primary interests of animals if it is necessary for satisfying their primary interests (Aaltola 2004). In sum according to this animal right advocacy view, harming animals is justified when primary interests of humans like staying alive is threatened. This view is notably different from current practices.

As mentioned before, the main paradigm shaping the conventions towards animals in the western world – the welfarist position - argues that animals can be used by humans as long as they are treated “humanely” and do not experience “unnecessary” suffering (Francione 2010). The “suffering” seems to be difficult to define, as Sollund (2008) notes on factory farm practices: *“the line between legitimate harm and animal abuse seems not to have been properly established. The question is when this treatment is harm?”* Francione (1995) notes that the “humane” way or measuring “necessary” suffering mostly supports the economically efficient ways to use animals and is protected by animal welfare laws. Also, according to David Cassuto (2007), economic yield is determining the factory-farm conditions and the laws regulating the industry offer only a bit of protection to farmed animals. Evaluating interests happens through capitalism and is not based on morally logical arguments.

From the carnistic position, the most radical alternative for the prevailing paradigm can be found in the animal rights movement that tries to establish natural rights for other species (Beers 2006). According to Wrenn (2013), the current situation of domesticated animals can be compared to slavery of humans, since both ideologies share similar qualities like being discriminatory - slaves had a subhuman label and property status and their personhood was ignored and the same features are given to animals at present. Slavery was supported by economical, political and ideological structures of the time just like factory-farming is nowadays (Wrenn 2013). Animals

can be seen as “primary” workers in factory farms (Leder 2012). According to Linzey (2009), this is justified by seeing animals as soulless beings, not as moral agents, as non-rational, linguistically deficient and naturally subordinate and slave-like beings. Some people find it offensive to compare oppressed groups like blacks to animals. However, Spiegel points out that this “ - - is offensive only to speciesist: one who has embraced the false notions of what animals are like” (1996:30).

4. Materials, methods and research ethics

The main method used in this research is Q-methodology. It is an interview method used to find shared attitude structures from a well selected sample of participants. According to O’Neill & Nicholson-Cole (2009), Q- methodology is a technique for eliciting, evaluating and comparing human subjectivity through identifying shared attitude structures. According to Ellis et al. (2007), Q-methodology “aims to uncover patterns within and across ‘individuals’”. Usually Q-methodology is realized by using attitude statements that force participant to form an opinion about the researched topic - the idea of Q-methodology is to make respondents rank-order statements to represent their viewpoints in an interview situation (Dewar et al. 2007). Results are then factor analyzed through a computer program *PQ-method* for data analysis.

First, main documents about the topic are selected in order to find the main statements about the topic. These attitude statements are selected using discourse analysis. With discourse analysis it is possible to research the use of language from different perspectives. It aims to perceive and classify different meanings from the research data. The subjects of discourse analysis research can be texts, messages, dialogues and conversations (Hoikkala 1990: 142). The definition of a discourse depends on what is being researched - discourse can be defined as simply meanings or single words, the words of a larger theme or topic or even more largely as the language as whole (Jokinen et al. 1993: 26–29). Discourse analysis can be done to texts, media texts, pictures, environments, ways of acting and combinations of previous (Jyväskylän Yliopisto 2015).

A typical sample in Q-methodology is formed of 20-40 persons (Aalto 2003a). Instead of quantity Q-methodology is concentrating with quality, since the assumption is that with a small and well selected sample group it is possible to find out information from larger populations and regularities (Aalto 2003a: 120, Eden et al. 2005: 416) –in this study the aim is to find out if some opinion structures related to values about fur farming can be found in national and regional levels. In Q-methodology the focus is on individuals who are producing certain discourses about everyday environments where they act (Aalto 2003b: 130–133). In this study these actors are representing different organizations and institutions related to fur discourses in Finland.

In this chapter a detailed explanation of Q-methodology and how it has been applied in this research is given. The next section explains the five stages of Q-methodology which includes reflection on how Q-methodology has been used in this research. After that follows a reflection on the challenges represented by the method. The final part opens up the ethical aspects and reflexivity in research.

4.1 Q-methodology

In the following, the five stages of Q-methodology are represented (Aalto 2003a) together with how they are applied to this study. First two phases are “setting the scene” for the method that is creating the Q-sort tables used to measure attitude structures, third phase explains the selection of participants and the interviews situations and the last two phases explain how the data has been analysed.

1. Understanding the larger framework and previous studies made related to the topic.

It is important to have knowledge about the previous research done related to the topic, in order to have an understanding of the researched topic. Also, understanding the societal framework helps understand the topic. In this research large part of the societal framework relates to the animal rights movement’s actions against fur farming, since it has strongly shaped the opinion atmosphere. There have been some studies done concerning animal rights activism and fur farming in Finland. However, there has not been any research done directly about values related to fur production, even though Finland is one of the biggest fur production countries in the world.

Understanding values related to animals is getting more and more central in societies as research and awareness related to the negative environmental and societal impact of animal agriculture is increasing. Values related to animals shape the human-animal relationship that affects how animals are seen in the society and what kind of practices are used with them. As the human – animal relationship is changing it is producing challenges for legislation, expertise and animal husbandry. This is increasing the interest in human – animal studies in Finland. For example, The Finnish Society for Human-Animal Studies founded in a year 2009 focuses on understanding changing concepts of animals and the status of them in the culture and society (YKES).

2. Developing the discourse through discourse analysis

This is one of the most time consuming parts of Q-methodology. The aim of this phase is to develop a discourse, that is, *“a set of statements that represents the sum of discourse on the research topic”* (Eden et al. 2005). This was done through discourse analysis of the main documents representing the fur discussion in Finland and by finding the main arguments representing the discussion by using a theoretical framework.

First, main documents about the topic were identified. These included documents from fur industry, NGO's, media, political parties, research and governmental organizations (see attachment 3). Documents were taken from regional and national actors. Following actors were asked to complete the list of documents: ProFur, Animalia, Sey, Sagafurs and some researchers and animal rights activists. Documents were selected mainly from years 2013-2015 since the first petition against fur farming happened in 2013 (table 1).

Main documents were selected to represent the conversation about fur farming in Finland. Discourse analysis was done in order to find the main arguments that represent different views of the topic – supportive, against and neutral in regional and national levels.

According to Kangaspunta (2001), discourse analysis aims to make an interpretation that is based on systematic analysis. It is important to see the different levels in discourse analysis when a text is being analyzed (Kangaspunta 2001). First: The focus needs to be on what the text is telling, how it tells it and with what kind of references. Second: There needs to be understanding of who has produced the text and how and to whom it is directed. Third: It is important to understand

the construction of the meaning by reflecting who is receiving the text, what kind of possibilities there are in the text for constructing a meaning about it and how this is being done.

Table 1. Document selection for discourse analysis.

National Level:

Actors:	Documents:
Policy-makers (political parties): Green party (Vihreät) Finland's Swedish party (RKP) Finnish centre party (Keskusta)	Opinions related to fur farming from party platforms.
Media: YLE (non-commercial main media) Helsingin Sanomat (The main newspaper in Finland)	2013: 10 articles 2014: 6 articles 2015: 5 articles 2013: 6 articles 2014: 4 articles 2015: 3 articles
Animal right organizations/NGO's: Animalia Petition against fur industry 2013 and 2015 Animal right movement (Oikeutta eläimille) The Finnish Association for Nature Conservation (Suomen Luonnonsuojeluliitto)	Fur free Finland 2025 – Finland needs scheduled plan to stop fur farming gradually. Publications in Animalia magazine 2011-2012. Petition documents. Information related to fur farming from web site. Blog publications about fur farming.
Fur industry: Profur Suomen Turkiseläinten Kasvattajainliitto Ry (The Finnish Union of Fur Farmers) Sagafurs Oyj Pellervon taloustutkimus. (PTT)	Information and documents from the webpage. Publications in Turkistalous magazine 2013-2015. Information from the web page. The corporate responsibility report of Sagafurs (2014). The total economic significance of fur trade. (2014).
Research: Furfarm 2020 - The project welfare project of fur animals (Turkistila 2020 Turkiseläinten hyvinvointihanke)	Mononen, J et al. (2013). Turkistila 2020: turkiseläinten hyvinvointihanke

Welfur	Introduction of the project.
Articles	Various articles related to fur animals and welfare.

Regional level:

Actors:	Documents:
<p>Policy-makers:</p> <p>Uusikaarlepyy Municipality</p> <p>Pietarsaari Municipality</p> <p>Finnish Food Safety Authority (EVIRA)</p> <p>Centre for Economic Development, Transport and the Environment (ELY-Keskus)</p> <p>The Research Center for Agriculture and the Food (MTT)</p> <p>The Union of Ostrobothnia (Pohjanmaan liitto)</p>	<p>Uusikaarlepyy. (2010). <i>Fur farming strategy</i></p> <p>Pedersöre. <i>Strategic general plan 2030</i>.</p> <p>Inspection reports from fur farms 2013-2014.</p> <p>The regional countryside strategy for years 2014-2020</p> <p>The economy of fur farms, the meaning of the trade and the future outlooks in Finland. (2008).</p> <p>The life cycle assesment of the fur of minks and foxes. (2011).</p> <p>The implementation plan of the province program in Ostrobothnia. (2013-2014).</p>
<p>Media:</p> <p>Pohjalainen and Vasabladet</p>	<p>2013: 7 articles</p> <p>2014: 8 articles</p> <p>2015: 10 articles</p>

Rose (2012) notes that while doing a discourse analysis it is important to forget all presuppositions about the topic. Starting to find discourses, it can be useful to categorize texts according to different themes that repeat themselves in the material and find similarities. While creating categories it is central to include all the existing themes, since sometimes the themes few in number can be relative to the research.

In Q-methodology while doing a discourse analysis it is important to use some kind of theoretical model while picking up the statements, since coincidental picking can lead to poor results – certain kind of statements tend to appear more than others, so there is a risk to collect many one-sided arguments and thus decrease the diversity of the statement concourse (Aalto 2003b). When a “saturation point” is reached concourse can be considered complete. This means that

when statements begin to repeat themselves rather than adding any new elements the discourse is full – however, discourse is not something that exists by itself, it is always constructed in the research process (Eden et al. 2005).

In this research 211 arguments were first collected by using a theoretical model (table 2).

Table 2. A theoretical model to organize “the statement universe” about fur farming in Finland together with example statements from each level.

Levels:	a. Supportive	b. Neutral	c. Against
A. National	Aa. In Finland fur animals are enjoying high welfare compared to other producer countries.	Ab. Fur farming is bringing big export revenue to Finland.	Ac. Fur farming includes many faults in prevention of cruelty to animals of which the most significant are the small cages and lack of stimuli.
B. Regional	Ba. Factory farmed animals are living in the present moment. They live from day to day. They do not know anything about the future. When they die, they get killed fast and painlessly.	Bb. There is not enough knowledge about the behavioral needs of fur animals.	Bc. It is not right to abuse animals in cages only because people want to wear fur.

After this the main topics from the arguments were identified through finding repetitive themes. According to Aalto (2003a), the ideal amount of statements is between 30-40 pieces. In this research there were finally 52 arguments that were condensed from the 211 arguments found with discourse analysis (see appendix 1). These arguments equally represented opinions that were supportive, neutral and against fur farming on regional and national levels, following the model of table 2. Some statements were selected to be opinionated on purpose, in order to help place them in a Q-sort table.

3. Participants and research situations

In this study there were 20 participants representing policy makers and opinion leaders from national and regional levels (see the list of participants in appendix 2). Actors were chosen from

different organizations and institutions and most of them had been participating or creating a public discussion about fur farming. Such actors were fur farmers, activists, researchers, journalist and politicians (table 3).

Table 3. *The backgrounds of 20 participants are presented in the following chart. Many actors had backgrounds in various fields.*

Background in:	Mainly regional point of view (R):	Mainly national point of view (N):	Has visited fur farms:	All:
Journalism	R: 2	N: 2	R: 1, N: 1	4
Politics	R: 2	N: 2	R: 2, N: 2	4
Research	R: 2	N: 4	R: 1, N: 1	5
Education	R: 1	N: 0	R: 1	1
NGO	R: 0	N: 2	N: 2	2
Veterinary	R: 0	N: 3	N: 2	3
Fur Farming	R: 2	N: 0	R: 2	2
Activism	R: 0	N: 3	N: 1	3
Other	R: 1	N: 1	R: 1	1

More or less an equal amount of actors were selected that were assumed to represent opinions that were neutral, supportive or against fur farming. Main actors were identified through the literature and internet search. Further actors got selected with snowball sampling – after the interview participants were asked to recommend other actors relevant to the study.

In Q-methodology participants should be selected from a comprehensive point of view (Eden et al. 2005) and by qualitative measures: *“to provide a reasonable representation of points of view in the relevant discourse; that is, the subjects should roughly reflect the range of views in the larger population but need not reproduce their relative frequency.”* (Woolley et al. 2000: 341)

In the interview situation participants were asked to place 52 statements in a chart (figure 6) by following guideline: *“Place the statements to the chart according to your view about fur farming in Finland”*. Q-Method focuses on the subjectivity of an individual as it *“seeks to elucidate the structure of subjectivity and examine the relationship between social phenomena and subjective interpretation”* (Robbins & Krueger 2000). According to Moilanen (2007:13), the subjectivity of

discourses is related to defining an individual's social behavior and their role in producing these discourses. However, participants are producing discursive reality based on the discourse that the researcher has defined. They are reacting to the topics the researcher highlights which forces participants to define a personal opinion about the topic (Eden et al. 2005).

Least according to my opinion				Undecided or ambivalent	Most according to my opinion			
-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4

Figure 6. An example of a Q-sort table where participants place statements.

Q-sorting the statements took normally around 30 minutes and after that participants were asked more in detail why they sorted certain statements as they did – a special interest was on statements placed to the least and most according to my opinion sides of the table. The length of interview situations lasted on average from 45 minutes to one hour and some even two hours. After Q-sorting the statements a set of same questions was asked from all participants. Normally the conversation continued and also spontaneous questions related to the field of knowledge of each participant were asked. The whole interview situation was tape recorded and a detailed transcription was done afterwards.

The interviews were done in Finnish except one which was done in Swedish. The quotations from the interviews used in this research are translated into English. Translations are adjusted in order to make the meaning more fluent and understandable.

4. Analysing the data

Q-sorts are the most important part of the data of the research. Q-Sort tables were analyzed with a computer program called PQMethod. PQMethod is a program especially designed for Q-methodology and it enables one to study results in a statistic form that helps to find correlations within different discourses.

PQMethod uses factor analyses that make participants correlate with particular factors - it groups participants by their viewpoints according to correlations to certain factors. However, sometimes some participants do not have a strong correlation in any discourse group and to counter this factors can be rotated in such a way that it brings any correlation relationship into focus (Brown 1993). According to Eden et al. (2005), the result of a Q-study depends on the researcher's decision on how to rotate factors and which of them to retain. This is the part where the subjectivity of the researcher has a role as the theoretical selection of factors is possible over the statistical (Eden et al. 2005). Also even though factor analysis is a quantitative method it does not change the nature of qualitative interpretations of Q-sort data – the researcher needs to interpret factors as discourses (Aalto 2003b). This means that discourses are handled as statement bundles where a group of statements gets a different meaning as other discourses (Aalto 2003b).

In this research factor analyses were done for factors varying from 2-7 and correlations between factors were rotated in many different ways. However, the best result was got with three factors when factors 1 and 3 were rotated. As a result factor one divided most of the opinions as 16 participants correlated with this factor. Factor one divided opinions about fur farming clearly into for and against discourses. Factors 2 and 3 seemed to represent actors whose position in the fur discussion was not significant or who had some alternative approach to the issue. Who emphasized dialogue between two opposing views or sought some compromise based solutions. Also some participants among the factor one, both for and against fur farming, highlighted compromise based solutions for continuity of fur farming. Only one participant did not correlate strongly with any factor and did not have a clear opinion about fur farming in general.

5. Interpreting the results

Interpreting the result is one of the most central parts of Q-methodology. PQMethod gives results in quantitative form and when interpreting the results it is important to pay attention to the following variables: The factor loading for each participant defines in which discourse group the participant belongs (table 4). The participant with *factor loading* 1.0 has an opinion exactly accordance with the factor whereas loading -1.0 defines that the actor disagrees about everything on this factor. Loading 0 tells about the lack of meaningful correlation between the factor and the participant (Schmolck 2003).

In table 4 factors 1, 2 and 3 represent factors from factor analysis. Factors indicate discourse groups. Symbols represent the level of participant: N = National and R = Regional. The number given in parenthesis indicates the defining sort. Defining sort is the minimum criteria of significance in factor analysis and tells what discourse group a participant supports the most. Participants are shown in the table by their discourse group: Upper group represents the discourse against fur farming, middle group represents the most fluctuating opinions whereas the bottom group represents the discourse supporting fur farming.

Table 4. Factor matrix of participants for factors 1, 2 and 3. Bolded numbers represent with which factor a participant correlates the most.

N	(-0.8270)	0.1166	-0.1616	Philosopher	06.12.2015
N	(-0.8074)	0.2733	-0.0524	NGO worker/politician	01.12.2015
NR	(-0.7922)	0.1946	-0.0680	Lawyer	04.12.2015
NR	(-0.7630)	0.2961	-0.1220	Vet	22.03.2016
N	(-0.7355)	0.1216	0.0802	Vet	06.04.2016
N	(-0.7933)	0.2328	-0.2295	Activist	06.12.2015
N	(-0.6130)	0.5590	0.1674	Journalist	03.12.2016
N	0.3829	(0.5843)	0.1280	Journalist	17.11.2015
N	-0.2688	(0.6577)	0.0991	Politician	03.12.2015
N	-0.2544	0.3286	(0.7416)	Fashion designer	22.03.2016
N	-0.2740	0.4745	-0.5278	Researcher	01.12.2015
N	(0.5978)	0.3131	-0.1620	Researcher	06.03.2016
N	(0.7015)	0.3832	0.1055	Researcher	30.03.2016
R	(0.7202)	0.1032	-0.1413	Journalist	09.12.2015
R	(0.7552)	0.3525	-0.0694	Journalist	10.12.2015
R	(0.6082)	0.4979	0.1962	State officer	08.12.2015
NR	(0.8184)	0.1340	0.1488	Politician 1	02.12.2015
NR	(0.6383)	0.5009	-0.3074	Politician 2	02.12.2015
R	(0.8064)	0.3024	0.0752	Farmer 1	08.12.2015
R	(0.7929)	0.1961	-0.1920	Farmer 2	08.12.2015

Factor scores tell which statements are being prioritised and which not in Q-sorts. When *Correlation between factor scores* is small the factors represent clearly distinguishable discourses. *Consensus vs. disagreement statements* tells in which statements actors agreed and disagreed. In *Q-sort values for each statement* the most negative and positive values are meaningful while interpreting the result (Schmolck 2003).

By combining the previous variables it is possible for the researcher to construct “*an ‘ideal’ sort that mostly fully describes that factor*” (Eden et al. 2005:419). The researcher can concentrate on the most negative or positive valued statements or the most discriminated statements – however this phase is highly interpretative. In this research, as most of the actors correlated with factor 1, the statements with most positive and negative value were used to construct the main discourses together with the transcript interviews.

According to the factor analysis of the Q-sorts, discourse of fur production is highly polarised (Table 4). Factor I defines the main discourse that is divided clearly for and against fur production. Actors supporting fur production were mainly regional or having regional background or contacts and actors against fur farming were mainly national. Factors II and III represent not so clearly distinguishable opinion groups.

Challenges of Q-methodology

Robbins & Krueger (2000:645) emphasize how there needs to be critical reflexivity to Q method research as the method is not providing an absolute view on subjectivity. It is not a completely objective way for measuring subjectivity. Also it is important to understand the subjectivity of a researcher as he or she can direct the ways how the discourses are formed – in the end the researcher is forming the statements and building the normal distribution of the Q-sort tables. According to Aalto (2003b:147), this can be a resource for further studies as the discourses formed about the topic can be tested with interviews.

In the interview situations many participants needed to make compromises and be flexible in their opinions while sorting the statements as they wanted to place more statements to certain side of the Q-sort table. Two statements appeared to be poorly formed as they consisted of

unclear or controversial topics or sometimes participants did not have enough knowledge about the statement (see Appendix 1, statements 18 and 19).

However, all interviewees found the “right” statements to represent their “most or least according to my opinion”, which is why these unclear statements placed into the middle of the Q-sort table did not become a problem for the analysis. Also the interview followed after Q-sorts often clarified participants’ opinions about certain statements. Participants also could highlight issues they saw as important or even bring some new topics to the concourse so in this case interviews can be considered as patching up the possible flaws of the Q-methodology. Eden et al. (2005:421) notes that if Q-method is used with enough reflexivity and creativity and by being aware of its “*interpretative dimensions*” it can be an interesting tool in geographical research.

4.2 Ethics: Reflexivity in research

In this section the societal context and used concepts, personal research position, experiences from the field and interpreting the data are being shortly analysed through reflexivity. Reflexivity means thinking that is directed on how thinking is being done (St. Pierre 2009: 232). According to Aaltonen & Högbacka (2015) reflexivity as a concept refers to wider and more systematic contemplation than critical thinking and it is especially directed on questioning the assumptions defining personal behaviour and actions. Reflexivity in research can help to find tools to critically reflect the research position, to manage fieldwork experiences and to specify focus while examining the research data. Reflexivity helps to understand how different contexts, varying from research position and used concepts to societal aspects, are affecting the research (Aaltonen & Högbacka 2015).

The societal context

The societal context of this research is important since issues related to human – animal relationship are being more and more common in Western societies. Individual’s views on morality with regard to animals seems to be a reflection of personal choices related to use of animal products and animals in general and thus the issue is considered sensitive and personal. It touches daily practices that are considered normal and natural.

In this research the assumption is that carnism and speciesism shape the framework of values in the society and affect institutional practices that create and reaffirm these values. Carnism represents a largely societally accepted phenomenon or ideology that affects the way how individuals understand animals and what kind of ethics are used with certain species. As Joy (2010) emphasizes, carnism appears mostly invisible as it is a part of the behaviour considered normal – this is why most carnistic people do not realize they are acting inside an ideology. Vegans on the other hand are considered “ideological” in a carnistic society (see pp. 25-26).

According to (Hirvonen 2006:40) science should be free from religious or ideological thinking – *“the science ends where religious or ideological experience starts”*. Hirvonen (2006:44) points out that a researcher should see the researched topic with open mind, abandoning personal prejudices, analyses, convictions and explanations. Objectivity as a concept is complicated in this research since human – animal relationships are always ideological and can barely be disconnected from an individual’s daily actions – a person either takes part in carnistic behaviour or not and thus follows an ideology for or against it.

The conceptual framework of values builds the animal imagery and can direct research related to animals. According to Hirvonen (2006:42), ethically good research is aware of its knowledge interests that relate to what is directing the research and why research is being done. In this research fur farming is observed as a phenomenon of commodifying animals that is based on certain values. Interest is on values since values direct behaviour and build culturally accepted norms. By understanding values it is possible to understand how the phenomenon is constructed.

Personal research position

To increase the visibility of the research it is important to reflect on the personal research position. This position is constructed through social relationships, hierarchies and cultural meanings that are defined by age, gender, ethnicity and social status (Rastas 2005:94). Next the focus will be on the social, political and personal interests and assumptions of the researcher that according to Gillies & Alldred (2002:39-40), are important to be made visible. This can be done together with emotional aspect (Kleinman & Copp 1993):

I am vegan for two years and interested in animal rights. As I have been studying environmental science and interested in environmental problems, my interest on veganism started when I realized the positive environmental impact of it. Later I started to wonder more about the ethical aspect of consuming animals - I felt my capacity to feel empathy towards other living beings increased when I stopped consuming animal products. Also the way I saw animals changed and I started to see them as individuals instead of living biomass and resource. According to my current ethical understanding animals are conscious beings that experience the world not in less valuable ways than humans, just in their own ways through the possibilities and senses allowed by their bodies.

I have been participating in events organized by animal rights organizations and have the understanding of the activist side of veganism. However, I am not a member of any animal rights organization. I am a member of The Finnish Animal Rights Party that is aiming to raise conversation about animal rights in the political sphere. The utopia of the party is a society where animals are not used as products and they are valued as individuals. My position as a private person in societal organizations is not connected to this research. Research is done separate from this position by following general ethical principles of science by considering the objectivity and ethical justice throughout the research.

According to Pietarinen (1999), there are various ethical aspects to be considered related to the researcher. The researcher needs to possess the intellectual interest for the topic, to be conscientious, honest, to respect the human dignity and to understand the social responsibility. According to Hirvonen (2006), visibility of the research is central in the way that the researched issue should be observed with humbleness and with open mind. However, he emphasizes that this doesn't necessary require that the researcher needs to value or respect the researched topic. According to him, the researched topic can even be regarded with criticism or judgment and in this case science should be understood as actions of "sense of justice" (2006:44). This means that the researcher needs to highlight the topic from the starting point of the issue itself from scientifically valid arguments.

I do not consider my position as a researcher problematic in this research. I have the understanding of values related to animals from many aspects through my own experience and

it is helping me to understand different actors in this research better. I can relate with carnism as it was part of my behaviour for most of my life. I can also relate with many aspects of veganism – seeing through carnistic ideology changed my worldview radically and first I had adversarial opinions. Over the time I came to realize that juxtaposition is not fertile ground for raising awareness of the topic or improving animal welfare and I realized the importance of dialogue. This is how I got interested in values related to animals, since understanding values seems to be central in creating a dialogue between carnism and veganism and constructing an environmentally and socially sustainable behaviour. My interest in this study is to understand the values that are related to production animals - I am interested in observing it as a culturally, socially and geographically constructed phenomenon.

Reflecting the fieldwork

Openness was one of the biggest challenges in this research. The researcher's position or background was not opened in the interview requests due to its problematic associations. However there were various last minute cancellations that were due to researcher position that participants had found out by themselves. Next, the process of collecting the data is being represented together with personal reflection on some interview situations:

The original idea was to interview a large scale of actors related to the topic on national, regional and local levels in order to get the widest range of views – however it was difficult to find local actors wanting to open up their views of values about fur farming, so the levels narrowed into regional and national. It was generally challenging to find actors positive about fur farming to participate in the research because of lack of confidence. Several fur industry actors refused to participate despite my many emails and phone references and eventually no representative from the fur industry participated. Some of the phone calls had negative connotations as I was accused of doing biased research for the Animal Rights Party.

I contacted various central researchers who have been researching fur animals and have been participating on research funded by the fur industry. They did not respond to my references, did not want to participate or cancelled the last minute. One researcher underlined during a personal phone call that as the topic is so sensitive he or she does not want to get involved. Cautiousness

of the researchers is understandable since there have been criticism in the media towards the relation of fur industry funding research and about the researcher's positions. Helsingin Sanomat (28.11.2013), the main national newspaper in Finland, published an article that highlighted the contradiction on how one researcher being funded by the industry had an opinion supporting fur industry while animal rights organizations were citing his research to oppose fur farming.

Due to the problematic associations regarding the topic many actors wanted to stay anonymous. This is why in this research all the actors are presented anonymously and their background organizations are not being presented in detail. Actors are cited on a general level, such as being a politician, farmer, journalist etc. Their background is being generally presented and it is noted whether they have visited fur farms or not.

I made most of the interviews in the Helsinki region. I also made a field trip to Ostrobothnia to interview regional actors. It was important for me to visit the region as I wanted to get a general understanding of the topic from a field point of view. It was also very important to get opinions supportive of fur farming from regional level so the research would not be one-sided. During the trip there were few last minute cancellations due to lack of confidence of the personal research position – a local politician cancelled as well as a worker from the educational sector and a vet. However, I got a wide range of opinions that were supportive of fur industry. I visited a fur farm and interviewed farmers. The pictures used in this research are taken with permission from the farm I visited. During the field trip to Ostrobothnia I got views of the trade from the educational sector, interviewed a state officer and local journalists. From national level I interviewed politicians who had regional connections and were supportive of fur farming.

Generally the interview situations were pleasant and relaxed. Participants were mostly interested in the Q-methodology and doing the Q-sorts and opening up their view on fur farming. However, there were a few challenging and unpleasant situations as well. For example, one participant knew my researcher position but wanted to participate to make the livelihood more transparent. With this participant in the beginning of the interview the atmosphere was reserved and unfriendly. However, as the interview proceeded the atmosphere got more relaxed and some kind of consensus was found.

I did not open up my personal views on animal ethics while doing interviews because it might have created a lack of confidence and thus affected the interview situation and the results. However, I left the possibility for conversation open about my personal research position. This happened with few participants after the interviews. Also, if participants wanted I gave them a document explaining the focus of the study more in detail. Overall most of the participants gave positive feedback from the interview situations.

5. Fur discourses in Finland

There were three main discourses related to fur farming (table 5). Regional discourse was mainly based on economic aspects and national discourse emphasized ethicality. Many actors pointed out the alternative solutions for fur farming and the dialogue between different actors – a third discourse mixing up actors from national and regional levels was a discourse that emphasized dialogue.

In this context “regional actor” refers to a participant who has regional connections to Ostrobothnia, such as lives or has lived in the region or works or has worked in a job or project that is connected to the region. “National actor” on the other hand refers to a participant who works in organizations or institutions that do not have strong specific regional focus, instead they are shaping opinion atmosphere or spreading information more on national level. National actors in this research refer to NGO-workers, national-level politicians, activists, journalists in the national media or university researchers. National actors of course also work locally – however in this research regional and national division refers to clustered production of fur farming in Ostrobothnia region. Regional actors have connections to Ostrobothnia where fur production is a significant livelihood and affects the local decision making and opinion atmosphere.

According to the factor analysis, those actors whose opinions supported fur production were mainly regional. Among these actors were politicians, farmers, journalists, researchers and a state officer. Few national actors who were positive on fur farming had regional connections such as having worked in the region. On the national level two actors had opinions in favour of regional

Table 5. Summary of fur discourses in Finland.

	National Discourse:	Regional Discourse:	Conciliatory Discourse:
Main arguments:	Ethically wrong	Economically important	Need for new innovations
	Against animal protection law	Tradition	Alternative ways for cage farming
	Ecologically unsustainable	Certification guarantees animal welfare and ecological sustainability	Alternative use for fur – “slow fashion”
	Animals unable to satisfy species-specific behavioural needs	Professionalism and education	Problems of breeding and of clustered production
The future direction of fur farming:	Fur farming should be forbidden within a period of transition	Fur farming is like any other livelihood in the countryside and should continue	If practices in fur farming will be improved it should continue.

discourse without having any regional connections except knowledge of the fur trade. However, the strongest discourses for fur production came from regional actors. Regional discourse consisted of economic profit, tradition and certification. Most of the actors also emphasized the ecologic aspects of fur farming and had high trust in animal welfare through the certification system and professional knowledge.

The actors whose opinions were against fur production were mainly national. However, two actors had regional connections – one of them was born and raised in the region and the other one had been working on fur farms as a vet. Many had also visited fur farms. Actors supporting the national discourse consisted of veterinaries, researchers from different fields, NGO – workers, activist and journalists. Arguments creating the national discourse consisted mainly of animal welfare, criticism towards the animal protection law and fur farming being against the ethical views of actors.. Generally national actors highlighted more arguments against fur farming, while regional actors were more often supporting fur farming.

The third discourse consisted of conciliatory aspects and focused on possible solutions. This discourse emerged among both the regional and national discourse. Also, actors whose opinions were not in accordance with regional or national discourses considered alternatives ways for

production. This discourse consisted of seeking solutions for problems related to animal welfare and the clustered production of fur farming.

In this chapter the results of Q-methodology are being examined. The chapters 5.1-5.3 present the main discourses and answer research question one. Chapter 5.4 answers research questions two and three by reflecting on values and carnism in the main discourses. The last chapter focuses on institutions reflected in the main discourses and answers research question four.

5.1 Economic regional discourse

The strongest argument in the regional discourse referred to the economic profit. As production is highly clustered to Ostrobothnia, fur farming was seen as a vital livelihood that is increasing welfare in the region and even in the whole country. Many actors wondered about the social costs of prohibiting the trade:

“It is an unquestionable fact that fur farming is building the Finnish welfare state because it brings huge amounts of euros to this country and in my opinion those who are against it should name all the schools and health centres that should be shut down if the trade was to be prohibited” – Politician 2, 02.12.2015 (translation of the author)

Tax revenue was a strong argument as well as the trade being economically independent, unlike other Finnish animal industries. According to ProFur, in the year 2014 the fur trade and farming industry paid 52 million euros in taxes, the revenue of the farms was 470 million euros and the export value was also 470 million euros (Profur 2015c). Fur farming was argued to be the only economically profitable sector of Finnish agriculture that “stands on its own feet” - fur farming receives not as much in farming subsidies as other factory farm practices. Fur farming was considered important for the employment situation of the region and according to ProFur the whole trade provides nationally employment for 5050 person-years (Profur 2015c). Many jobs in the Ostrobothnia region are seasonal. For example, gardening and fur farming was considered an intrinsic part of the seasonal job cycle. It was also seen as an important employer especially considering young people:

“People could become long-term unemployed - - It is not so easy to find jobs here in the countryside and fur farming has been for a long time part of the lifestyle here”. – Journalist 10.12.2015 (translation of the author)

Tradition

Other argument leaned on traditions, as fur farming has been common in the region for many generations - the region has the infrastructure and knowledge for farming. Many farms are passed from father to son over generations and certain strains of fur animals can be a result of persevering breeding work over decades. Professionalism and the possibility to study fur trade were seen as central in the regional argument:

“There is no such education in other countries. So in that sense we are pioneers.. The trade thinks it is important to have education in the sector.” – Farmer 1, 08.12.2015 (translation of the author)

Ostrobothnia region has a polytechnic university and colleges where it is possible to study fur farming or fur trade. The Centria University of Applied Sciences in Pietarsaari offers studies in fur design and marketing in English (Centria University of Applied Sciences 2016), Vocational College of Ostrobothnia in Vaasa has a study module of two years for fur farming in Swedish (Vocational College of Ostrobothnia 2016) and Kannus College offers three different degrees for fur farming in Finnish that take 2-3 years of studying (Kannus College 2016).

Many actors highlighted that the know-how of fur farming was special in Finland and the argument *Fur farmers have been working persistently to ensure the high quality of the product and to assure good conditions for fur animals* was seen important. Finnish fur production was considered clearly as being of higher quality than of those in other countries and if fur farming was prohibited, many actors believed that demand would not decrease, instead the production would move to other countries where the standards of production would be lower and it would decrease the animal welfare. In Finland animal welfare was considered higher than in other countries because it was seen as a condition to keep the production going:

“The production won’t be so cheap here that Finland could compete with prices. The fur trade is admitting that if they want to continue the business they need to be ethical and ecological, they

need to do the production as well as it is possible” –Researcher 06.03.2016 (translation of the author)

Certification and animal welfare

To cope with the challenges of the market fur trade has used different strategies to improve the production to be more ecological and ethical. Animal welfare and ecological issues were highly reflected on the certification that was among the most common arguments in regional discourse - *The certification program of fur production improves the wellbeing of fur animals, enhances the ecology of the production and develops the traceability of fur products.* Most of the actors were in favor of certification and it was considered as something unique for fur production worldwide and that it ensures the quality of the production and animal welfare. Certification was seen as a way for the trade to opening new markets for pelts and the idea of responsibility of the certification system was connected to ethical animal keeping and animal welfare. Also research projects like Welfur were seen as important investments on animal welfare:

“Welfur is the most important way the fur trade has been answering the pressure from society. Basically, if we think about persecution and hate speech fur trade has been a target of negative publicity for a long time already.” –Researcher 06.03.2016 (translation of the author)

Another common argument defining regional discourse was also related to animal welfare - *When a fur animal feels well it produces beautiful fur.* Many actors considered that animal welfare could be measured from the appearance of an animal. One farmer emphasized the connection between welfare and of breeding:

“Animal welfare is increasing through breeding. For example, I remember well in the 60’s there was much more stereotypical behaviour among foxes but nowadays it has decreased significantly and you only see it among some single cases. Also especially foxes are very adaptive.” Farmer 1, 08.12.2015 (translation of the author)

Besides the animal welfare the certification system was considered to increase the ecological sustainability of fur farming. Many actors also emphasized other ecological aspects of the whole production chain such as that of fodder production. Fodder is made out of offal and coarse fish from the Baltic Sea or from eutrophicated lakes. When fished out of the water system it

decreases the phosphorus and nitrogen levels that are causing eutrophication. According to Profur, modern farms have a closed cycle of production and do not cause strain on the environment (Profur 2015d). Some farms are recycling even the body fat of fur animals and it is collected in order to make biodiesel.

“Fur is really green. All the parts of the animal are being recycled.” – Journalist 09.12.2015 (translation of the author)

A common argument was also that as fake fur is made out of synthetic oil based fibre it is not renewable and not as long lasting a material as real fur. In regional discourse most of the actors clearly considered fur ecological from many aspects and generally had high trust on Finnish fur production practices.

5.2 Ethical national discourse

The strongest arguments in the national discourse were related to ethicality of fur production. Fur farming was considered ethically wrong for various reasons. Actors in the national discourse considered modern cage farming problematic, claiming that it cannot satisfy the welfare of farmed animals or satisfy species specific behavioural needs. The consensus in the national discourse was that fur farming should be prohibited with a period of transition and for that period the conditions of fur animals should be improved. However, actors consuming animal products emphasized more the improvements in cage farming whereas vegans considered fur farming fundamentally wrong. Generally making economic profit by using animals to make commodities was considered wrong:

*“In my opinion there is no half way in this that we could regulate factory farming to be better for animals. It is already wrong from the ethical viewpoint that is reflected in the the law. - - . The fundamental problem is in how we relate to animals and other living beings. - - . As humans we are closing our eyes from animals being sentient. What gives us the right to justify so much suffering for other living beings especially when it is not essential for our own survival anyhow?”
Lawyer 04.12.2015 (translation of the author)*

Many actors in the national discourse saw recognizing animal individuality as a central part in their ethical consideration of animals - recognizing the individuality of animals and reconsidering

values was seen to be central in order to change the way society relates to animals. One actor noted that if animals were considered as individuals giving value to them would be more natural:

“We should face animals as individuals and not as resource. It is the only intellectually honest way to consider this issue. It is the starting point. Then we should knock down the hierarchies related to animals that are connected to our understanding of value and the value of animals and humans.” Philosopher 06.12.2015 (translation of the author)

One actor pointed out how the traditional countryside living and livelihood had transformed into a business where the sizes of farms have increased and modern factory farming practices are making the recognizing of the individuality impossible:

“When I have been visiting farms I always think about the extremity of intense animal farming. The individuality of an animal is not being taken into consideration. If a farm has 10 000 minks, an individual relationship to an animal can’t exist. The farmer sees the animals as a group of commodities that of course are taken care of so they remain alive, but generally this relationship is based on unconcern about them as individuals.” Activist 06.12.2015 (translation of the author)

Animal welfare and species-specific behaviour

Actors in the national discourse emphasized the importance of animal welfare and species-specific behaviour. General opinion of the national discourse was that *animals raised in fur farms have no possibility for species-specific behaviour*. This was seen as one of the most central problems in fur farming. Some actors believed that it is not possible to develop fur farming in a way that it could satisfy the behavioural needs of fur animals:

“We are talking about animal species that have very different needs for their welfare than the current situation of farming allows. It would mean very expensive investments. - - . Of course welfare can be improved a little bit in economically profitable ways, but not enough concerning the animals in my opinion.” Vet, 22.03.2016 (translation of the author)

Another common criticism in the national discourse was related to domestication that arose among the actors with veterinary experience. The argument *Farmed fur animals have been domesticated over a century. This is why they have different needs than their wild fellow*

creatures. Around a hundred years of domestication was not seen as enough time to consider fur animals as domesticated as for example cows or pigs. Domestication generally was not seen as valid argument to support fur farming:

“The degree of domestication is a constant process. - - . We can talk about genetic domestication as every new generation is more domestic than the previous if we choose to breed individuals that are viable in interactions with humans. However, dogs have been domesticated over tens of thousands of years and if they become feral they can drop out the domestic layer, it is not there anymore, so what can be considered as truly domesticated?” Researcher 01.12.2015 (translation of the author)

“It would be more reasonable to claim that a dog would adapt better into the cage environment than fur farmed animals since the dog has been domesticated longer” Vet 22.03.2016 (translation of the author)

The compromise solution in species-specific behaviour in cage environment seemed to culminate in the possibility of stimulating material. Stimuli mean different objects and toys given to animals so that they can satisfy their biological needs that otherwise are not possible to be fulfilled in the environment they are being raised in. Especially the actors with veterinary experience emphasized the importance of stimulus and criticized the lack of it:

“According to my own experience from the farms around year 2009 some of the farmers think that the stimuli are a joke. - - . There can be totally gnawed wooden sticks that after being in the cage for many weeks could not interest the fox any less. So this is an issue that not everyone takes seriously enough.” Vet 06.04.2016 (translation of the author)

According to the regulations of the Council of State for protection of fur animals (Finlex 2011: 9 §) in the cages should exist *“suitable chewing material and other stimulating materials”*. However it is not regulated how much stimuli material there should be and how often it should be changed. It is not clear how much or what kind of stimuli would be enough to satisfy the species-specific behavioural needs.

Regulations and animal protection law

Also, other regulations and the animal protection law was criticized by national actors. The argument *Fur farming can be considered as an act against the spirit of the animal protection law and thus should be prohibited* was among the most common arguments in the national discourse. Most of the actors considered that fur farming practices don't meet the minimum requirements of the Finnish animal protection law:

“The starting point of the animal protection law is that an animal is an object whereas a human being is a subject. It means that an animal is an object of certain level of protection but doesn't have rights. The protection provided by this law doesn't necessarily have anything to with the actual welfare of an animal.” Lawyer 04.12.2015 (translation of the author)

According to the Finnish animal protection law (3§ 247/1996) animal keeping should promote animal wellbeing and take into consideration the physiological needs and behavioural needs of an animal. According to article 4§ the place where an animal is being kept should be big enough, protective, have enough light, to be clean and safe and also take into consideration the needs of each animal species. Also, the law emphasizes fulfilling the behavioural needs of animals but does not define them in more detail. Different actors in the national and regional discourses seemed to have different opinions about the behavioural needs. Some actors emphasized that as the animal protection law is protecting the interests of humans it is in the end based on economic interests. Some highlighted the controversy of law regulations and criticized generally the animal production practices:

“The legislation for the zoo animals defines minimum conditions for the same species that are being fur farmed and the conditions where they are being kept are in a totally different class from those on fur farms.” Vet 22.03 (translation of the author)

The animal protection law is from a year 1996 and currently being renewed. It is supposed to be completed during the year 2016 and it is aiming, for example, to improve the animal welfare and the supervision of prevention of cruelty towards animals (The Ministry of Forestry and Agriculture). Another law regulating fur animals is the regulation of the Council of State (20.10.2011/1084) that especially relates to protection of fur animals. According to the petition

against fur (Kansalaisaloite 2012), this regulation doesn't meet the criteria of the animal protection law and doesn't ensure the minimum standards of animal welfare.

On the international-level fur animals are included in EU legislation on animal welfare, transport and slaughter but there is no legislation for welfare standards for fur animals (Pickett & Harris 2015). Animal welfare has been a focus of concern in the Council of Europe "Recommendation Concerning Fur Animals" and in the report of the Scientific Committee on Animal Health and Animal Welfare (SCAHAW) (Pickett & Harris 2015). According to the "Recommendation Concerning Fur Animals", fur farmed foxes should have hiding places and minks should be able to satisfy their species-specific behavioural needs that relate to swimming. This is not acknowledged in Finnish fur farms (Kansalaisaloite 2012).

Critics

Most of the actors in the national discourse highlighted problematic aspects of a few statements that were common in the regional discourse. There was lot of criticism towards the economic profitability of fur farming, certification and the ecological aspects of fur. Many actors found that the economic profit of the trade for Finland was overstated and some noted that a significant amount of workers are coming from abroad, mostly from Latvia and Estonia. Some emphasized that Finnish people do not want to work in farms with such low hourly wages but Baltic workers do.

Also a lot of the criticism was towards the statement that if prohibited the fur production would shift to other countries like China, where welfare of the animals would decrease. Some actors pointed out that Finland is creating a market and demand for fur in Asia. According to the petition against fur farming (Kansalaisaloite 2012), China has adopted the basic fur farming practices from Western countries – thus Chinese farming is in many ways similar to the Finnish farms. The petition highlights how the Finnish fur trade has also regularly transported breeder animals to China, promotes fur farming and brings know-how of fur farming to the country. Animalia (2015) notes that the Finnish fur trade has been marketing furs in Asia already since 1970's and has increased the demand for furs in the region. According to Animalia (2015,) the Chinese markets are keeping the Nordic fur trade vital.

Certification in the fur trade was also criticized. Many actors believed that trade certifying was more concerned with economic aspects of production than animal welfare:

“It is quite the greenwashing certificate. There are barely no demands related to animal welfare and it is more about following the Finnish animal protection law.. They have some vaccinations and some environmental enactments but there is barely any improvements on animal welfare”
Vet 22.03.2016 (translation of the author)

The Finnish Veterinary Association (Suomen Eläinlääkäriliitto 2010) has stated that the fur certification does not exceed the minimum welfare standards of the animal protection law and that following it does not guarantee the welfare of fur animals. They recommended the trade to aim higher in animal welfare than the minimum standards the law requires. The Finnish Veterinary Association also stated that fur marketing should not give a misleading image that the certification would guarantee the animals' wellbeing. Animalia (2015) also points out that for outsiders it is difficult to find detailed information about the certification.

The ecological sustainability of fur was also criticized. The report of the Research Centre for Agriculture and Food (MTT) compared jackets made out of fur of minks and foxes to synthetic fur and concluded that fur produces multiple times more greenhouse gases and releases bigger emission acidifying the environment than fur made out of synthetic materials (Silvenius et al. 2011). Also, a Danish study concluded that mink fur has a significantly bigger ecological footprint than synthetic fur (Bijleveld et al. 2011).

5.3 Conciliatory Discourse

The third discourse consisted of conciliatory aspects that sought to find solutions or alternatives for fur farming. The aspects of this discourse were brought up by many actors in the regional discourse and also in the national discourse. Especially, most of the four actors whose opinions were not accordance with the regional or national discourse were contemplating the possibilities of different solutions related to practices in fur farming. This discourse consisted of pointing out central problems in fur farming that were considered to relate to animal welfare and to the clustered location of fur farms. The strong consensus in this discourse related to animal welfare was that no actor wanted animals to experience unnecessary suffering. However, their opinions

on the meaning of unnecessary varied. Many also wondered possible future alternatives from prohibiting the trade with a period of transition to alternative production methods of fur animals. Central problems in fur farming were considered to be the polarization of opinions and lack of trust between opposing sides which was preventing the finding of solutions. Polarization was possibly due to the animal rights movement's acts in the 1990's, when fur animals were released to nature. A farmer remembered this time as unpleasant:

"Most of the farms are family businesses. Especially children suffered from the attacks (of the activist). They experienced it really bad. There has been such cases that activists had come there with a bus and kept a protest and call the farmer a murderer. I don't think it is right that children had to suffer such things." –Farmer 1, 08.12.2015 (translation of the author)

Many actors pointed out that in their opinion fur farming could continue if animals wouldn't experience unnecessary suffering. This argument often related to the problems of modern cage farming:

"It is not so much about the small size of the cages, instead it is important that the space is multi-usable for the animals. - - . If we would be more innovative we could think how we could make a reasonable sized cage to be modifiable and more diverse so that we could satisfy the most important behavioural needs of fur animals – which actually we don't know what they are." Researcher 01.12.2015 (translation of the author)

"I would imagine that when the animals were outside in cages they could sense their environment better by looking at the birds and whatever they saw outside. I would image they have less stimuli in the closed hall farms that are more and more common nowadays". Vet 06.04.2016 (translation of the author)

Many actors pointed out the problematic aspects of breeding and considered that breeding should be done differently by considering the animal welfare more. Breeding is increasing profitability of farming as the quality and properties of fur are improved. However, at the same time it is causing physiological problems for the animals. For example, among foxes it is common that the fur is too big and hanging which is causing eye infections. A few actors pointed out that up to 70% of fur farmed foxes suffer from painful deformations in their legs.

Another problem of fur farming was considered to be the clustered production in Ostrobothnia and thus new regulations related to improvement in animal welfare would have a big economic impact. Also, prohibiting the trade would have a economically negative impact on the region. However, many actors emphasized that if the trade would be prohibited it should happen with a period of transition:

“In my opinion long-term thinking is the only solution. We should already start considering what these farmers would do after fur trade is being prohibited”. –Politician 03.12.2015 (translation of the author)

On the other hand some actors pointed out alternatives solutions for fur production. Maybe in the future fur would be possible to 3D print and there would be no need for actual fur animals. Also, fur could be a part of the slow-fashion -movement where long lasting materials are valued and new collections would enter markets with a slower phase. One actor pointed out the unused resource of fur in the nature:

“As the natural Finnish raccoon dog population has become bigger they need to be hunted. Last year 80% of that material got wasted. These are animals that have lived their lives in nature. The use of their fur would be more ethical. - - . There are possibilities for so many innovations in this field that relate to for example from collection of the fur to processing and certificating it.” – Fashion designer 22.03.2016 (translation of the author)

5.4 Values and carnism

Regional discourse relied on tradition, economy and certification. National discourse on the other hand focused on ethicality and animal welfare. The conciliatory discourse concentrated on problems and solutions in fur farming. All three discourses agreed that animals should not experience unnecessary suffering. Schwartz’s (2012) theory of basic human values can be applied to previous elements that emerged in the discourses.

Opposing values in the value space (figure 7) cannot be pursued at the same time as they are incompatible motivationally (Cieciuch et al. 2015). This supports and explains opposing views in fur discourses. For example, it is difficult to maintain conservatist values and at the same time pursue values that represent openness to change. However, opposing values were pursued at

the same time in all discourses that lead into contradictory thinking about animals. Carnistic mechanisms seem to be decreasing the experienced cognitive dissonance between the opposing values pursued at the same time.

Values that related to anxiety-avoidance (security, tradition, conformity, power, achievement) could be mainly found in the regional discourse. Applying these values supports the cognitive dissonance caused by avoiding taking responsibility of the suffering of others. *Security* aims for stability of societies, relationships and of self. It can relate to social order, family security and national security (Schwartz 1992). Security in the regional discourse can relate to values aiming

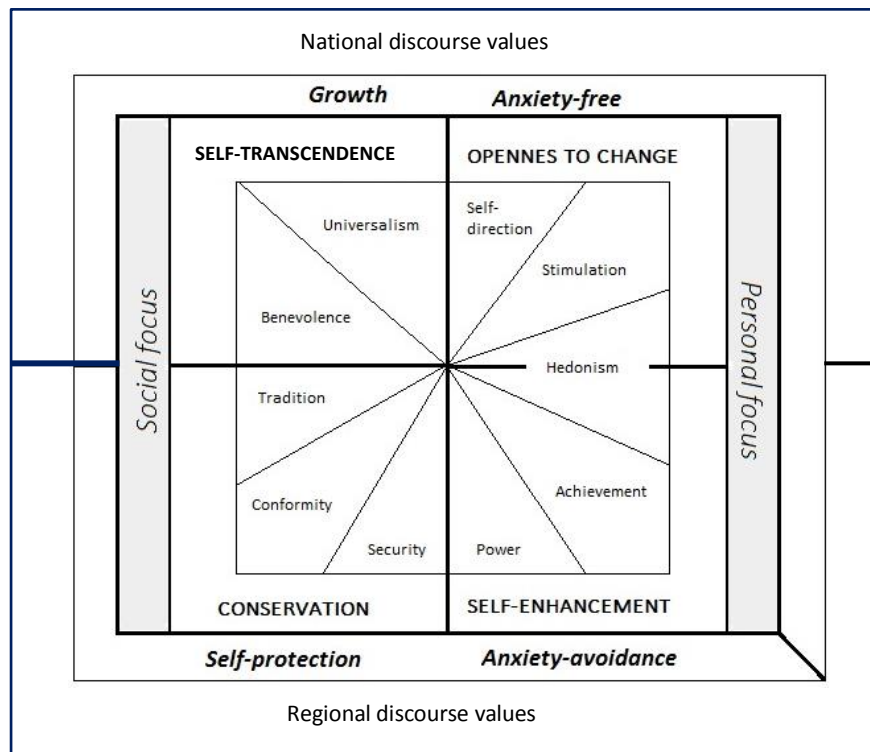


Figure 7. National discourse reflects values related to self-transcendence and openness to change. Regional discourse reflects values related to conservatism and self-enhancement. (Adapted from Ciecuch et al. 2015)

to maintain a livelihood that secures the family income as well as the income and welfare of the whole region of Ostrobothnia and is related to securing the stability of the community. *Tradition*

reflects acceptance and subordination of cultural or religious norms, customs and ideas (Schwartz 1992). Traditional knowledge and practices relating to fur farming are justifying and supporting the livelihood and shaping people's attitudes towards it. Fur farming is considered normal since it is common in the region – the custom of raising animals for their fur is seen as a culturally accepted norm. *Conformity* on the other hand can relate to restraining from actions that are violating social expectations or norms and being obedient (Schwartz 1992). Values related to conformity are avoiding causing discomfort in social situations and can support acceptance of fur farming - social surroundings being supportive of the industry in Ostrobothnia can confirm and create social norms related to fur production. Value of conformity can reassert attitudes towards fur farming since it could be uncomfortable socially to question it in an environment supportive of farming.

Achievement, hedonism and power can also be connected to values in the regional discourse. *Achievement* refers to values obtaining social approval and to generate resources so that individuals, groups and institutions can reach their objectives. *Hedonism* refers to values such as enjoyment and pleasure. *Power* can relate to dominance over natural resources (Schwartz 1992). Actors in the regional discourse agreed that humans have the right to use animals. This might be connected to the view seeing animals as resource that humans possess with the power to use to their own benefit. Many actors also emphasized that fur is a luxury product and something extravagant that reflects hedonistic values.

Values in national discourse were based mainly on opposing values from the regional discourse that helped to deconstruct the cognitive dissonance caused by animal consumption. National discourse consisted of ethical values that can be reflected in values such as growth and anxiety-freedom (benevolence, universalism, self-direction, stimulation, hedonism). *Benevolent* values are concerned with the welfare of others and can be considered as values that give meaning to life. *Universalism* relates to values such as tolerance, social justice, equality, unity with nature and protecting the environment and welfare of people and nature (Schwartz 1992). In the national discourse many actors were concerned with the welfare of the animals and the negative environmental aspects of fur production. *Self-direction* values relate to independence, creativity, curiosity and choosing one's own goals. *Stimulation* values relate to novelty and preferring a

varied and exciting life (Schwartz 1992). Both self-direction and stimulation can relate to values that lead to the questioning of the surrounding social or cultural system and help deconstruct the predominant carnistic schema. Hedonistic values in the national discourse related to animal consumption - actors who brought up that they were eating meat or using other animal products were more accepting towards using animals for human benefit.

Values in the conciliatory discourse consisted both of anxiety-avoiding values (tradition and benevolence) and anxiety-free values (hedonism and achievement). Benevolence and tradition are located next to each other in the value space and can be pursued at the same time (Schwartz 1992). Benevolence in this discourse can relate to being concerned with others' welfare such as that of the farmed animals and also that of people practicing fur farming, by being concerned with the continuity of the trade or possible alternatives. Traditional values can relate to acceptance of the customs in the prevailing society such as commodifying animals in the carnistic culture. Actors in this discourse sought mostly alternative ways for continuing fur production that would secure the welfare of the people and the farmed animals. This reflects the acceptance of carnistic norms that justify commodifying animals such as seeing them as resource.

Values of anxiety-avoidance and self-protection help individuals to avoid thinking about cognitive dissonance caused by animal consumption. Figure 5 represents how conservation and self-enhancement values support various carnistic elements that help individuals to justify animal consumption and to form carnistic schema. According to Joy (2010), the carnistic schema protects individuals from unpleasant feelings while using animal products (see pp. 27-28). These unpleasant feelings can relate to the "meat-paradox" that is the contradiction of caring about animals but liking to eat them (Loughnan et al. 2014) or for example having a dog as a pet and wearing the fur of a fox. The carnistic schema supports this cognitive dissonance by various mechanisms such as routinization, categorization, avoidance, rationalization, deindividualization, objectification, dichotomization and denial. Also, consuming animal products can be considered normal, necessary and natural (Joy 2010) and it can be reasoned through economic profitability, as in the regional discourse. The elements of carnistic schema are built by indoctrination, that is, by teaching something that is believed to be true, by mechanism of cognitive dissonance, where an individual reasons animal consumption in a way

that supports carnistic behavior and by psychic numbing that distances and de-sensitizes the individual from the violence in carnism. Also, institutions help establish the carnistic schema. They establish rules and conventions based on carnistic values and on the other hand re-enforce these values in society. Institutions also alienate responsibility and cause phenomenal dissociation by distancing an individual from the possibly harmful consequences of one's actions (Worthy 2008). Values in the regional discourse strongly supported carnistic elements and there were significantly fewer carnistic features in the national discourse. Carnism in the conciliatory discourse was present through the mechanisms supporting the opposing values.

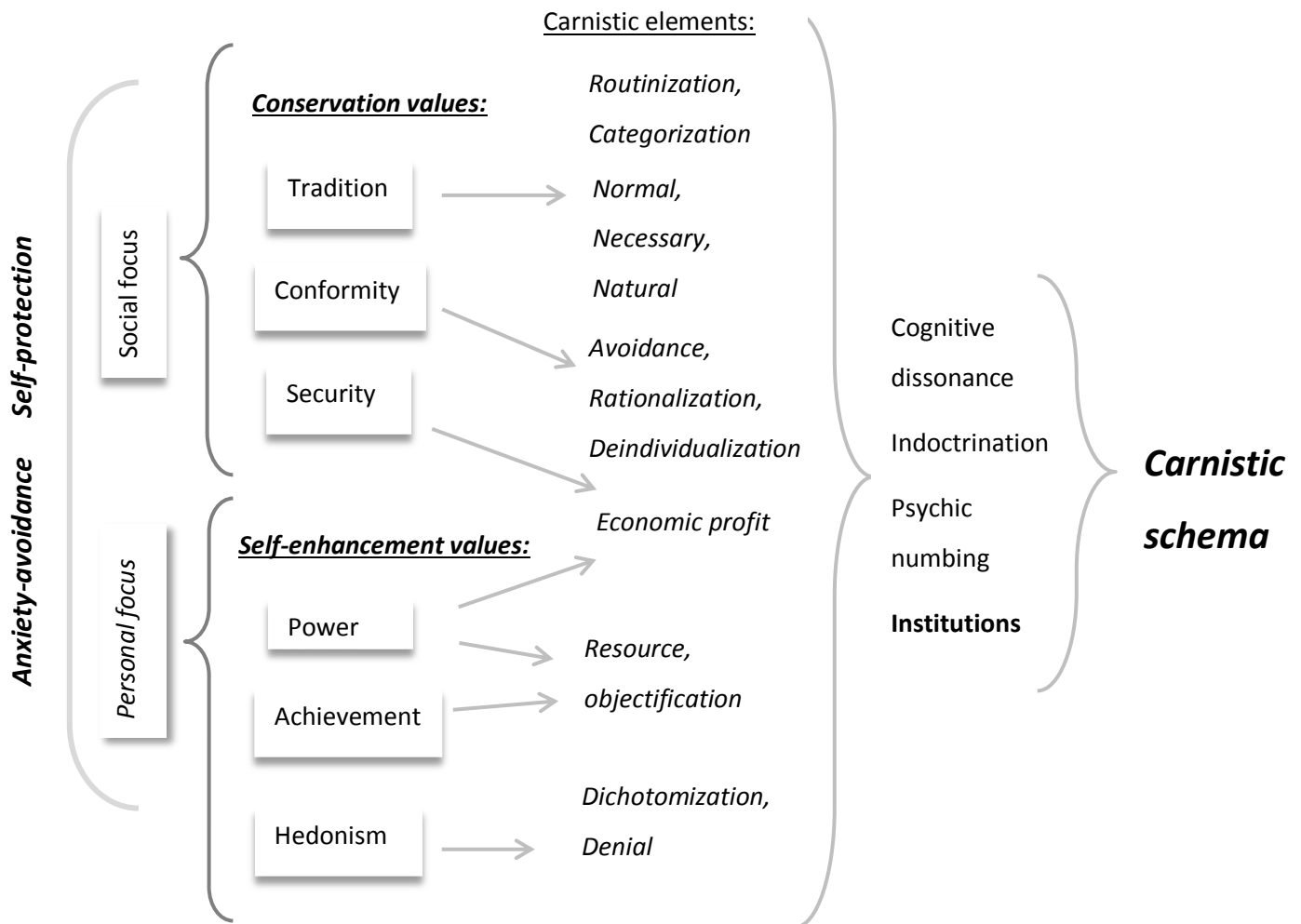


Figure 8. Anxiety-avoidance values support forming the carnistic schema. (Adapted from Schwartz 1992; Joy 2010)

Conservation values help in justifying animal suffering

Conservation values such as tradition, conformity and security can justify animal consumption through routinization, categorization, rationalization and deindividualization and also by relying on economic income or considering the use of animals as normal, natural and necessary. Conservation values have a social focus and they reflect carnism through socially learned mechanisms such as traditional habits and customs.

The regional discourse reflected various carnistic elements through conservation values. Conservation values such as tradition were seen as important and amongst the most common arguments supporting fur farming - *Fur farming is a traditional Finnish livelihood and a part of the Finnish country side*. Traditionalism supports carnism. Omnivore values can be associated with conservatism (Ruby 2012) and with resistance to cultural change (Dhont & Hodson 2013). Tradition creates a base for seeing fur farming practices as normal and natural. Normality is based on a set of opinions that are constructed socially - also naturalization is socially constructed as the tenets of ideologies are being seen as being in accordance with laws of nature (Joy 2010). Some actors considered animal use so normal, natural and necessary that it would be difficult to consider other options:

*“Living would become difficult or even impossible if we wouldn’t use animals in any ways.”
Journalist 10.12.2015 (translation of the author)*

Categorization of animals was common in all discourses. It supports seeing different practices towards animals as being normal and natural. This happened through classifying animals into different categories such as production animals, domesticated animals, fur-animals, pets, edible etc. Classifying animals helps in reasoning animal consumption and seeing it normal as one actor pointed out:

“They are all production animals. Raising them because of their meat or their fur does not really make any difference since they are getting killed anyway.. Fur farming is just one way to earn a living among other livelihoods in country side.” – State officer 08.12.2015 (translation of the author)

Classifying animals differently seemed to help justifying their suffering. Some actors pointed out that many animals classified for human use suffer and eventually die but it is acceptable as it is part of common practices as in fishing:

“There has been discussion about fishing and how painful it is for a fish that the hook is piercing its lip. Well nobody really knows it as we can’t look inside an animal’s mind.. Anyhow, I assume it is painful.. Yet people fish and it is a common way to get income.” Journalist 10.12.2015 (translation of the author)

Also, traditional knowledge about fur farming creates a set of conventions and practices that make routinization of farming possible. According to Joy (2010), by performing a certain action routinely an individual can become desensitized to it. The stages of production in fur farming are highly mechanized, from distributing fodder to killing and skinning. One actor wondered at the aspects of routinization in fur farming as follows:

“No farmer wants to cause suffering on purpose but sometimes a person whose profession is to deal with animals has lack of.. is not always considering that the other one is a living being. It becomes just like a mode of behavior”. Researcher 07.03.2016 (translation of the author)

In the regional discourse values related to conformity can reflect carnism through avoidance, rationalization and deindividualization. Avoidance can relate to simply avoiding thinking of difficult aspects of animal consumption as one actor put it:

“If an animal has a bigger right to its life than a human to use it then we are on the edge of a big question that of course would affect many livelihoods. I don’t want to take a stand on this since it is difficult to argue.” Researcher 30.03.2016 (translation of the author)

Denial can also be related to the consideration of the individual experience of an animal. The argument *Factory farmed animals are living in the present moment. They live from day to day. They do not know anything about the future. When they die, they get killed fast and painlessly* was among the most common ones in the regional discourse. Denial of the individuality of an animal might help to justify the consumption of animal products. According to Joy (2010), deindividualization helps maintain the emotional and psychological distance to animals that is needed in order to be able to harm them. Justifying could be significantly more difficult if there

was acknowledgement of personal characteristics and preferences of every fur farmed animal. This would include acknowledgement of the intentional behavior of animals which requires understanding of future.

General consensus in the regional discourse was that humans have the right to use animals if animal welfare is taken care of. Reasoning animal consumption through animal welfare can be related to rationalization in values related to conformity. Conformity relates to values sustaining social norms (Schwartz 1992). Most of the actors rationalized that it is acceptable to practice fur farming that can be considered as normal (conformity) if the animals are taken good care of and animals are living without unnecessary suffering. Many actors rationalized fur farming also by reflecting it to their own and to the general consumption habits of animal products. They reasoned that because they were accepting other forms of animal production as well eating meat and using other animal products, also fur farming was acceptable. According to Allen (2000), valuing rationalism is common for individuals consuming animal products.

Self-enhancement values support animal objectification

Carnistic elements were present in all discourses through values related to self-enhancement. Achievement and power values were present through considering animals as resource. By seeing animals as resource or objects they could be treated without moral discomfort that an individual would otherwise feel (Joy 2010). Objectification is a distancing mechanism and it normally happens through language (Joy 2010). It was common to consider fur farmed animals as a part of production as an actor in the regional discourse noted:

“Minks are our main product and we have them in many different colours. We are breeding them to improve the quality and colour of the fur.” Farmer 2. 08.12.2015 (translation of the author)

Most of the actors in all three discourses considered that humans have the right to benefit from animals. Some actors in the regional discourse reasoned that the use of animals is a part human's right to use natural resources. This kind of thinking can relate to power and achievement values over resource and reassert carnism. According to Dhont and Hodson (2013), omnivores have a tendency towards right-wing ideologies that have higher approval of animal exploitation which

is connected to the belief of human superiority over animals. One actor pointed out the need to use animals as resource:

“My starting point is that humans have the right to use natural resources, we drink milk, eat meat, eat fish.. - - . People would start fading away if we wouldn’t exploit resources.” Politician 1, 02.12.2015 (translation of the author)

Hedonism is also related to self-enhancement values. Hedonism can reflect carnism through dichotomization of animals. Dichotomization happens mentally by putting animals in two opposing categories such as edible and non-edible and is often based on false assumptions on what animals are like (Joy 2010). Also, fur animals can be labelled through dichotomization and categorised as suitable for textile industries or for luxury products. This enables feeling different emotions towards a certain group of individuals (Joy 2010) and can justify the pleasure from consuming animal products. Hedonistic values in national discourse related to animal consumption - actors who brought up that they were eating meat or using other animal products were more accepting of carnistic behaviour:

“My ethical view about using animals is that when we do it for food it is more acceptable. I think fur farming is unnecessary since they are used particularly for luxury products and mostly as accessories”. Vet 06.04.2016 (translation of the author)

“My own ethical view is that extremism in any issue is not good. So I eat meat but I try to look for what kind of meat it is.. So my point is that as humans we cannot ever take an absolute position and detach ourselves from all suffering. But then we can decide how much we take part on this suffering”. Journalist 03.12.2015 (translation of the author)

Opposing values create cognitive dissonance and denial

Actors in all discourses pursued values that were located on opposing sides of the values space. These kinds of values were, for example, benevolence and hedonism that support carnism. Benevolence could relate to being concerned for the welfare of the animals. No actor wanted animals to experience unnecessary suffering. On the other hand most of the actors agreed that humans can benefit from animals and brought up their personal consumption habits of animal products. Among all the actors only vegans considered that consuming animals was unnecessary

but on the other hand some accepted keeping pets. Actors in the national discourse as well as the actors in the conciliatory discourse who accepted wider use of animals for human benefit pointed out more the need for improvements in fur farming. Only vegans in the national discourse were strongly against fur farming and did not see any other option than prohibiting it with a period of transition.

Pursuing opposing values simultaneously forces an individual to reason the illogical behaviour of wanting animals to avoid suffering but justifying the killing of them for culinary reasons or for fashion. In carnism cognitive dissonance helps to reduce this contradiction. Cognitive dissonance refers to a situation that includes conflicting attitudes, beliefs or behavior for an individual (McLeod 2008). Cognitive dissonance can happen through dichotomization and denial that relate to hedonistic values in different discourses. By dichotomization, specific kind of animal imagery is being formed as animals are categorized to be as certain kind. Dichotomization can help objectify animals as they are being labelled as edible, wearable etc. which justifies hedonistic behaviour. Denial can happen, for example, by understating the mind of an animal being consumed (Bastian et al. 2011). Denial can also relate to avoidance of thinking about morally difficult issues or understating the importance of these issues in general. One actor in the regional discourse denied the importance of animal ethical thinking by stating that there are other more important issues in the society where the focus should be instead:

“Minks and foxes should be outside? We close old people into nursing homes and they never get to go outside in the summer. When you think about what kinds of lives some humans have.. and then minks should have the possibility to swim when even old people in the elderly homes don’t have this. - - . We have stopped caring about humans. I think the focus is wrong.” Journalist 09.12.2015 (translation of the author)

Also, denial can relate to seeing the debate about animal rights as a part of the tendency in the society of humanization of animals or as a consequence of urbanization, as few actor in the regional discourse brought up. Denial can also lead to reasoning absurd consequences from animal ethics such as seeing the empathizing with animals leading into obligation of thinking plants as individuals. Few actors pointed out that if animals had rights, the outcome would be the releasing of all factory farmed animals into the nature or giving rights to plants as well:

“Plants are living too. The purpose of the plant is not to end up in our mouths. It is ethically just as wrong as using an animal.. For example, linseed is not meant to be use by us any more than a fox.” Researcher 06.03.2016 (translation of the author)

Anxiety-free values enable the deconstruction of the carnistic schema

Anxiety-free values such as benevolence, universalism, self-direction and stimulation can help an individual to see different alternatives for carnism as they represent such values as curiosity and exploring, novelty, being responsible and being concerned for others’ welfare, equality and unity with nature. In the national discourse actors were concerned of the ethical aspects of production such as animal welfare and environmental aspects that can relate to universalism values such as protecting the environment and animals.

In the national discourse actors who were vegans had the most opposing values to carnism. These values can lead to questioning of the surrounding social or cultural system and help deconstruct the cognitive dissonance caused by the predominant carnistic schema. Many vegans pointed out that the human capacity to identify with suffering of other animals would lead into moral responsibility to not cause suffering for others or not to take part in it. Vegans saw that animals can be used for human purposes only if it is necessary because of the biological survival of humans and other very marginal cases. Among the vegans the use of animal products was seen as unnecessary for humans and fur farming was seen as being fundamentally wrong. However, national actors consuming animal products highlighted more the importance of improvements in cage farming. Vegan views about animals were connected to a larger framework of seeing other living beings valuable and also to a concern towards the environment:

“Since I don’t have the necessary need for using animal products I might just as well be a vegan. - - . The conditions for farmed animals are in my opinion ethically unsustainable and I don’t want to be legitimating and justifying this livelihood by using their products or services in any way. In my own life I wanted to decrease the suffering that I am taking part in and the ecological footprint. - - . The ethical starting point in my life is being inspired by Gandhi. I try to be the change I want to see in the society and I hope veganism works as an inspirational example for other people.” NGO worker, politician. 01.12.2015 (translation of the author)

5.5 Carnistic institutions

According to Joy (2010), institutions form a pillar in the system that supports carnism. According to Vatn (2005), institutional functioning is based on the dual idea that institutions are constructed by people but also that the human beings are the product of the same institutions. Carnism is both producing institutional values and at the same time being an outcome of them. In discourses related to fur production, values and common practices that relate to institutions such as education, law and certification were highlighted together with animal welfare. Also, media as an institution was mentioned in the national discourse. Actors in the regional discourse relied more on institutions and their opinions seemed to be more constructed through trust on institutional structures whereas actors in the national discourse often criticized institutions related to fur farming. Consumption habits of animal products might affect how an individual considers institutions. Jokinen et al. (2012) pointed out that vegans and vegetarians generally feel a lack of trust towards authorities while people consuming animal products regularly possessed high trust in authorities.

Actors in the regional discourse had high trust in institutional structures such as the certification guaranteeing animal welfare. Possibly conservation values such as tradition, security and conformity supports trust in institutions. Tradition values highlight subordination to cultural customs and ideas, *security values* can relate to trusting institutions to guarantee harmony and safety and conformity values can appreciate institutional functioning as it enables smooth interaction and group functioning. Actors in the regional discourse considered using animals for human benefit as acceptable if animals were treated well, had a life without suffering and generally had a possibility to have a good life. Actors connected good treatment to practices which were being regulated by law and other enactments. Generally trust in the Finnish institutions regulating animal welfare in an appropriate way was high, as the argument *Fur animals in Finland are enjoying high welfare compared to other producer countries* was among the most common ones.

Trust in institutions regulating animal welfare through certification reflects carnism. Certification supports denial of considering morally difficult questions as the responsibility of thinking further

ethical aspects of fur production is given to institutions. Certification supports phenomenal dissociation where the individual is alienated from production.

A few actors pointed out that it is more justifiable to produce fur in Finland since institutional structures enable good animal welfare:

“Isn’t it better that we produce fur here in Finland where animals are receiving best possible care? - - . If we prohibit it here then we just move the problem elsewhere, and we lose money and animals will get treated worse.” Politician 03.12.2015 (translation of the author)

“I believe in the certification system and that farmers invest in animal welfare so that animals are taken better care here than in Russia or in China.” – Journalist 10.12.2015 (translation of the author)

Also, education has traits of carnistic institutions. Actors in the regional discourse and also in the conciliatory discourse emphasized the importance of education in the fur farming sector as the professionalism was considered to improve animal welfare. Education indoctrinates norms related to certain animal species. Through fur farming education fur animals are categorized as production animals that have the purpose to produce economic profit in the human community. Education provides the knowledge for practices that help commodifying animals. These practices allow routinization which is one of the mechanisms supporting carnism. A farmer pointed out different courses related to fur farming practices:

“And then this killing.. So yes this is where we are aiming that it should happen fast and painlessly. Nowadays you need to study courses about it as well.” Farmer 2. 08.12.2015 (translation of the author)

According to Joy (2010), two institutions play a critical role in supporting carnism. These are the legal system and the media. The legal system supports carnism, as animal are considered a property which allows them to be physically violated. In the regional discourse actors often based their arguments opposing fur farming on legality whereas actors in the national discourse pointed out the problems in the law regulating animal welfare. For example, a speciesist categorization of animals was seen to affect the animal protection law and legitimize carnistic behaviour

towards animals depending on their use for humans. One actor pointed out the relation between speciesism and law:

"The law values animals depending on their use for humans. Let's take for example a rabbit. You would never be allowed to cause such pain to a pet rabbit or to keep it in such conditions as is allowed by law to do to laboratory rabbits." Lawyer 04.12.2015 (translation of the author)

Many actors in the national discourse pointed out the need for societal discussion about fur farming. Media was seen as an important institution affecting the general opinion about animal production. One actor in the national discourse pointed out the importance of media in deconstructing carnistic norms:

"We should ethically analyse our use of animals in the society. This should happen on different levels like through media, legislation and politics. It should happen in all sectors that are somehow related to animal use by starting from the educational sector and how we are shaped to be consumers of animals.. The conversation in the media is the most important because a discussion will follow from it on other levels." – Philosopher 06.12.2015 (translation of the author)

Regional actors that had been in contact with fur production relied on institutional enactments and knowledge guaranteeing animal welfare like education, certification and law. Institutions seem to alienate individual from thinking difficult moral questions related to animal production and reinforce the cognitive dissonance caused by animal consumption. Carnistic institutions help individual forming a value field that supports cognitive dissonance. On the other hand national actors used carnistic institutions to associate ethical flaws on fur production and to question animal welfare. This might be because these institutions did not affect everyday life of the national actors – most of them had a lack of direct regular engagement with fur farming that was related to their income so that there was no need for purchasing values supporting cognitive dissonance. The conciliatory discourse focused on institutional improvement related to the trade through a dialogue. Generally the more the participant had deconstructed his or hers carnistic schema the stronger was the opinion against fur farming - it seemed to depend on the views on animal ethics of the participant to what direction the trade should be developed.

6. Discussion

In Finland fur farming has aroused a lot of public debate. This research has concluded which are the main discourses about fur farming and what values these discourses reflect. Regional discourse was supportive of fur farming, relying on arguments such as economic income, importance of traditionalism of the trade and trust in institutional certification regulating animal welfare. National discourse was against fur farming, as strongest arguments related to ethicality, criticism towards animal welfare on farms and also criticism towards regulations and law related to fur animals. Conciliatory discourse contemplated alternative solutions for continuity of fur farming and pointed out problematic economic aspects such as the clustered production in Ostrobothnia and animal breeding as increasing the economic profit but decreasing the animal welfare.

In all discourses values supporting carnistic elements were found. Carnistic mechanisms justifying the commodification of animals were present most strongly in regional discourse through anxiety-avoidance values - conservation values such as tradition, conformity and security seem to help justifying animal suffering through routinization, categorization, avoidance, rationalization, deindividualization and economic profit. Self-enhancement values such as power, achievement and hedonism supported seeing animals as resource through objectification, dichotomization and also through economic profit. Anxiety-avoidance values seem to help dealing with the cognitive dissonance related to commodifying animals.

In all three discourses most of the actors reflected on their personal consumption habits of animal products while considering the ethical aspects of fur production. This often lead to pursuing motivationally opposing values at the same time that could be seen as contradictory thinking about animals through cognitive dissonance and denial. As actors who were vegans were not using animal products they did not need to pursue opposing values at the same time. In national discourse especially vegans highlighted anxiety-free values such as benevolence, universalism, self-direction and stimulation. These values seem to help an individual to deconstruct the carnistic schema that supports commodification of animals and associate animal suffering to consumption of animal products.

Also, institutions help establish the carnistic schema by alienating an individual from the responsibility of harmful consequences of one's actions. Institutional structures supporting carnism in the fur farming context were education, law, certification and media. Actors in regional discourse relied more on institutions and their opinions seemed to be more constructed through trust on institutional structures whereas actors in national discourse often criticized institutions related to fur farming.

In this research the polarized societal framework regarding fur farming had an effect on finding the participants and maybe to what certain participants wanted to highlight. As neither the central researchers of fur animals or the fur industry were willing to participate, it is very probable that some details of the discourses are not included in the results. However, the statements used in the interviews were formed through a wide selection of documents, also from the organizations that these central actors represent. Also, enough actors from different fields participated that it was possible to find repetitive themes in every discourse.

Carnism is a new theory and it has not been applied much in research. There is very little if any research done on the relation of carnism and basic human values, as done here. Some studies highlight the psychology, behavioural tendencies or values of vegans, vegetarians and omnivores but this is not done in the context of carnism. However, carnistic elements justifying animal consumption can be found in various studies (Allen 2000, Bastian et al. 2011, Dhont & Hodson 2013, Ruby 2012, Piazza et al. 2015). In fur discourses, combining carnism and basic human value theory can have problematic aspects such as making generalizations from a small amount of participants represent a bigger phenomenon. Also, it is not straightforward which kind of values supports certain carnistic mechanisms. However, fur discourses supported the finding that anxiety-avoidance values help form the carnistic schema and anxiety-free values enable individuals to see beyond carnism.

Carnism justifies, through many mechanisms, the commodification of other living beings. As animal production industries are based on systematic killing to produce every day commodities such as food and clothes they might sustain a value field that support anxiety-avoidance values. Speciesism is shaping the animal imagery which is part of the elements constructing the carnistic behavior that enables simultaneously the use of different animals as pets, food and commodities

without acknowledging any contradiction there of. If this contradiction happens on a daily basis it can reinforce the tendencies in an individual to pursue anxiety-avoidance values related to conservation and self-enhancement which help justify carnism. Applying these values regularly can affect the larger societal framework of values and maybe helps explain certain societal phenomena such as inequality, based on racial prejudices (Hodson & Costello 2012) and large scale environmental degradation (Boggs 2011, Sage 2015) through valuing other live forms as resource.

Carnism helps understanding animal production as socially and culturally constructed phenomena that builds incorrect animal imagery. Being aware of carnism helps explaining why fur farming discourses are so polarized in Finland. The values sustaining fur farming can be possibly generalized to the values sustaining other animal industries in Finland as well. By being aware of the mechanisms how carnism effects on values it is perhaps possible to build conciliatory views on animal ethics that highlight alternative solutions for the practices of animal industries. Being aware and starting to deconstruct carnistic schema might play a key role in order to develop societies towards more ecologically sustainable and equal.

7. Acknowledgments

This research was done for a research project “Geographies of Dissociation: The Social Construction of Value From a Spatial Perspective”. I would like to express my gratitude to my supervisor Johanna Hautala for the engagement through the learning process of this master thesis and for useful comments and remarks.

8. References

- Aalto, P. (2003a). Q-metodologia politiikan tutkimuksessa: Esimerkinä EU:n pohjoisen ulottuvuuden asiantuntijakeskustelu. *Politiikka* 45: 2, pp. 117–132.
- Aalto, P. (2003b). Geopolitiikka ja Q-metodologia: Diskurssit ja yksilötoimijat tutkimuskohteena. In Harle, V. & S. Moisio (ed.): *Muuttuva geopolitiikka*, pp. 130–149. Gaudeamus, Helsinki.
- Aaltola, E. (2004). *Eläinten moraalinen arvo*. 308 p. Vastapaino, Tampere.
- Aaltola, E. (2006). *Animal Individuality: Cultural and Moral Categorizations*. 332 p. Painosalama Oy, Turku.
- Aaltonen, S. & R. Högbacka. (2015). *Umpikujasta oivallukseen Refleksiivisyys empirisessä tutkimuksessa*. Tampereen yliopistopaino, Tampere.
- Adams, C. (2000). A feeling for the language: Comments on Dunayer's "In the name of science." *Organization and Environment* 13, pp. 453-459.
- Ahola, L., T. Koistinen & J. Mononen. (2009). Sand floor for farmed blue foxes: Effects on claws, adrenal cortex function, growth and fur properties. *International Journal of Zoology* 2009: 563252.
- Ahola, L., M. Harri, J. Mononen, T. Pyykönen & S. Kasanen. (2001). Welfare of farmed silver foxes (*Vulpes vulpes*) housed in sibling groups in large outdoor enclosures. *Canadian Journal of Animal science* 81, pp. 435-440.
- Albrecht, G. L. (2006). Values. *Encyclopedia of Disability* 4, 2006. 1595-1599 p. Thousand Oaks, CA.
- Allardt, E. (1981). *Sosiologian perusteet*. Weilin+Göös, Helsinki.
- Allen, M. (2000). Values and Beliefs of Vegetarians and Omniveres. *The Journal of Social Psychology* 2000, 140(4), pp. 405 – 422.
- Althusser, L. (1971). *Lenin and philosophy and other essays*. NLB, Lontoo.
- Animalia. (2015). *Tapaus Saga Furs - myytti eettisestä turkiksesta*. Animalia 4/2015
- Appadurai, A. (1996). *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*. University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis.
- Arluke, A. & Sanders, C. (1996). *Regarding Animals*. Temple University Press, Philadelphia.
- Arneson, R. J. (1999). What, if Anything, Renders All Human Morally Equal? In Dale Jamieson (ed.): *Singer and His Critics*. Blackwell, Oxford.
- Bandura, A. (1999). Moral disengagement in the perpetration of inhumanities. *Personality and Social Psychology Review* 3 (1999), pp. 193–209
- Barberio, R. P. (1997). *Values, Ideology, and Political Participation*. UMI, USA.
- Bastian, B., S. Loughnan, N. Haslam & H. R. M. Radke. (2011). Don't Mind Meat? The Denial of Mind to Animals Used for Human Consumption. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 11/2011.

- Bathelt, H. & J. Glückler. (2014). Institutional change in economic geography. *Progress in Human Geography* 38 (3), pp. 340 – 363.
- Beatson, P. (2011). Mapping human animal relations. In Taylor, N. & Signal, T. (Ed.): *Theorizing Animals : Re-thinking Humanimal Relations*. Human-Animal Studies 11. 313 p. Brill Academic Publishers, Leiden.
- Beers, D. (2006). *For the prevention of cruelty: The history and legacy of animal rights activism in the United states*. Ohio University Press, Athens.
- Beezhold, B. L., C.S. Johnston & D.R. Daigle. (2010). Vegetarian diets are associated with healthy mood states. A cross-sectional study in Seventh Day Adventist adults. *Nutrition Journal* 9 (26) (2010), pp. 1–7
- Bentham, J. (1948). *An Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation*. Hafner, New York.
- Bijleveld, M., M. Korteland & M. Sevenster. (2011). *The environmental impact of mink fur production*. CE Delft.
- Bildtgård, T. (2008). Trust in food in modern and late-modern societies. *Social Science Information* 47, pp. 99–128.
- Boggs, C. (2011). Corporate Power, Ecological Crisis, and Animal Rights. In Sanbonmatsu, J (Ed.): *Critical Theory and Animal Liberation*. 379 p. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, USA.
- Bratanova, B., S. Loughnan & B. Bastian. (2011). The effect of categorization as food on the perceived moral standing of animals. *Appetite* 57 (2011) pp. 193 – 196
- Bromley, D. W. (2006). *Sufficient Reason: Volitional Pragmatism and the Meaning of Economic Institutions*. Princeton University Press, Princeton.
- Brown, S. R. (1993). A primer on Q-methodology. *Operant Subjectivity* 16 pp. 91-138.
- Buller, H., & E. Roe. (2012). Commodifying animal welfare. *Animal Welfare* 21 (SI) pp. 131-135
- Carlo, G., M. V. Mestre, P. Samper, A. Tur & B. E. Armenta. (2011). The longitudinal relations among dimensions of parenting styles, sympathy, prosocial moral reasoning and prosocial behaviors. *International Journal of Behavioral Development* 35, pp. 116-124.
- Cassuto, N. D. (2007). BRED MEAT: THE CULTURAL FOUNDATION OF THE FACTORY FARM. *Law and Contemporary Problems* 70:59 pp. 59-87
- Centria University of Applied Sciences. International Business. Downloaded 20.04.2016. <<http://web.centria.fi/applicants/bachelors-degree/international-business>>
- Cieciuch, J., S. H. Schwartz & E. Davidov. (2015). Values, Social Psychology of. In *International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences*, 2nd edition, Vol 25.
- Cook, C. (2015). ‘A pig is a persona or ‘You can love a fox and hunt it’: Innovation and tradition in the discursive representation of animals. *Discourse & Society* 26(5) pp. 587 – 607.

- Costello, K., & G. Hodson. (2013). Explaining dehumanization among children: The interspecies model of prejudice. *British Journal of Social Psychology*.
- Cowspiracy - The sustainability secret. (2014). Animal agriculture is the leading cause of species extinction, ocean dead zones, water pollution, and habitat destruction. Downloaded 7.5.2015. <<http://www.cowspiracy.com/facts/>>
- Damasio, A. (1999). *The Feeling of What Happens: Body, Emotion and the Making of Consciousness*. : Heineman, London.
- DeMello, M. (2012). *Animals and Society: An Introduction to Human-Animal Studies*. 488 p. Columbia university press.
- Derrida, J. (1995). "Eating well" or the calculation of the subject. In Weber, E. (Ed.): *Points: Interviews, 1974-1994* pp. 255-287. Stanford University Press, Stanford.
- Dewar, K., W. M. Li & C. H. Davis. (2007). Photographic Images, Culture, and Perception in Tourism Advertising. *Journal of travel & Tourism Marketing* 22:2, pp. 35-44.
- Dhont, K. & G. Hodson. (2013). Why do right-wing adherents engage in more animal exploitation and meat consumption? *Personality and Individual Differences* 64 (2014), pp. 12-17.
- Dietz, T., A. Stirling Frisch, L. Kalof, P. C. Stern & G. A. Guagnano. (1995) Values and vegetarianism. An exploratory analysis. *Rural Sociology* 60, pp. 533–542.
- Dombrowski, D. (1997). *Babies and beasts: The Argument from Marginal Cases*. University of Illinois Press, Champaign.
- Dunayer, J. (2000). In the name of science: The language of vivisection. *Organization and Environment* 13, pp. 429-431.
- Dwyer, J.T. (1974). The "new" vegetarians. *Journal of the American Dietetic Association* 64 (4), pp. 376–382
- Eden, S., A. Donaldson & G. Walker (2005). Structuring subjectivities? Using Q methodology in human geography. *Area* 37: 4, pp. 413–422.
- EFBA. (2016a). Home. Downloaded 19.04.2016. <<http://efba.eu/>>
- EFBA. (2016b). WelFur – The animal welfare project on fur-farmed species. Overview. Downloaded 19.04.2016 <<http://www.efba.eu/welfur/index.html>>
- Ellis, G., J. Barry & C. Robinson. (2007). Many ways to say 'no, different ways to say 'yes': Applying Q-Methodology to understand public acceptance of wind farm proposals. *Journal of Environmental Planning and Management* 50:4, pp. 517-551.
- Fiddes, N. (1989). *Meat: A natural symbol*. Routledge, New York.
- Filippi, M., G. Riccitelli, A. Falini, F. Di Salle, P. Vuilleumier, G. Comi & M. A. Rocca. (2010). The brain functional networks associated to human and animal suffering differ among omnivores, vegetarians and vegans. *PLoS One* 5(5): e10847

- Finlex. (4.4.1996/247). Eläinsuojelulaki. <www.finlex.fi>
- Finlex. (20.10.2011/1084). Valtioneuvoston asetus turkiseläinten suojelusta. 9 § Hyvinvoinnista huolehtiminen. <www.finlex.fi>
- Fischer, R., T. L. Milfont & V. V. Gouveia. (2011). Does Social Context Affect Value Structures? Testing the Within-Country Stability of Value Structures With a Functional Theory of Values. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* 42(2), pp. 253–270
- Foucault, M. (1969). *The Archaeology of Knowledge*. Trans. A. M. Sheridan Smith. Routledge, London 2002.
- Francione, G. L. (1995). *Animals, Property, and the Law*. Temple University Press, Philadelphia.
- Francione, G. L. (2010). Animal Welfare and the Moral Value of Nonhuman Animals. *Law, Culture and the Humanities* [http://www.furfreealliance.com/fur-farming/6\(1\)](http://www.furfreealliance.com/fur-farming/6(1)), pp. 24-36.
- FurFreeAlliance. Fur Farming. Downloaded 25.03.20016 < >
- Gilstrap, L. & C. Laub. (2005). Schema. In Salkind, N., J. (Ed.): *Encyclopedia of Human Development*. SAGE Publications, Inc.
- Griffin, D. R. (2001). *ANIMAL MINDS Beyond Cognition to Consciousness*. 355 p. The University of Chicago press, Chicago.
- Halliday, M. A. K. & C.M.I.M. Matthiessen. (2004). *An introduction to functional grammar*, 3. Ed. London, Arnold.
- Hamilton, M. (2006). Eating death. Vegetarians, meat, and violence. *Food, Culture and Society* 9 (2), pp. 155–177.
- Hanell, T. & K. Lähteenmäki-Smith. (2006) Metropolisation in the BSR: trends and policy responses in Finland. In Eskelinen, H. & T. Hirvonen. (Ed.): *Positioning Finland in a European Space*, 16–29. Ministry of the Environment, Ministry of the Interior, Helsinki.
- Helsingin Sanomat. (28.11.2013). Nyt-liite. Ketulla on hyvä olla häkissä, ja turkistarhaus voi jatkua – vai mitä kaverit? Downloaded 22.04.2016. <<http://nyt.fi/a1305753756425>>
- Helsingin Sanomat. (16.02.2015). Turkiseläinten oloja uudistava työryhmä riitaantui – Ministeri Petteri Orpo on pettynyt. Downloaded 27.04.2016. <<http://www.hs.fi/kotimaa/a1424063343478>>
- Hirvonen, A. (2006) Eettisesti hyvä tutkimus. In Hallanmaa et al. (Ed.): *Etiikkaa ihmistieteille*. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura (2006): 31-49.
- Hirvonen, A. (2014). *MUSTASUKKAISET TAPPAJATALITINTIT Inhimillistäminen ja metaforat luonnonvaraisia lintuja koskevissa mediateksteissä*. Pro Gradu – tutkielma. Tampereen Yliopisto
- Hoffman, M. L. (2000). *Empathy and moral development: Implications for caring and justice*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Hofstede, G. (2001). *Culture's consequences: Comparing values, behaviors, institutions, and organizations across nations* (2nd ed.). Sage, Beverly Hills.

- Hoikkala, T. (1990). Teun A. Van Dijikin diskurssianalyysi. In Mäkelä, K. (Ed.): *Kvalitatiivisen aineiston analyysi ja tulkinta*. 285 p. Gaudeamus, Helsinki.
- Hodson, G. & K. Costello. (2012). The human cost of devaluing animals. *New Scientist* 2895, pp. 34–35.
- Hodson, G., C. C. Macinnis & K. Costello. (2013). (Over) valuing humanness as an aggravator of intergroup prejudices and discrimination. pp. 86–110. In P. Bain et al. (Eds.) *Humanness and dehumanization*. Psychology Press, London, UK.
- Horta, O. (2009). What is speciesism? *Journal of Agricultural and Environmental Ethics* 23.3 (2010): pp. 243-266.
- Hudson, L. (2011). A Species of Thought: Bare Life and Animal Being. *Antipode* 43:5 pp. 1659-1678.
- Inglehart, R. & W. Baker. (2000). Modernization, cultural change, and the persistence of traditional values. *American Sociological Review* 2000. 65:1.
- Isaacs, S. (1930). *Intellectual growth in young children*. Routledge, London.
- Jokinen, A., K. Juhila & E. Suoninen (1993). *Diskurssianalyysin aakkoset*. 238 p. Vastapaino Gummerrus Oy, Jyväskylä.
- Jokinen, A., K. Juhila & E. Suoninen (1999). *Diskurssianalyysi liikkeessä*. 281 s. Vastapaino, Gummerrus Oy, Tampere.
- Jokinen, P., S. Kupsala & M. Vinnari. (2012). Consumer trust in animal farming practices – exploring the high trust of Finnish consumers. *International Journal of Consumer Studies* 36, pp. 106–113.
- Joy, M. (2010). *Why We Love Dogs, Eat Pigs, and Wear Cows: An Introduction to Carnism*. 201 p. Conari Press, San Francisco.
- Kangaspunta, S. (2001). *Diskurssi ja diskurssianalyysi*. Internetix.
- Karkinen, K. (2009). *Sitkeä sissi – turkistarhaaja yhteiskunnan muutoksessa (The Finnish fur farmer impaled in social change)*. Joensuun yliopistopaino, Joensuu.
- Kansalaisaloite (2012). Lakialoite turkistarhauksen lopettamiseksi Suomessa. Aloitemuistio 14.05.2012.
- Kendall, H. A., L. M. Lobao & J. S. Sharp. (2006). Public concern with animal well-being: place, social structural location, and individual experience. *Rural Sociology* 71, pp. 399–428.
- Kleinman, S. & M. A. Copp. (1993). Feelings about Participants. In Kleinman, S. & Copp, M. A. (Eds.): *Emotions and Fieldwork*. Newbury Park: Sage Publications.
- Knafo, A., S. Roccas & L. Sagiv. (2011) The Value of Values in Cross-Cultural Research: A Special Issue in Honor of Shalom Schwartz. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* 42(2), pp. 178–185
- Koistinen, T. (2008). Blue foxes' (*Alopex lagopus*) preferences between earth floor and wire mesh floor. *Applied Animal Behaviour Science* 111, pp. 38-53.
- Jyväskylän Yliopisto. (2015). *Aineiston analyysimenetelmät*. Downloaded 13.08.2015 <<https://koppa.jyu.fi/avoimet/hum/menetelmapolkuja/menetelmapolku/aineiston-analyysimenetelmat/diskurssianalyysi>>

Kannus College. (2016). Downloaded 20.04.2016

<<http://www.kpedu.fi/haku?indexCatalogue=full&searchQuery=Kannus&wordsMode=0&kp=Kannus>>

Lappalainen, E. (2012). *Syötäväksi kasvatetut: Miten ruokasi eli elämänsä*. Atena, Jyväskylä.

Lappalainen, P. (2010). Breaking the Traditional Style of Finnish Civic Activity. *Alternatives* 35 (2012), pp. 71-92.

Lavis, A. & E.-J. Abbots. (2013). *Why We Eat, How We Eat*. Ashgate, Farnham.

Leder, D. (2012). Old MacDonald's Had a Farm: The Metaphysics of Factory Farming. *Journal of Animal Ethics* 2(1), pp. 73-86.

Lifton, R. J. (1974). "On Death and the Continuity of Life: A 'New' Paradigm." *History of Childhood Quarterly* 1, pp. 681-96.

Linzey, A. (2009). *Why animal suffering matters: Philosophy, theology, and practical ethics*. Oxford University Press, England.

Loughnan, S., B. Bastian & N. Haslam. (2014). The psychology of Eating Animals. *Current Directions in Psychological Science* 23(2), pp. 104-108.

Low, P. (2012). *The Cambridge Declaration on Consciousness*. 07.07.2012. Memorial Conference on Consciousness in Human and non-Human Animals. Churchill College, University of Cambridge.

Luke. (2016) Tutkimushanke. Turkistila 2020 – Turkiseläinten hyvinvointihanke. Downloaded 20.04.2016 <<https://portal.mtt.fi/portal/page/portal/mtt/hankkeet/turkistila2020>>

Luke. fi Hankkeen tiedot. Turkistila 2020 – Turkiseläinten hyvinvointihanke. Downloaded 20.04.2016 <https://portal.mtt.fi/portal/page/portal/mtt/tutkimus/Hankehaku/Hankkeentiedot?p_kielikoodi=FI&p_hanke_seqno=410777>

Lundqvist, E. (2014). *Salainen päiväkirja eläintiloilta*. Into, Helsinki.

Lüttke, H. B. (2004). Experimente under dem Milgram-Paradigma (Experiments within the Milgram paradigm). *Gruppendynamik und Organisationsberatung* 35, pp. 431-464.

Meeus, W. H. J., & Q. A. W. Raaijmakers. (1986). Administrative Obedience: Carrying Out Orders to use Psychological-Administrative Violence. *European Journal of Social Psychology* 16, pp. 311-324.

Meeus, W. H. J., & Q. A. W. Raaijmakers. (1995). Obedience in modern society: The Utrecht studies. *Journal of Social Issues* 51, pp. 155-175.

Michalak, K. (2011). Schema. In Bertrand, B. et al. (Eds.): *International Encyclopedia of Political Science*. SAGE Publications, Inc.

Migley, M. (2002). *Evolution as religion*. Routledge, London.

Milgram, S. (1965). Some conditions of obedience and disobedience to authority. *Human Relations* 18, pp. 57-76.

Milgram, S. (1974). *Obedience to authority: An experimental view*. Harper & Row, New York.

- Mill, J. S. (1987). Utilitarianism. In Ryan, A. (Ed.): *John Stuart Mill and Jeremy Bentham, Utilitarianism and Other Essays*. 297 p. Penguin, Harmondsworth.
- The Ministry of Forestry and Agriculture. Eläinsuojelulakia ollaan uudistamassa. Downloaded 09.05.2016 <<http://mmm.fi/elainsuojelulaki>>
- Moilanen, H. (2007). *Innovaatioympäristöjen kehittämismallit – tapaukset Raahen ja Oulun Eteläinen*. Pro Gradu tutkielma. Oulun Yliopisto.
- Mononen, J., S.H. Moller, S. W. Hansen, A. L. Hovland, T. Koistinen, L. Lidfors, J. Malmkvist, C. M. Vinke & L. Ahola. (2012). The development of on-farm welfare assessment protocols for foxes and mink: the Welfur project. *Animal Welfare* 21, pp. 363-371.
- Mood, A. & B. Brooke. (2010). Estimating the Number of Fish Caught in Global Fishing Each Year. Downloaded 05.05.2015 <fishcount.org.uk/published/std/fishcountstudy.pdf>
- Mäntynen, A. & S. Pietikäinen. (2009). *Kurssi kohti diskurssia*. Vastapaino, Tampere.
- Neuvoston direktiivi. (1993). 93/119/EY, annettu 22 joulukuuta 1993, eläinten suojelusta teurastus- tai lopettamishetkellä
- Neuvoston direktiivi. (1998). 98/58/EY, annettu 20 päivänä heinäkuuta 1998, tuotantoeläinten suojelusta
- Neuvoston asetus (EY). (2009). N:o 1099/2009, annettu 24 päivänä syyskuuta 2009, eläinten suojelusta lopetuksen yhteydessä
- North, D. C. (1990) *Institutions, Institutional Change and Economic Performance*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- O'Neill, O. (1997). Environmental Values, Anthropocentrism and Speciesism. *Environmental Values* 6 (1997): 127-42. The white Horse Press, UK.
- O'Neill, P. & L. Petrinovich. (1998). A Preliminary Cross-Cultural Study of Moral Intuitions. *Evolution and Human Behavior* 19, pp. 349–367.
- O'Neill, S. & S. Nicholson-Cole. (2009). "Fear won't do it" Promoting Positive Engagement With Climate Change Through Visual and Iconic Representations. *Science Communication* 30:3.
- Oppenlander, R. (2001). *Comfortably unaware – global depletion and food responsibility what you choose to eat is killing our planet*. Langdon street press, Minneapolis.
- Panskepp, J. (2000). The Chemistry of Caring. In Bekoff, M. (Ed.): *The Smile of a Dolphin: Remarkable Accounts of Animal Emotions*. Discovery Books, New York.
- Park, C. & M. Allaby. (2013). *A Dictionary of Environment and Conservation*. 2 ed. Oxford University Press.
- Piazza, J., M. B. Ruby, S. Loughnan, M. Luong, J. Kulik, H. M. Watkins & M. Seigerman. (2015). Rationalizing meat consumption. *The 4Ns. Appetite* 91, pp. 114 – 128.
- Pickett, H. & S. Harris. (2015). *The Case Against Fur Factory Farming A Scientific Review of Animal Welfare Standards and 'Welfur'*. Respect for Animals.

- Pietarinen, J. (1999). Tutkijan ammattietiikan perusta. In Lötjönen, S. (Ed.): *Tutkijan ammattietiikka*. Opetusministeriön koulutus- ja tiedepolitiikan osaston julkaisuja 69. Opetusministeriö, Helsinki, 9-19.
- Pietikäinen, S. (2000). Kriittinen diskurssintutkimus. In Luukka, M.-L. & K. Sajavaara (Eds.): *Kieli, diskurssi & yhteisö*, 191–217. Soveltavan kielentutkimuksen laitos, Jyväskylän yliopisto, Jyväskylä.
- Pinker, S. (1997). *The Language Instinct*. Allen Lane, London.
- Pirscher, F. (2016). Consuming for the Sake of Others: Whose Interests Count on a Market for Animal-Friendly Products? *Journal of Agricultural and Environmental Ethics* 29, pp. 67-80.
- Post, G. S. (2004). Value and Valuation. In Post, G. S. (Ed.) *Encyclopedia of Bioethics*. Vol. 5. 3rd ed. Macmillan Reference, New York.
- Preylo B. D. & H. Arikawa. (2008). Comparison of vegetarians and non-vegetarians on pet attitude and empathy. *Anthrozoös* 21 (4), pp. 387–395
- Profur. (2015a). Turkistilat. Turkiseläinkasvatuksella on Suomessa pitkät perinteet. Downloaded 05.08.2016. <http://www.turkistieto.fi/Perustietoa_Suomen_turkistiloista>
- Profur. (2015b). Suomi on turkistilaserifioinnin alullepanija. <http://www.turkistieto.fi/Suomi_on_turkistilaserifioinnin_alullepanija> Downloaded 16.09.2015
- Profur. (2015c). Turkisasetuksen uudistaminen siirtyy, elinkeino kehittää omaehtoisesti. 11.9.2015. Downloaded 20.04.2016. http://www.profur.fi/Turkisasetuksen_uudistaminen_siirtyy_elinkeino_kehittaa_omaehtoisesti
- Profur. (2015d). Turkiseläinkasvatuksessa huomioidaan ympäristöseikat. Downloaded 06.08.2016. <http://www.turkistieto.fi/Turkistarhojen_ymparistonsuojelu>
- Profur & Sagafurs. (2015). Kuvia turkiselinkeinosta päivänvalossa. Downloaded 20.06.2015. <<https://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PLooAgRFx0uLFEOJ7HO7io4xNdjsIP6uJv>>
- Ratamäki, O. (2009). Luonto, kulttuuri ja yhteiskunta osana ihmisen ja eläimen suhdetta. 37-51 p. In Kainulainen et al. (Eds.): *Ihmisten eläinkirja. Muuttuva eläinkulttuuri*. Helsinki University Press. Helsinki.
- Rastas, A. (2005). Kulttuurit ja erot haastattelutilanteissa. 78-102 p. In Ruusuvuori, J. & Tiittula, L. (Eds.): *Haastattelu. Tutkimus, tilanteet, vuorovaikutus*. Vastapaino, Tampere.
- Regan, T. (1985). *The Case for Animals Rights*. 155 p. University of California Press, Berkeley.
- Remes, L. (2006). Diskurssianalyysin perusteet. In Metsämuuronen, J. (Ed.): *Laadullisen tutkimuksen käsikirja*, pp. 285–374. International Methelp, Helsinki.
- Robbins, P. & R. Krueger. (2000). Beyond Bias? The Promise and Limits of Q Method in Human Geography. *Professional Geographer* 52(4), pp. 636-648.
- Rollin, B. E. (2006). ANIMAL MIND: SCIENCE, PHILOSOPHY, AND ETHICS. *The Journal of Ethics* (2007) 11, pp. 253–274.

- Rothgerber, H. (2014). Efforts to overcome vegetarian-induced dissonance among meat eaters. *Appetite* 79, pp. 32–41.
- Rowlands, M. (1998). *Animal Rights. A Philosophical Defence*. MacMillan Press, London.
- Ruby, M. B. (2012). Vegetarianism. A blossoming field of study. *Appetite* 58:1, pp. 141–150.
- Ruonanvaara, H. (2014). Instituutiot ja rakenteet. In Erola, J. & Räsänen, P. (Eds.): *Johdatus sosiologian perusteisiin*. Gaudeamus Helsinki University Press, Helsinki.
- Ruthven, M. (1997). *Islam*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Saga Furs Oyj. (2014). Corporate Social Responsibility report 2014.
- Sage, C. (2015). Making and Un-Making Meat: Cultural Boundaries, Environmental Thresholds and Dietary Transgressions. In Goodman, Michael K. (Ed.): *Critical Food Studies: Food Transgressions: Making Sense of Contemporary Food Politics*. Ashgate Publishing Group.
- Sagiv, L. & S. H. Schwartz. (2007). Cultural values in organizations: Insights for Europe. *European Journal of International Management* 1, pp. 176-190.
- Schermer, J. A., N. T. Feather, G. Zhu & N. G. Martin. (2008). Phenotypic, genetic, and environmental properties of the portrait values questionnaire. *Twin Research and Human Genetics* 5, pp. 531-537.
- Scott, W. R. (1995). *Institutions and organizations*. Newbury Park, CA.
- Scruton, R. (1996). *Animal rights and wrongs*. Demos, London.
- Seppänen, J. (2005). *Visuaalinen kulttuuri teoriaa ja metodeja mediakuvan tulkitsijalle*. 303 p. Vastapaino, Tampere.
- Shipman, P. (2011). *The Animal Connection a New Perspective on What Makes Us Human*. 336 p. W. W. Norton & Company, Inc.
- Silvenius, F., N. Koskinen, S. Kurppa, T. Rekilä, J. Sepponen & H. Hyvärinen. (2011). *Suomessa tuotetun minkin- ja ketunahan elinkaariarviointi*. MTT:n Suomen Turkiseläinten Kasvattajain Liit-to ry:lle ja Turkistuottajat Oyj:lle tekemä tilaus-tutkimus. MTT Jokioinen.
- Singer, P. (1975). *Animal liberation*. 280 p. Avon Books, New York.
- Sipilä, M. (2011). *“Kuvasta katsoo piinattu eläin” Eläinoikeusliikkeen media-aktivismi Tarhauskielto-kampajanssa talvella 2010*. Pro Gradu, University of Tampere
- Sollund, R. A. (2008). *Global Harms Ecological Crime and Speciesism*. 230 p. Nova Science Publishers, New York.
- Smart, J. M. (1995). The gender gap. If you're a vegetarian, odds are you're a woman. Why? *Vegetarian Times* 210 (1995), pp. 74–81.
- Schmolck, P. (2003). PQMethod Manual. Downloaded 29.01.2008. <<http://www.lrz-muenchen.de/~schmolck/qmethod/pqmanual.htm>>
- Spiegel, M. (1996). *The treaded comparation: Human and animal slavery*. Heredic Books, London.

- Springmann, M., H. C. J. Godfray, M. Rayner & P. Scarborough. (2016). Analysis and valuation of the health and climate change cobenefits of dietary change. *PNAS* 113:12.
- Schwartz, S. H. (1992). Universals in the content and structure of values: Theory and empirical tests in 20 countries. In M. Zanna (Ed.): *Advances in experimental social psychology* 25, pp. 1-65. Academic Press, New York.
- Schwartz, S. H. (1999). Cultural value differences: Some implications for work. *Applied Psychology: An International Review* 48, pp. 23-47.
- Schwartz, S.H., & A. Bardi. (1997). Influences of adaptation to communist rule on value priorities in Eastern Europe. *Political Psychology* 18, pp. 385-410.
- Schwartz, S. H., L. Sagiv & K. Boehnke. (2000). Worries and values. *Journal of Personality* 68, pp. 309-346.
- STKL Suomen Turkiseläinten Kasvattajain Liitto Ry or *The Finnish Union of Fur Farmers*. (2016). Sertifiointi. Downloaded 19.04.2016 <<http://www.profur.fi/Sertifiointi>>
- Suomen Eläinlääkäriliitto ry or *the Finnish Veterinary Association*. (2010). 4.6.2010 LAUSUNTO TURKISTARHAUKSEN SERTIFIOINTIVAATIMUKSISTA. Downloaded 09.05.2016. <http://www.sell.fi/user_files/files/lausunnot/STKL%20sertifiointi%2020100604_2.pdf>
- Tangney, J. P., J. Stuewig & D. J. Mashek. (2007). What's moral about the self-conscious emotions? pp. 21–37. In Tracy, J.L et al. (Eds.): *The self-conscious emotions: Theory and research*. Guilford Press, New York.
- Tarasti, E. (2004). *Arvot ja merkit johdatus eksistentiaalisemiottiikkaan*. 252 p. Gaudeamus, Helsinki.
- Tarhauskielto.fi (2010). Turkistarhaus kiellettävä. Downloaded 23.04.2016 <<https://www.tarhauskielto.fi/>>
- Tuotantoeläinten hyvinvoinnin neuvottelukunta or *The Advisory Board of the Welfare of Production Animals*. (17.5.2010). 3/2010 Liite: Hyvinvoinnin tutkimustarpeet. <<http://mmm.fi/tuotantoelainten-hyvinvoinnin-neuvottelukunta>> Downloaded 28.04.2016
- Tuotantoeläinten hyvinvoinnin neuvottelukunta or *The Advisory Board of the Welfare of Production Animals*. (27.9.2011). 4/2011. Liite 1. Eläinten hyvinvoinnin määritelmä. <<http://mmm.fi/tuotantoelainten-hyvinvoinnin-neuvottelukunta>> Downloaded 28.04.2016
- Tuotantoeläinten hyvinvoinnin neuvottelukunta or *The Advisory Board of the Welfare of Production Animals*. (16.9.2014). Lausunto: tuotantoeläinten olennaisista käyttäytymistarpeista <<http://mmm.fi/tuotantoelainten-hyvinvoinnin-neuvottelukunta>> Downloaded 28.04.2016
- Turkiskaupan liitto ry. (2016). Downloaded 18.05.2016. <<http://www.turkiskaupanliitto.fi/>>
- Turkistieto.fi. (2016) Turkiseläinkasvatuksella on Suomessa pitkät perinteet. Downloaded 20.05.2016. <http://www.turkistieto.fi/Perustietoa_Suomen_turkistiloista>
- Turkistieto.fi. (2016). Suomi on turkistilasertifiointin alullepanija. Downloaded 19.04.2016 <http://www.turkistieto.fi/Suomi_on_turkistilasertifiointin_alullepanija>

- Turkistieto.fi. (2016). Turkiseläinkasvatuksessa huomioidaan ympäristöseikat. Downloaded 19.04.2016.
<http://www.turkistieto.fi/Turkistarhojen_ymparistonsuojelu>
- Tuttle, W. (2005). *The world peace diet*. 293 p. Lantern Books, New York.
- Twigg, J. (1979). Food for thought. Purity and vegetarianism. *Religion* 9 (1979), pp. 13–35.
- Valkonen, J. (2010). *Ympäristösosiologia*. 256 p. Sanoma Pro Oy.
- Vatn, A. (2005a). *Institutions and the Environment*. 481 p. Edward Elar Publishing, UK.
- Vatn, A. (2005b). Rationality, institutions and environmental policy. *Ecological Economics* 55, pp. 203–217.
- Vauclair, C.-M., R. Fischer, M. C. Ferreira, V. Guerra, U. Höbler, S. Karabati, M. K. de Carvalho Filho, J. B. Porto, M. L. Reyes, J. Rytönen & E. SpielB. (2015). What Kinds of Value Motives Guide People in Their Moral Attitudes? The Role of Personal and Prescriptive Values at the Culture Level and Individual Level. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* 46(2), pp. 211–228.
- Vocational College of Ostrobothnia. (2016). Pääsijustussuunnitelma. Downloaded 20.04.2016
<<http://www.yrkesakademin.fi/index.php/katalog-2/item/palsdjussuunnitelma>>
- Wahlström, M. & A. Peterson. (2006). Between the State and the Market Expanding the Concept of 'Political Opportunity Structure. *Acta Sociologica* 49(4), pp. 363-377.
- Welfare Quality®. Science and society improving animal welfare. Welfare principles and criteria. Downloaded 28.04.2016. <http://www1.clermont.inra.fr/wq/protocol_ppes_crit.php>
- Williams, R. M. (1970). *American society: A sociological interpretation* (3rd ed.). : Knopf, New York.
- Woolley, J. T. & M. V. McGinnis. (2000). The conflicting discourses of restoration. *Society & Natural Resources* 13, pp. 339-57.
- Worsley, A. & G. Skrzypiec. (1998). Teenage vegetarianism. Prevalence, social and cognitive contexts. *Appetite* 30 (1998), pp. 151–170.
- Worthy, K. (2008). Modern Institutions, Phenomenal Dissociations, and Destructiveness Toward Humans and the Environment. *Organization & Environment* 21:2, pp. 148-170.
- Worsley, A. & G. Skrzypiec. (1998). Teenage vegetarianism: prevalence, social and cognitive contexts. *Appetite* 30(2), pp. 151-70.
- YKES. Yhteiskunnallisen ja kulttuurisen eläintutkimuksen seura. Downloaded 18.05.2016
<<https://elaintutkimus.edublogs.org/>>
- Zamir, T. (2007). *Ethics and the Beast: A Speciesist Argument for Animal Liberation*. 159 p. Princeton University Press, USA.

Appendix. 1. Statements for Q-sorts

1. In these economically difficult times Finland has no right to prohibit a vital and growing trade of fur farming that is bringing tax euros and import revenue.
2. Finnish fur certification system is unique.
3. The welfare of fur animals is constantly increasing due to the research.
4. When a fur animal feels well it produces a beautiful fur.
5. Fur industry is aiming into a sustainable future by investing in ecological ways to produce fur.
6. If fur industry will be prohibited in Finland the production will move into other countries.
7. Fur industry is one of the most regulated sectors of economy in Europe.
8. It is not right to oppress animals for the sake of economical profit.
9. Animals raised in fur farms have no possibility for species-specific behavior.
10. Fur farming is against my ethical point of view.
11. Fur farmers have been working persistently to ensure the high quality of the product and to assure good conditions for fur animals.
12. Fur farming is bringing ample export revenue to Finland.
13. Fur farming is remarkably important livelihood in Ostrobothnia.
14. As a part of actions against the animal right activists the law should be changed in order to attach fur farms into the sphere of domestic peace.
15. Fur animals in Finland are enjoying high welfare compared to other producer countries.
16. In a year 2014 significant amount of fur farms were deficient in obeying the law on protection of animals.
17. Fur industry has been using the financial support for initiatives to improve the image of the industry and to increase the public acceptability of the trade.
18. Fur animals should be able to live as natural life as possible – there should be enough stimulations, food and water in their cages.
19. Fur farming should be either prohibited completely or animals should have the possibility for specie-specific behavior - cages should be enlarged radically and the floor made out of wire gauze should be removed.
20. There is no need for genuine fur in dressing up. Fake fur does the same thing.
21. It is unethical to make money with suffering of other living beings. Especially when it is happening just to satisfy vanity.
22. If we would eat the meat of minks or foxes the fur farming would be more acceptable. It is completely unnecessary to grow animals only for fur.
23. Being against fur farming is a hate crime towards the entrepreneur and act of terror against the enterprise of the fur production.
24. The certification program of fur production improves the wellbeing of fur animals, enhances the ecology of the production and develops the traceability of fur products.
25. Fur is Finland's most important export product to China.
26. Fur industry is building up the Finnish affluent society.
27. Fur farming is a traditional Finnish livelihood and a part of Finnish country side.
28. Factory farmed animals are living in a present moment. They live from day to day. They do not know anything about the future. When they die, they get killed fast and painlessly.
29. Farmed fur animals have been domesticated over a century. This is why they have different needs than their wild fellow creatures.

30. To be able to evaluate animal welfare better fur industry has been contributing to the development co-operation to create scientifically valid measures to estimate animal welfare.
31. Through supportive actions must be ensured that fur farming will be altered according to ethical keeping of animals – or in case of prohibiting the industry education and other supportive actions to start a new livelihood must be provided.
32. Animal right organizations are demanding implementation of certain reforms which would make practicing fur farming impossible.
33. Fur farming includes many faults in prevention of cruelty to animals which the most significant are the small cages and the lack of stimulations.
34. Fur farming is a legal Finnish livelihood that brings remarkable export revenue.
35. Natural sciences has no means to estimate what is "unnecessary suffering" for animals.
36. Problems of fur farming contradict the essential paragraphs of the law on protection of animals.
37. Fur is a status symbol just like a bag of Louis Vuitton or the red sole high heels of Louboutin.
38. During the last decades Finland has been clearly lagging behind other countries in the level of the legislation on the fur farming.
39. The question is do humans in the first place have the right to use animals for profit.
40. There is not enough knowledge about the behavioral needs of fur animals.
41. Unethical ways of production like the cage farming of fur animals must be finished after a transition period.
42. Fur industry has done persistent work resisting all the changes that would improve the conditions of fur animals and animal keeping.
43. I am ashamed to be Finnish because of the fur farming. For Europeans fox farming will soon look like what the Japanese whale hunting is nowadays.
44. Fur farming can be considered as act against the spirit of the law on protection of animals and thus it should be prohibited.
45. It is not right to abuse animals in cages just because of humans want to wear their fur.
46. Fur farming is causing plenty of problems to animals that are predators requiring large territories.
47. Fur farming is causing notable harm to the environment.
48. Fur animals are not genuinely domesticated.
49. There should not be more education provided for new students in fur trade.
50. In practice it is hard to develop fur farming in such ways that it would ever satisfy the diverse needs of farmed animals and yet be economically profitable.
51. Welfare researches made in Finland reveal that fur animals have behavioral needs that they cannot fulfill in fur farms.
52. The public debate about fur farming is based on insufficient information about the topic.

Appendix 2. Participants in Q-Methodology

Nro	Actor:	Organization:	Background:		Level:	Date:
1.	Philosopher	University	Animal right philosophy, taking part in fur debate	Has not visited fur farms	National	06.12.2015
2.	NGO worker / Politician	NGO / politics	Environmental issues, campaigns against fur, taking part in fur debate	Has visited fur farms	Regional / National	01.12.2015
3.	Lawyer	University	Animal rights and law, NGO	Has never visited fur farms	National	04.12.2015
4.	Vet	NGO	Petitions and campaigns against fur, development of fur legislation, taking part in fur debate	Has visited fur farms several times	National	22.03.2016
5.	Vet	Associations related to animal welfare	Has been working as veterinarian in fur farms	Has visited fur farms several times	Regional / National	06.04.2016
6.	Activist	NGO	Animal right activism, campaigns against fur, pictures from fur farms, taking part in fur debate	Has visited fur farms several times	Regional / National	06.12.2015
7.	Journalist	Media	Articles about fur farming	-	National	03.12.2015
8.	Journalist	Media / TV	-	-	National	17.11.2015
9.	Researcher	University	-	Has visited fur farms	National	06.03.2016
10.	Researcher	University	-	-	National	30.03.2016
11.	Researcher	University	Animal welfare and prevention of cruelty to animals	-	National	01.12.2015
12.	Politician	Politics	Taking part in fur debate	Has visited fur farms	National	03.12.2015
13.	Fashion designer	Clothing company	Pioneer of using <i>ethical fur</i> in fashion design	-	National/ International	22.03.2016
14.	Journalist	Media	Articles about fur farming, knowledge about fur trade	Has visited fur farms	Regional	09.12.2015
15.	Journalist	Media	Editor	-	Regional	10.12.2015
16.	State officer	-	-	Has visited fur farms	Regional	08.12.2015
17.	Politician	Politics	Taking part in fur debate	Has visited farms and been in Sagafurs auction	National/ Regional	02.12.2015
18.	Politician	Politics	Taking part in fur debate	Has visited farms and been in Sagafurs auction	National/ Regional	02.12.2015
19.	Farmer 1	Fur farming	Fur farming in many generations	Had a farm	Regional	08.12.2015
20.	Farmer 2	Fur farming	Fur farming in many generations	Has a farm	Regional	08.12.2015

Appendix 3. The document selection for Q-Methodology

National Level:

Actors	Documents
<p>Policy-makers (political parties):</p> <p>Vihreät ("Green party", clearly against fur farming)</p> <p>RKP ("Finland's Swedish party", popular in Ostrobothnia, wants to develop fur farming)</p> <p>Keskusta ("Finnish center party", one of the biggest political parties, is positive about fur farming)</p>	<p>Vihreiden periaateohjelma – Vastuu, vapaus, välittäminen. (20.05.2012.) Lappeenranta <https://www.vihreat.fi/node/7489/> Downloaded 13.11.2015 (Principles of the Green Party – Responsibility, freedom, caring)</p> <p>Eläinpolitiikka.fi. RKP. (2013). <http://elainpolitiikka.fi/rkp/> Downloaded 13.11.2015 (Page where animal right organizations have been collecting RKP's opinions about their politics related to animals including fur farming)</p> <p>Keskustalle maaseutu on enemmän – Keskustan maaseutulinjaus. (21.03.2015). <https://www.keskusta.fi/loader.aspx?id=3ef7636c-51fc-4d73-8607-fb89f0b9a9def> Downloaded 19.10.2015 (For Finland's central party the countryside is more – definition of the countryside policy)</p>
<p>Media:</p> <p>YLE (Finland's main media (non-commercial) that operates through tax money)</p> <p>Helsingin Sanomat (The main newspaper in Finland that has the biggest circulation of distribution)</p>	<p>Yle. (2015). <www.yle.fi/uutiset/> Downloaded 03.09.2015 Research word: fur (turkis), furfarming (turkistarhaus) 2013: 10 articles 2014: 6 articles 2015: 5 articles</p> <p>Helsingin Sanomat. (2015). <www.hs.fi> Downloaded 04.09.2015 Research word: fur (turkis), furfarming (turkistarhaus) 2013: 6 articles 2014: 4 articles 2015: 3 articles</p>
<p>Animal right organizations/NGO's</p> <p>Animalia</p>	<p>Animalia.Turkistarhaton Suomi 2025 - Suomeen tarvitaan aikataulutettu suunnitelma asteittaiseksi turkistarhauksesta luopumiseksi. <http://www.animalia.fi/sites/default/files/turkistietopaketti.pdf> Downloaded 20.08.2015 (Fur free Finland 2025 – Finland needs scheduled plan to stop fur farming gradually)</p> <p>Publications in Animalia magazine:</p> <p>Animalia. (2011). <i>Turkis ei ole ekologinen tuote</i>. s.18. 2011/3.</p>

<p>Petition against fur industry 2013 and 2015</p>	<p>(Fur is not an ecological product) Animalia. (2012). <i>Turkiseläinlakeihin mallia naapurimaista</i> s. 10. 2012/1. (Examples for fur animal laws from neighbouring countries) Animalia. (2012). <i>Turkiseläimet tieteellisen suurennuslasin alla</i> s. 12. 2012/2. (Fur animals under the scientific microscope)</p> <p>Rousi, H. (2015). Private email to Suveri, L. (22.08.2015):</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Lakialoite turkistarhauksen lopettamiseksi Suomessa. <i>Kansalaisaloite muistio</i> (14.5.2012). (Petition for stopping the fur farming in Finland, brief of Citizens' initiatives in Finland) -Suomen Luonnonsuojeluliitto. <i>Kansalaisaloite eläinsuojelulain 22 §:n muuttamisesta</i>. (4.6.2012). (The Finnish Association for Nature Conservation. Citizens' initiatives to change the law on protection on animals 22 §) -Lausunto perustuslakivaliokunta SEY. <i>Kansalaisaloite turkistarhauksen lopettamiseksi</i>. (Statement of the Committee for Constitutional Law from the union of animal right organizations. Citizens' initiative to stop fur farming) -Siirtymäajan tavoitteet. (Goals for the period of transition of stopping the fur farming) -Tutkimuksia ja raportteja turkiseläinten hyvinvointiin liittyen. (Researches and reports about the welfare of fur animals) -Valiokuntalausunto OE Muurimaa. (Statement of the committee from "Right for animals" by Risto Muurimaa)
<p>Oikeutta eläimille (Rights for animals)</p>	<p><http://oikeuttaelaimille.fi/turkistarhaus> Turkistarhaus Suomessa. Downloaded 20.08.2015. (Fur farming in Finland) <http://oikeuttaelaimille.fi/uutisen-aiheita/turkistarhaus> Turkistarhaus. Downloaded 20.08.2015 (Furfarming) <http://tarhauskielto.fi/node> Downloaded 20.08.2015 (Banning the fur farming)</p>
<p>Suomen Luonnonsuojeluliitto (The Finnish Association for Nature Conservation FANC)</p>	<p>Leo Stranius (The executive manager of FANC) writes about fur farming in his blog. <http://leostranius.fi/blogi/> Downloaded 20.08.2015:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Kansalaisaloite turkistarhauksen kieltämiseksi: Yhdeksän vastausta eduskunnan lähetekeskusteluun. (26.04.2013). (Citizens' initiative for stopping the fur farming: Nine answers for parliaments preliminary debate) -Vastaukset Lauri Kontrolle: Kansalaiskampanja turkistarhauksen kieltämiseksi onnistui yli odotusten. (28.06.2013). (Answers for Lauri Kontto: Citizens' initiative to ban fur farming was a success) - Kansalaisaloite turkistarhauksen kieltämiseksi: Neljä syytä miksi tehty työ kannatti. (19.06.2013). (Citizens' initiative for stopping the fur farming: Four reasons why it was well done work) -Kansalaisaloite turkistarhauksen kieltämiseksi: Vastauksia Suomen Turkiseläinten Kasvattajain Liiton väitteisiin. (24.05.2013). (Citizens' initiative for stopping the fur farming: Answers for the arguments of Finnish Union of Fur farmers) -Turkistarhaus ei ole ympäristöystävällistä. (08.02.2012). (Fur farming is not environmentally friendly)

<p>Fur industry:</p> <p>Profur Suomen Turkiseläinten Kasvattajainliitto Ry (The Finnish Union of Fur Farmers)</p>	<p>Profur. (2015). Turkiseläinkasvatuksella on Suomessa pitkät perinteet <http://www.turkistieto.fi/Perustietoa_Suomen_turkistiloista> Downloaded 15.09.2015 (Fur farming has long traditions in Finland)</p> <p>Profur. (2015). Suomi on turkistilasertifioidun alullepanija. <http://www.turkistieto.fi/Suomi_on_turkistilasertifioidun_alullepanija> Downloaded 16.09.2015 (Finland is the founder of the fur farm certification system)</p> <p>Profur. (2015). Turkiseläinkasvatuksessa huomioidaan ympäristöseikat <http://www.turkistieto.fi/Turkistarhojen_ymparistonsuojelu> Downloaded 16.09.2015 (Environmental aspects are considered in fur farming)</p> <p>Profur. (2015). Turkiseläimet. <http://www.turkistieto.fi/Turkiselaimet> Downloaded 17.09.2015 (Fur animals)</p> <p>Profur. (2015). Eläinten hyvinvointi. <http://www.turkistieto.fi/Elainten_hyvinvointi> Downloaded 17.09.2015 (Wellbeing of animals)</p> <p>Profur. (2015). Huutokauppa. <http://www.turkistieto.fi/Huutokauppa> Downloaded 15.09.2015 (The auction)</p> <p>Profur. (2015). Turkistilojen sertifiointi. <http://www.profur.fi/Turkistilojen_sertifiointi> Downloaded 20.10.2015 (The certification of fur farms)</p> <p>Profur. Supisuomalaista työtä! <http://www.profur.fi/documents/key20160121131404/pdf/turkis_esite_tulostus.pdf> downloaded 10.11.2015 (Authentic Finnish work!)</p> <p>Youtube. Turkistieto Profur. Kuvia turkiseläinkehästä päivänvalossa dokumenttisarja. 27.05.2015. <https://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PLooAgRFx0uLFEOJ7HO7io4xNdjsIP6uJv> Downloaded 10.08.2015. (Pictures about fur farming in day light - document series)</p> <p>Publications in Turkistalous magazine:</p> <p>Turkistalous 4/2015 Turkistalous 8/2014 Turkistalous 2/2013</p>
<p>Sagafurs Oyj</p>	<p>Sagafurs. (2015). <http://www.sagafurs.com/fi/> Downloaded 09.08.2015</p> <p>Saga Furs Oyj:n yritysraportti. (2014). <http://www.sagafurs.com/fi/company/responsibility/Corporate+Responsibility+Report> Downloaded 15.08.2015 (The corporate responsibility report of Sagafurs)</p>

<p>Pellervon taloustutkimus. (PTT)</p>	<p>Sagafurs. (2013). Kansalaistiedon kurssi Päivölän opisto. 7.8.2013. <http://www.paivola.fi/pvlfimedia/cms_page_media/76/Turkistarhaus%20Suomessa.pdf> Downloaded 20.09.2015 (The course of civic knowledge in institute of Päivölä – Fur farming in Finland)</p> <p>Turkiseläinten kasvattajainliitto ry. Profur. PTT. (2014.) <i>Turkisan kokonaistaloudellinen merkitys</i>. (The total economical significance of fur trade)</p>
<p>Research:</p> <p>Turkistila 2020 Turkiseläinten hyvinvointihanke (Furfarm 2020 The project of wellbeing of fur animals)</p> <p>Welfur</p> <p>Articles</p>	<p>Mononen, J et al. (2013). Turkistila 2020: turkiseläinten hyvinvointihanke</p> <p>Introduction of the project. <http://www.efba.eu/welfur/> Downloaded 25.07.2015</p> <p>L.K. Ahola, H. Huuki, A.L. Hovland, T. Koistinen ja J. Mononen. (2012). <i>WelFur – foxes: the inter-observer reliability of the WelFur health measures, and the prevalence of health disorders on fox farms during the growth period</i>. Proceedings of the Xth International Scientific Congress in fur animal production 2012, pp 441-447.</p> <p>Report of the Scientific Committee on Animal Health and Animal Welfare. (2001). The Welfare of Animals Kept for Fur Production. <http://ec.europa.eu/food/fs/sc/scah/out67_en.pdf> Downloaded 20.08.2015</p> <p>Ahola, L., Mononen, J. & Mohaibes, M. (2011). <i>Effects of access to extra cage constructions including a swimming opportunity on the development of stereotypic behaviour in singly housed juvenile farmed mink (Neovison vison)</i>. Animal Behaviour Science 134 (2011): 201–208.</p> <p>Koistinen, T., Ahola, L. & Mononen, J. (2008). <i>Blue foxes' (Alopex lagopus) preferences between earth floor and wire mesh floor</i>. Animal Behaviour Science 111 (2008): 38-53.</p> <p>Koistinen, T. & Mononen, J. (2008). <i>Blue foxes' motivation to gain access to solid floors and the effect of the floor material on their behavior</i>. Animal Behaviour Science 113 (2008): 236–246.</p>

Regional level:

Actors:	Documents:
<p>Policy-makers:</p> <p>Uusikaarlepyy Municipality in Ostrobothnia (Many fur farms are located here)</p> <p>Pietarsaari Municipality (Many fur farms are located here)</p> <p>EVIRA (Finnish Food Safety Authority. Is making inspection visitations on factory farms)</p> <p>ELY-keskus (Centre for Economic Development, Transport and the Environment)</p> <p>MTT (The Research Center for Agriculture and the Food Industry)</p> <p>Pohjanmaan liitto (The Union of Ostrobothnia)</p>	<p>Uusikaarlepyy. (2010). <i>Tarhastartegia</i>. 16.08.2010 <http://www.nykarleby.fi/assets/Centralfrvaltning/Planerprogram/Tarhastrategia.pdf> Downloaded 15.08.2015 (Fur farming strategy)</p> <p>Pedersöre. Strategisk generalplan 2030. <https://www.pedersore.fi/kommun-och-politik/arkiv/strategisk-generalplan-2030/> Downloaded 20.07.2015 (Strategic general plan)</p> <p>Evira. (2013). Otantaan perustuvat eläinsuojelutarkastukset vuonna 2013. <http://www.evira.fi/portal/fi/elaimet/elainsuojelu+ja+elainten+pito/elainsuojelun+valvonta/otantaan+perustuvat+tarkastukset/otantaan+perustuvat+tarkastukset+2013> Downloaded 10.09.2015 (Inspections about prevention of cruelty to animals based on samplings in a year 2013)</p> <p>Evira. (2014). Otantaan perustuvat eläinsuojelutarkastukset vuonna 2014 <http://www.evira.fi/portal/fi/elaimet/elainsuojelu+ja+elainten+pito/elainsuojelun+valvonta/otantaan+perustuvat+tarkastukset/otantaan+perustuvat+tarkastukset+2014> Downloaded 10.09.2015 (Inspections about prevention of cruelty to animals based on samplings in a year 2014)</p> <p>Elinkeino-, Liikenne- ja ympäristökeskus. Pohjanmaan Elinkeino-, Liikenne- ja Ympäristökeskuksen alueellinen maaseutustrategia vuosille 2014-2020. <https://www.ely-keskus.fi/documents/10191/57779/POH+ELY+alueellinen+maaseutustrategia+2014-2020/7bf8d21a-e433-4329-9e95-74b136567026> Downloaded 09.10.2015 (The regional countryside strategy for years 2014-2020)</p> <p>Karhula, T. et al. (2008). Turkistilojen talous ja alan merkitys sekä tulevaisuuden näkymät Suomessa. <http://www.mtt.fi/mtts/pdf/mtts160.pdf> Downloaded 05.08.2015 (The economy of fur farms, the meaning of the trade and the future outlooks in Finland)</p> <p>Sivenius, F. Et al. (2011). Suomessa tuotetun minkin- ja ketunnahan elinkaariarviointi. MTT:n Suomen Turkiseläinten Kasvattajain Liitto ry:lle ja Turkistuottajat Oyj:lle tekemä tilaustutkimus. (The life cycle assesment of the fur of minks and foxes.)</p> <p>Pohjanmaan maakuntaohjelman toteuttamissuunnitelma 2013–2014. Maakuntahallituksen hyväksymä 22.10.2012. <http://www.jakobstadsregionen.fi/medialibrary/data/totsu2013-2014_final_liitteinen-%7B6eqnv-pmwec-m58wq%7D.pdf> Downloaded 03.08.2015 (The implementation plan of the province program in Ostrobothnia 2013-2014).</p>
<p>Media:</p>	

Pohjalainen and Vasabladet (Most popular local news papers in Ostrobothnia.)	Research word: päls (fur), pälsnäring (furfarming) 2013: 7 articles 2014: 8 articles 2015: 10 articles
--	---