

The discussion of meat and the relevance of cultural capital in that discussion.

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Abstract

The aim of the study is to gain insight in differences and similarities in the way people with high cultural capital (HCC) and low cultural capital (LCC) talk about the consumption- and reduction of meat. The social relevance is that the contemporary meat production industry is damaging humans, animals and the earth. A reduction of the levels of meat consumption would help to improve this situation. Therefore it is needed to find out how people discuss meat and the reduction of meat consumption. Research shows that little attention is paid to the ambivalence of consumer-citizens in their discussion of meat (Korzen and Lassen, 2010). This research addressed meat as a topic of discussion in the contexts of consumption as well as production. Possible dualities in people's discussion of meat are reviewed. Additionally, the possible influence of cultural capital in people's talk of consumption, as brought forward by Holt 1998, are used to review if this is a factor in people's talk of meat consumption. In light of the societal consequences of the entire meat-production system, it is important to review people's talk about meat and meat-reduction. Because changes in consumer practices have shown to spread throughout society from people with high to people with low cultural capital levels (Aarts 1999), the relevance of cultural capital is studied as a factor in this discussion. The study has two main questions:

1. How do consumers-citizens discuss meat and meat-reduction and how do they deal with the contexts of production and consumption in that discussion?
2. Is cultural capital a factor for the manner in which consumer-citizens deal with the contexts of production and consumption in meat when discussing meat-and meat reduction?

The results of the first main question show that the discussion-elements 'health', 'production', 'taste', 'complexity', 'society' and 'changing behaviour' are important in the discussion of meat. Furthermore, there were four categories found in the attitudes towards meat-reduction. For the first group (I will not eat less meat), the taste of meat is an important argument. The balancing-group was keener to talk about the healthiness of meat. Health also proved to be important to the third group of deliberate meat reducers. However, this group focused on the healthiness of vegetables and meat-replacements. For this group a worry about the externalities of the meat production process also turned out to be an important element of the discussion. The fourth group was labelled 'uncertain', because the participants either expressed contradicting statements or noted that their opinion had changed during the session. The contexts of production and consumption are united in the discussion of meat reduction. The results of the second main question were less evident and it has led to the conclusion that this research was not successful at finding evidence for the influence of cultural capital in the discussion of meat. It is concluded that more research is needed on this topic and this research should examine both the methodological as well as the conceptual possibilities of the concept of cultural capital in the discussion of meat.

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1. Introduction

Having an appetite for meat might seem a simple biological matter. We eat because we need the nutrients, we like to eat it and our body can process it. So, our appetite is a natural and biological need. However, eating meat is part of our culture and traditions as well. The food we choose depends on the cultural context and one's social position. (Mennell, Murcott et al. 1992). Eating the head of a pig once was a sign of good taste, now it is regarded as strange or even vulgar. Status can be expressed in food choices. Knowing what to eat can signify a social position. In the theory of human practice by Bourdieu (2000), knowing how things are done is shown to be part of cultural capital and can give a person status. This thesis will explore whether cultural capital is a factor in people's discussion of meat.

Aim and research questions

The aim of the study is to gain insight in differences and similarities in the way people with high cultural capital (HCC) and low cultural capital (LCC) talk about the consumption- and reduction of meat. The social relevance is that the contemporary meat production industry is damaging humans, animals and the earth. A reduction of the levels of meat consumption would help to improve this situation. Therefore it is needed to find out how people discuss meat and the reduction of meat consumption. Research shows that little attention is paid to the ambivalence of consumer-citizens in their discussion of meat (Korzen and Lassen, 2010). This research addressed meat as a topic of discussion in the contexts of consumption as well as production. Possible dualities in people's discussion of meat are reviewed. Additionally, the possible influence of cultural capital in people's talk of consumption, as brought forward by Holt 1998, are used to review if this is a factor in people's talk of meat consumption. In light of the societal consequences of the entire meat-production system, it is important to review people's talk about meat and meat-reduction. Because changes in consumer practices have shown to spread throughout society from people with high to people with low cultural capital levels (Aarts 1999), the relevance of cultural capital is studied as a factor in this discussion. Because there are two problems addressed in this thesis, there are also two main questions formulated.

Main questions:

1. How do consumers-citizens discuss meat and meat-reduction and how do they deal with the contexts of production and consumption in that discussion?
2. Is cultural capital a factor for the manner in which consumer-citizens deal with the contexts of production and consumption in meat when discussing meat-and meat reduction?

Four studies were carried out to provide answers to these two questions. Firstly, a literature study is performed to see how scholars of consumer studies have carried out research on meat consumption. Secondly, transcripts from focus group sessions, that were performed to conduct a study on the synergy between health and sustainability, were used to answer the question of what elements related to meat consumption- and reduction in this discussion were important to the focus group participants related to meat consumption- and reduction in this discussion. Thirdly, the material was studied to identify attitudes towards meat reduction. Having identified four categories, this study also examined at what the members within each group say about the different elements in the discussion of meat. Finally, in the fourth study, an answer to the second main question is provided.

As an introduction to these four studies, the thesis starts with an overview of the meat industry and its impact. Subsequently, an overview is presented of how ethical consumption has developed and how the anti-consumption of goods is both a political tool as well as an identity-seeking experience. The next element in this introduction is a summary of the work of Pierre Bourdieu, which forms a background to the theoretical framework. Following this general overview, the application of his concept of symbolic capital or status derived from cultural capital is applied to the field of consumption. Finally, the different parts of the introduction are put together to create a full picture of why cultural capital is introduced as a possible factor in meat consumption.

Meat consumption

The meat sector is growing fast and adapting modern technologies. The rising demand for animal products and the drivers behind the production growth keep the industry booming. In 2009 the Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) of the United Nations published a report concerning the state of food and agriculture on livestock sector and the global impact on the environment. This report highlights the changes in the production and consumption around the world. Research has shown a relation between economic growth, the rise of incomes and urbanization trends and the growth of consumption of animal products. Urbanization is thought to alter patterns of consumption. In comparison to people in rural areas people in cities consume more food that is produced in distant places, is ready-made and labelled convenient. Drivers behind the production growth are cheap inputs, technological change and scale efficiency. There has been a big transformation in the industry of livestock keeping. Producers have gone from small-holder and mixed farming to large-scale specialized farming (FAO 2009).

The population will keep growing and the demand for food will as well. There is growing concern about the externalities of the meat industry. It pressures ecosystems and natural resources like land, air, water and biodiversity. Furthermore, the large-scale trade of products around the world

has many risks for the health of animals and humans. There have been outbreaks of viruses and diseases that have cost many lives. This has been blamed on market failure and government failure. Another point to address is the aspect of inequality. Poor people in development countries seem to consume too little animal based products while people in developed countries consume too many (FAO 2009). Worries about the environment are also expressed in academic literature on fisheries (Pauly, Christensen et al. 2002). This research published in *Nature* explains that 'with global catch decline since the late 1980s, continuing of present trends will lead to supply shortfall, for which aquaculture cannot be expected to compensate, and may well be exerbate.' (Pauly, Christensen et al. 2002)

Concerns about meat- and fish consumption are found in popular culture as well. A popular book 'Eating Animals' by Jonathan Safran Foer (2009) shows that concerns about meat consumption are gaining attention outside the academic debate. In his book, Foer describes the morality of meat consumption and discusses the practices of meat production. A popular documentary called 'Food.inc.' (Kenner 2008) questions the morality of industrialized food production. Both these examples show that the sustainability of meat consumption is becoming a topic of discussion in society.

As the FAO (2009) shows, the levels of meat consumption are increasing. In the whole world, meat consumption between 1995 and 2005 increased from 35.7 kilo per person per year to 41.5 kilo per person per year. This means an annual growth of 1.5%. In developed countries the individual intake of meat products was 77.3 kilo in 1995. This number grew to 82.7 in 2005, which entails an annual increase of 0.6%.

Meat consumption in the Netherlands

Since this thesis is concerned with meat consumption in the Dutch national context, it is good to have a small introduction in the structure and volume of meat consumption, the important players and its historical development. Just as in other developed countries, the Netherlands experienced a large increase in the consumption of meat products during the last decades. In the Netherlands 43.5 kilo of meat was eaten on average per person for the year of 2009. That is more than double the amount that was consumed in 1950. The fifties were an important milestone for the intake of animal protein of the Dutch consumers. This was the time animal protein took over the first position as major protein source from vegetable protein. This intake has been increasing ever since, while vegetable protein intake remained the same (De Bakker and Dagevos 2010). Especially the consumption of chicken and pork has increased. In the Netherlands, pigs are the most consumed land-living animal, followed by poultry and cows. Together these three animals formed 97.6% of the total meat consumption (PVE/PVV 2011). Taking 1973 as a base, the consumption of pork increased with 6 kg to

21 kg per person per year in 2009 (De Bakker and Dagevos 2010). For poultry this is an increase of 8 kg to 11.5 kg per person per year in 2009 (De Bakker and Dagevos 2010). In 2009 Dutch consumers ate on average 10 kg of beef products (De Bakker and Dagevos 2010). And although the Netherlands has a large fisheries industry, the consumption of fish is not so high. In 2010 the in-home consumption of fish was 3.6 kg, according to “Vis bureau Nederland” (2010). The increase of meat consumption has been made possible by an intensification of the meat production industry and the cultural grounding of meat in the daily menu. De Bakker and Dagevos (2010) show how this transformation started already in 1850. A deficiency of proteins had become a problem. These dietary problems became a matter of government concern. It is at this point that nutrition became a subject of national policy. Furthermore, food products started being seen more as commodities that were supposed to be traded in the market. Therefore, responsibility for food changed from being in the arenas of the home and community to that of industry and government. Meat was an important part of this food security and national nutrition policy. This was accompanied by scientific publications supporting the idea that meat was most essential to a healthy diet (Verdonk 2009, cited in De Bakker and Dagevos 2010). Agricultural policy adapted itself to the focus on economic growth and profitability of the supply of foods. Since meat is a very profitability business, production was stimulated to expand more and more (Vijver 2005, cited in De Bakker and Dagevos 2010).

On the consumer-side, the focus was on convenience and technological development; mainly on the refrigerator and the supermarket. These developments in production and consumption practices also fostered a great concern about the negative externalities of modern agriculture. Already in 1974, there were civic groups that campaigned against the ecological consequences of meat consumption (De Bakker and Dagevos 2010). This development is further discussed in the next section.

Ethical consumption

In this paragraph the topic of ethical consumption will be discussed in order to demonstrate how modern consumers have found ways to integrate their concern for ethical issues in their daily consumption practices. Corrigan (1997) describes how the larger changes in society, along with the move of responsibilities to more abstract levels such as the state, are showing in the civilization process of areas such as food and drink. Instead of stressing the importance of quantities of food, attention shifts towards the quality of foods, for example in *nouvell cuisine*. It is this movement that characterizes the civilization process towards modernity. The changing areas of responsibility-taking that constitute the basis of ethical consumption are also a part of this process. Important here is to note the shift from mechanical to organic solidarity as proposed by Durkheim (1984 in Corrigan 1997). With mechanical solidarity actors are characterized by their sameness, whereas in organic solidarity this solidarity is based on the difference between actors in a social system and their interdependency. With regards to their food choices, this means that modernization has made way for the individualization of food preferences and choices. Ethical consumption is part of that same civilization process since it is based in a system of individualization and organic solidarity. An understanding of historical events and trends that have had their influence on how we think about the relation between politics and consumption nowadays brings us closer to understanding ethical consumption.

Going back in history, consumption was only related to politics because of famine distresses. Only when large groups of people would have trouble feeding their family, this would be a concern for politicians. In medieval times the state, the Church and the medical profession were the only agencies that had a control, although limited, on individual food choices. Throughout the centuries the influence of the state and the then associated medical profession increased (Corrigan 1997). Food security within the nation state and the nutritional needs for foods became issues of the state. The belief that a good diet was not a matter of tradition, but a matter of statistics, became prominent after the second world war. Food scientists were thought to be the best at taking care of good nutrition. A high-fat and resource intensive diet became the ultimate goal. This was the symbol of a developed country. Meat was regarded to be the best form of nutrition and should be eaten in large quantities. The industry in the US had the cheapest, fastest and most varied food supply thanks to technology and chemicals, and other developed countries were to follow this example. This was perceived as the only answer to the question how to feed the growing world population. The fear of not being able to feed the growing world population, known as the 'Malthusian trap' encouraged agricultural rationalization at that time (Belasco 2004).

In the 60s this biochemical paradigm was criticized publicly. There was a growing interest in different traditional and ethnic cuisines. Concern about the environmental impact of the US food industry and the necessity of animal protein grew. A popular book written in that time was 'Diet for a small planet' by Lappe (1971 as cited by Belasco 2004). Interestingly enough, her solution for the Malthusian trap was for people to eat less meat. Her book was one of the first mass-media productions that showed consumers in America that the meat industry was highly resource intensive.

Still, at that time, there were growing concerns about the environment and people's well-being for which the government had no good solutions. Global issues seemed to be exceeding the framework of traditional institutions and their capacity to deal with them. The environmental movement developed in opposition to the biochemical paradigm. It was both an ideology as well as a lifestyle. You had to eat right and follow the idea of 'think globally, act locally'. Ethical consumption was thought to be the most important political tool to challenge US largest industry, since it could be lived every day.

Even though the environmentalist movement did not achieve to realize their ideal in America, their behavior had some serious implications for policy and practices in the food industry. Health concerns became a major issue on the political agenda and led to the development of guidelines in food labeling. Furthermore, a market was developed for people who were willing to pay a surplus for different forms of ethical consumption. Although this means that people now have a possibility to act on their ethical beliefs in their food choices, there is also critique on the superficiality of ethical consumption and lack of impact that it might generate (Belasco 2004).

In favor of ethical consumption as a political tool, there are five reasons presented by Micheletti (2003). Firstly, this conscious way of consuming can make people aware of the politics that are involved in all consumer practices. Especially women, who had been excluded from policy-making in earlier days, could use their own consumption to start becoming involved in the policy-making process. The second reason is related to this emancipation of consumers. Because the behavior of emancipated consumers can have a signifier-effect as well and force private actors to consider their problems. Boycotts are a good example of how consumer decision can lead to changes in the political landscape. Thirdly, all consumption is embedded in a political context. There is no such thing as non-political consumption, according to Micheletti (2003). Thus, ethical consumption is in itself always a political choice. Consumers are never separate from their role as citizen and have a right to be concerned about the actions of corporations. Fourthly, ethical consumption is a tool of politics in a society where consumption and the market take such a center position. The fifth and final argument for viewing ethical consumption as political is that the goods that are produced by transnational countries are directly connected to the problems of globalization. These corporations are surpassing

the power of the nation-state and 'the consumption of their goods is thus more political than ever'(Micheletti 2003). These reasons together show that considering ethical principles in your consumption choices has been framed by Micheletti (2003) as a political act that aims at changing the world around you.

There are other scholars who look at ethical consumption not from the perspective of political power, but that of individual status-seeking. Evidence shows that the altruistic purchase of products that are more expensive for you but better for the world can be a form of status-consumption. Thus 'green'-consumption is not merely related to political consumerism. It should also be perceived from the perspective of status-marking. This is why in marketing strategy, it is important to have visible and conspicuous elements of environmental consumption as part of the product (Griskevicius, Tybur et al. 2010). It is interesting to note that this effect was only visible in public shopping spaces. This research shows how important it is to connect ethical consumption to status-seeking behaviour.

Political consumption has a limited effect as a political tool. Looking at the large and complex problems that are associated with meat consumption and transforming it into a discussion where personal reduction of consumption is the only solution can have a negative result (Maniates 2002). This has a narrowing effect on the animal production discourse. Focusing on individual choices in meat consumption can decrease the understanding that the issue is a problem that deserves attention from a much wider societal perspective. Limiting consumer-citizens to their role of consumer means that other elements of their citizenship are limited as well. This reduces the possibilities for political action (Trentmann 2007). An example of this is a discussion about meat consumption being ended with the statement: "Nobody is forcing you to eat meat, so the environmental problems are your own responsibility". This makes it difficult to discuss the problems in a creative way, beyond the consumer discourse.

The next section will elaborate on linking between ethical consumption and voluntary meat reduction by discussing anti-consumption for sustainability and its application in the area of meat consumption.

Anti-consumption

Anti-consumption literally means against consumption and in the research of this field scholars look at the avoidance of products or brands. Understanding why consumers do not choose certain products can be just as valuable as understanding why they do (Lee, Fernandez et al. 2009). Anti-consumption is not the same as pro-social consumption of, for instance, fair-trade products. However, in both cases consumers can express concern about topics such as the environment, sustainability and social inequality. It is this link that connects anti-consumption to ethical

consumption. The field covers a wide range of issues. In a special issue of the *Journal of Business Research* a number of these articles together provide an overview of this field. It ranges from boycotts of brands and the influence of social media to the voluntary reduction of alcohol consumption of British students as a response to the prevailing lifestyles of excessive alcohol consumption to the area of energy reduction strategies within households (Lee, Fernandez et al. 2009). The theme that connects all these is that of “I versus We”; ‘anti-consumption driven by personal motivations and anti-consumption driven by societal and ideological factors’ (Lee, Fernandez et al. 2009). Although an integration of the personal and ideological can be argued for, the division between proactive or reactive anti-consumption behaviours is something that can be considered in the case of meat-reduction and vegetarianism. Here health and ecological motives can be framed in the form of “I versus We”. Empirical research on the anti-consumption for sustainability intensively examines the practices, motivations and beliefs of people that partake in anti-consumption. Acts of anti-consumption, namely rejection, reduction and reuse, are incorporated into the entire set of a person’s needs and values. For instance, one can present oneself as a ‘good housewife’ with practices of prudence that are then good for the environment (Black and Cherrier 2010). This study shows the importance of understanding the behaviour of anti-consumption as something that is a form of self-expression. Also, what the participants thought to be sustainable behaviour was constructed in line with their personal identity. To put it crudely, a person that finds ‘cleanliness’ important, thinks sustainability is about clean nature. It could thus also be that anti-consumption in meat is related to self-expression of other values. Furthermore, there is attention for anti-consumption as a form of resistance identity, which is a form of self-expression (Cherrier 2009).

Going into the concept of anti-consumption, Iyer and Muncy (2009) identify four main types of anti-consumer profiles within a mass-consumption society. Since anti-consumption is not organised a unified or simplified group, it is good to look at general differences in motives, even if sometimes these motives can be mixed. These categorisations can be seen in table 1.

		<i>Purpose of Anti-consumption</i>	
		<i>Societal concerns</i>	<i>Personal concerns</i>
Object of anti-consumption	General (All Consumption)	Global Impact Consumers	Simplifiers
	Specific (Individual Brands or Products).	Market Activists	Anti-Loyal Consumers

Table 1: Types of anti-consumers (Iyer and Muncy 2009)

The first difference is made between the purposes of anti-consumption. These can be societal or personal (I versus We). Secondly, the object can be general, such as meat, or specific. Specific anti-consumption can be directed against brands or against certain products. In meat consumption, brands are not highly visible. However, anti-consumption of specific products, for instance in the case of food-scares, do occur. Iyer and Muncy (2009) find four classifications of anti-consumers; global impact consumers; simplifiers; market activists; and anti-loyal consumers. Global impact consumers are thought to adjust their behaviour out of ecological concerns and material inequality. For simplifiers, ethical concerns are a part of a general attitude that finds consumption related to stress and unhappiness. An example of this lifestyle is presented by Juliet Schor (2010) as the downsizer lifestyle. Market activists follow the idea that consumers can change society by choosing wisely where to spend their money. They differ from global impact consumers in the sense that they focus on specific social issues and/or brands. Finally, anti-loyal consumers avoid goods that they consider to be inferior (Iyer and Muncy 2009). It is only for this group that morality is not a part of anti-consumption.

Bourdieu's science of human practice

As was seen in the previous section, ethical consumption is not only a political tool but also related to lifestyles. This introduction continues with the background on the theory of human practice, which forms a background for the theoretical framework. The sociologist Pierre Bourdieu provides a starting point for the understanding of class differences and boundaries in taste formation. In his work *Distinction*, written in 1984, he presents an examination of the French culture and class relations. Here he argues for the importance of understanding people's taste as a form of establishing their social position. Thus it is shown that social position is not just depending on economic capital. That is why distinctions are made between people with new money and old money (Bourdieu 2000). Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital will first be explained, followed by a review of literature that places this concept in a framework for understanding contemporary food consumption.

Most important to cultural capital is the observation that taste is the result of upbringing and education. Fields in which this is shown are for example the appreciation of arts and literature or the choice for a hobby. According to Bourdieu, formal education and the upbringing by the parents form somebody in a certain way that can be useful in later life when attaining social positions. Bourdieu (2000) explains how a way of 'seeing' art is an expression of a person's ability to "see", his know-how. Appreciation for a work of art is a way of properly decoding that object. By showing appreciation for the work in the 'right' way, we can show that we have "mastered an understanding of the historical and aesthetical codes encrypted in the object". The "eye" is a product of history reproduced by education. (Bourdieu 2000) In high culture, natural enjoyments are seen as inferior. The superiority of those who can enjoy things that are non-material and refined over emotions and pleasures is translated into art consumption. This distinction in arts can thus function as a, deliberate or not, way of making social differences legitimate (Bourdieu 2000).

The work of Bourdieu is built up as to understand the legitimation of social differences, this makes it a critique of domination (Wacquant 2008). Furthermore, Bourdieu provides a science of human practices and explains how a synthesis of objectivism and subjectivism can be made. In objectivism the 'social reality consists of sets of relations and forces that impose themselves upon agents' (Wacquant 2008). The will and thoughts of humans are then completely formed by those structures and it is the task of sociology to look at the 'social facts as things' (Wacquant 2008). Subjectivism perceives reality from a different angle and starts from the individual understanding of social practices. Bourdieu objects to this differentiation because 'social structures and mental structures are interlinked'. The things that form social structures and the way we view ourselves in these structures are not separate and both derive from the same thing (Wacquant 2008). Bourdieu

uses the term 'habitus' to explain how our perception of the world is constructed and how our actions are based on that perception. The habitus is 'the system of durable and transposable dispositions through which we perceive, judge and act in the world' (Wacquant 2008). Dispositions are the blue print of how we react to things and the problems we encounter in life. They are 'unconscious schemata' that shape our actions and are formed in the socialization process. It is in this way that exposures to external constraints are internalized. An example of this could be the manner in which a person acts when having dinner with a new group of people. One cannot know the social structures of that party and therefore acts according to how he or she thinks will be accepted by the others. Although most of our habitus is set at young age, it is not a static mechanism and it can change when we obtain new experiences. Summarizing, we can say that the habitus is structured by social forces we encounter and at the same time structuring our behaviour in different spheres of life. Bourdieu defines it as the 'unchosen principle of all choices' and permitting 'regulated improvisation'.

The dispositions in our habitus are dependent on the place one has within a society. This is where the term capital becomes important. Capital entails 'any source effective in a given social arena that enables one to appropriate the specific profits arising out of participation and contest in it' (Wacquant 2008). The three prominent forms of capital are: economic, cultural and social. Economic capital comes from all the things we own, including money. Social capital is derived from being part of a certain group. Receiving care from a neighbour when you are sick is an example of this. Cultural capital comes from owning certain things; having a title, or being able to express oneself in a socially acceptable way. According to this theory, 'any individual, group or institution in a social space' (Holt 1998) is given a place by his 'overall volume and the composition of the capital' (Holt 1998) they own. With these three types of capital together a person strives for status, which Bourdieu calls the fourth type of capital, namely 'symbolic capital' (Holt 1998).

Before going deeper into the composition and acquirement of cultural capital, one must understand two more concepts that belong to the theory of Bourdieu. These are the concepts of the field and doxa. The struggle for social prestige is not the same in all social spheres. Modern societies are too complex to have just one area in which people strive for this prestige. The spheres are different. Examples of these spheres, as given by Wacquant (2008) are art, science, religion, economy, the law, politics etcetera. A field is 'a structured space of positions, a force field that imposes its specific determinations upon all those who enter it.' In order to be successful in, for instance, the field of politics one is required to have a minimum knowledge of it and understand the unwritten rules of the situation of that time and space. Another way of looking at the field is to say that it is 'an arena of struggle through which agents and institutions seek to preserve or overturn the

existing distribution of capital' (Wacquant 2008). There are hierarchies and distinctions and one has to fight to be part of them or change them. That is why a field, such as politics, can change when people challenge the power structures. There is a struggle of actors within a field and with that a struggle of people from different fields competing for the importance of their field. Practice is the result of the interaction between the habitus and the field. This is where the social- and mental structures come together. So to explain a social event, one has to understand the person's habitus and the social sphere in which he is operating (Wacquant 2008). The final concept of Bourdieu's theory is that of doxa. Doxa means that in this system of habitus, capital and field we find our everyday view of life and take the world as it is for granted. Furthermore, in a social sphere that is established and autonomous a set of 'shared opinions and unquestioned beliefs' is developed (Wacquant 2008).

Having this overall understanding of how cultural capital fits in the theory of Bourdieu, we can go deeper into his understanding of what cultural capital is and how it is reproduced. Firstly, cultural capital is different from the other two forms of capital in the way that it is a form of knowledge that is to a certain degree transferable from one field to another. It is a set of 'decontextualized understandings' (Gouldner 1979 as cited in Holt 1998) that can be used again in another setting. It is more than the knowledge of a certain style of art (Gouldner 1979 as cited in Holt 1998). That is why attaining cultural capital is more than learning a list of the ten most famous works of classical music by heart. So having said that cultural capital is not easily definable by certain specific knowledge of a thing, we can still differentiate three primary forms. The first is embodied cultural capital. These are general knowledge, skills, and dispositions. Basically, this category is most closely related to the habitus, our ideas and practices. Secondly, there is an objectified cultural capital. These are the things we have around us. A classic example of this is the art we have in our house. Thirdly, there is the institutionalised form of cultural capital. These are the diplomas and degrees we have received in formal education. How cultural capital is presented differs between fields (Holt 1998). Within science there is much emphasis on institutionalised cultural capital. In business, for example, embodied cultural capital might be more important. Before going into the theory on the field of consumption, it is important to emphasize that symbolic capital, status, from cultural capital is transmitted differently in different fields. Yet, it is still related to the personal mental structures, our habitus. The transforming of cultural capital into symbolic capital is thus 'unique and general at the same time' (Holt 1998).

Status from cultural capital in the field of consumption

Now that a general overview of the theory in which the term cultural capital is embedded has been provided, we will now continue with the possibilities of attaining status in the field of consumption through cultural capital, its application in contemporary society and critique on the usefulness of the concept for the understanding of contemporary consumption. The basis of this paragraph is very much inspired by the work of Douglas B. Holt (1998) in his paper *Does Cultural Capital Structure American Consumption?* His approach to understanding Bourdieu's theory in the field of consumption shows how the struggle for symbolic capital is a driver for consumption. He opposes the 'economic theories of markets' by showing how Bourdieu describes the items of purchase as mystified and naturalized in the habitus. Our needs are more than rational or biological when they have been translated into taste and habit. Consumer demand is the result of the structured desires that are shaped by the intertwining of field and habitus. We can see this structuring in the lifestyles that people have. Furthermore, just as in other fields, there are hierarchies of different lifestyle. So it is important to see what type of status is particular to the field of consumption and from what type of capital it derives. Acquiring status from consumption through cultural capital is more than owning the objects that belong to a certain lifestyle. It is also embodying the codes that come with those items (Holt 1998).

Critics have noticed that in contemporary societies the role of cultural elites has diminished. Cultural snobs have become something of a rarity. Reasons for this are the wide, and more affordable, availability of all sorts of goods within Western countries, because of technological advances and globalization in production. Moreover, with the rise of postmodernism in many different fields, such as art, there is no longer a difference between high culture and low culture. Artists like Andy Warhol, for instance, mixed up mass and elite culture. Postmodernism in consumption has meant the end of status through the acquisition of items, according to critics of cultural capital (Holt 1998).

Still, this did not entail the end of the debate on cultural capital and status. In 1992 Richard Peterson introduced the term 'cultural omnivore' (Peterson and Kern 1996). Art consumption was seen to have changed from 'snobbish' high-class, to a type of art consumption where status is derived from appreciation for an eclectic collection of styles. Peterson and Kern (1996) attribute this fashion shift to more structural changes in status-group politics. Firstly, they noticed a wider availability of consumption, increased standards of living and increasing geographical and social mobility. This means that elite tastes have become more accessible and that acquiring status through consumption has become more complex. Secondly, cultural omnivorous behaviour is the result of value changes as well. Discriminatory tastes have become less acceptable in the light of a

discrimination debate. For tastes this means that values of tolerance are more acceptable, it is a way of showing your own sensibility to issues of discrimination. Holt (1998) also discovered this in his interviews where people with high cultural capital expressed respect and understanding of Afro-American rap music. Thirdly, Peterson and Kern (1996) discuss the possibility that the inclusion-style of cultural omnivores is a type of status politics. Incorporating elements belonging to popular culture by the dominant status group shows a changed strategy for status-seeking consumption (Peterson and Kern 1996).

The question that surfaces, is what this trend in art consumption means for other fields of consumption. The idea of cultural omnivorous consumption shows the complexity of the transition of cultural capital to symbolic capital in the field of art consumption. Cultural capital in consumption has changed to a more complex system as well. In this way it becomes more important what one says about one's consumption choices. Consumption is a field in which people can show embodied cultural capital (Holt 1998).

Holt (1998) considers Bourdieu's understanding of social stratification through economic and cultural capital is still relevant in modern consumption decisions. Especially those choices which are more common, such as food choices. According to Holt (1998), it is important to understand class differences in the way people discuss their seemingly small consumption choices, like food, because it can contribute to the understanding of class boundaries and social stratification. A strong example of how social stratification can structure food choices is the development and spread of health concerns and its spread through different social strata (Corrigan 1997). In a study done in 1989 in the Netherlands, van Otterloo and van Ogtrop (1989) interview mothers from three different social strata, namely the wives of men with the following professions: minima; labourers; and professionals. They discuss topics related to nutrition and health. This research points out that wives in the higher social strata included health issues much more prominently in their discussion of food and consequently included health concerns much more in their food habits and care for their families. All the women in this study took pride in being responsible for the food consumption in their household, yet this translated into different practices because of their perception of what good food is (Otterloo and Ogtrop 1989). If health concerns can spread through society in this manner, this might also be the case for other concerns. In this chapter so far a discussion of the work of Bourdieu and its relevance for the study of people's talk about consumption as provided. This introduction chapter will end with an overview of what was said in this first chapter and the relevance of this study.

Relevance of the study

As was shown in this introduction understanding meat consumption means understanding the context: its history, practices and power structures. Framing decreased meat-consumption as a form of ethical consumption and anti-consumption makes clear how this consumption can be placed in a context of both politics as well as identity-seeking. The importance of research on people's talk of meat and cultural capital as a factor in that talk is discussed in this section.

This introduction offered a background to the relevance of cultural capital and the theory of human practice by Bourdieu in the discussion of meat by consumer-citizens. So to recap why it is important to review consumer-citizens discussion of meat and meat as a factor in that discussion, the following arguments were made in this introduction:

1. The contemporary meat industry is shown to have a damaging effect on the environment and people's health. The movement of ethical consumption has gained public attention in a response to these developments of modern production techniques. The contradiction that presented itself is that as meat consumption increased, the protests increased accordingly. It is important to find out how people deal with these contradictions both in the role of consumer as well as citizen.
2. It can be seen in the study of ethical consumption and anti-consumption that these two are not only political tools. They can also be related to status. Research on the concept of anti-consumption shows that there are people who decrease their consumption for societal reasons or personal reasons. Since these people have different reasons for their anti-consumption, they should be addressed differently. It is thus interesting to see what elements people discuss when they are talking about the reduction of meat consumption.
3. Bourdieu's work teaches us that status is not merely expressed with money or connections but also through the way you talk about the things you own. Holt (1998) shows the relevance of Bourdieu's work to contemporary society. If we can understand if and how people with a high level of cultural capital differ in their discussion of meat from people with a low level of cultural capital, it is possible to see if and how people are signalling their status in meat consumption.
4. Food practices reflect 'broad social, political and economic changes' (Mennell citing himself 1985). Therefore an understanding of the discussion of food can help to see how the societal change in attitudes towards meat consumption is part of these broader changes in society. Including cultural capital in this thesis can further contribute to understanding these changes because status has shown to be a driver for societal change in other cases, such as popularity of health (Aarts 1999).

2. Theoretical framework

In this theoretical framework, three themes with different concepts, that are important in answering the main research questions, are operationalized. These are: the contexts of production and consumption in the discussion of meat; the consumer-citizen and the gap between production and consumption; and cultural capital as a factor in the discussion of meat.

The contexts of production and consumption in the discussion of meat

Korzen and Lassen (2010) analyse a gap that is found in empirical research regarding the way people discuss quality in consumption and production. The authors find a common assumption 'that there ought to be consistency between what people say in different social situations, and between what people say and do' in literature that studies people's perceptions of safety, as a quality of meat, and explain that this common assumption of consistency is incorrect (Korzen and Lassen 2010). In their study the importance of context for consumer perceptions is the basis for the theoretical understanding of the difference between beliefs and practices in meat consumption. The starting point of the Korzen and Lassen (2010) thesis is that perceptions are depending on context and this has methodological as well as analytical implications for research on meat consumption (Korzen and Lassen 2010). When people say things that seem to be a paradox, this should not be seen as incorrect. It is a result of the fact that humans are incoherent beings. As meat goes through the 'production-consumption' process, the meaning of quality will change. Consumers will take one point in this process to answer a question on quality perception. In discussing the results, the authors do not view the negative attitude towards meat as a sign of meat reduction, but as a sign of a changing place of meat on the table and in the perception of what good meat is. In their study Korzen and Lassen (2010) take two contexts as a case study for the perception of meat: the everyday and production. The remoteness of the production context contrasts the familiarity of the every-day context. In the context of the everyday life, the perception of meat quality relates to taste, health and convenience. The concern here seems to be the smooth-running of a daily practice, and other contexts than the supermarket and the home rarely come up. Whereas, in the context of production, quality relates mostly to animal welfare, environmental consequences, additives, safety, GMO free, trust and transparency (Korzen and Lassen 2010).

The context of consumption is operationalized as provision, preparation and consumption of meat (Korzen and Lassen 2010). The actors in this context are the consumer and sometimes the retailer. This can relate to the quality of the product, convenience and appropriateness for a certain social setting. Qualities of meat are then of an intrinsic nature, meaning that they are related to the qualities of the product (Korzen and Lassen 2010). The context of production is operationalized as

the keeping, feeding, slaughtering and transportation of animals. The actors in this context are the farmer, producer, the authorities and sometimes the retailer. Qualities of meat are of an extrinsic nature, meaning that they are related to the 'process of production' (Korzen and Lassen 2010). I will give three examples that are based on the work of Korzen and Lassen (2010) in order to explain how consumption and production of meat can come forward in a discussion.

Example 1: meat quality in the context of consumption

Yesterday I ate sausages and mash, it was nice because I can just grab some from the freezer”

Example 2: meat quality in the context of production

I do want to know the animals had a good life, I think it is the responsibility of people to take good care of the animals they keep.

Example 3: Linking consumption and production together

I am worried about the conditions chickens are kept in, I think it can affect the health of my children.

These examples show that the contexts of production and consumption, can be linked in people's perception. In the next section, this idea will be expanded by connecting this to the concept of the consumer-citizen. This is because this term allows the reader to see that what people state to be their opinion of meat is constructed in relation to the environment, or indeed context, they are talking. For example, who they are talking with when expressing their opinion.

The consumer-citizen and the gap between production and consumption

Now that the contexts of consumption and production have been operationalized, I continue by relating these two to roles of consumer and citizen. As could be seen in the introduction, the terms consumer-citizens and citizen-consumers refer to the political role people obtain from using their wallet or their vote (Micheletti 2003; Trentmann 2007). Again, a reference has to be made to Korzen and Lassen (2010) who explain that acting as a consumer or a citizen is not 'a deeper characteristic of the individual irrespective of the context' (Korzen and Lassen 2010). It is actually very much dependent on the context that people are discussing in, what role people “use” to express themselves (Korzen and Lassen 2010). So to summarize we can say the following. In a discussion of meat, people can discuss in it relation to intrinsic qualities or extrinsic qualities of meat. These two belong to consumption and production respectively. When referring to the intrinsic qualities and naming aspects of consumption, one takes on the role of the consumer. When referring to extrinsic qualities one takes on the role of citizen. However in some cases, the two can become mixed when people are asked to discuss the reduction of meat consumption or the sustainability of their own meal. A schematic overview of this theoretical framework is presented in figure 1. How people deal with the combination of both is what is a question in this study:

How do consumers-citizens discuss meat and meat-reduction and how do they deal with the contexts of production and consumption in that discussion?

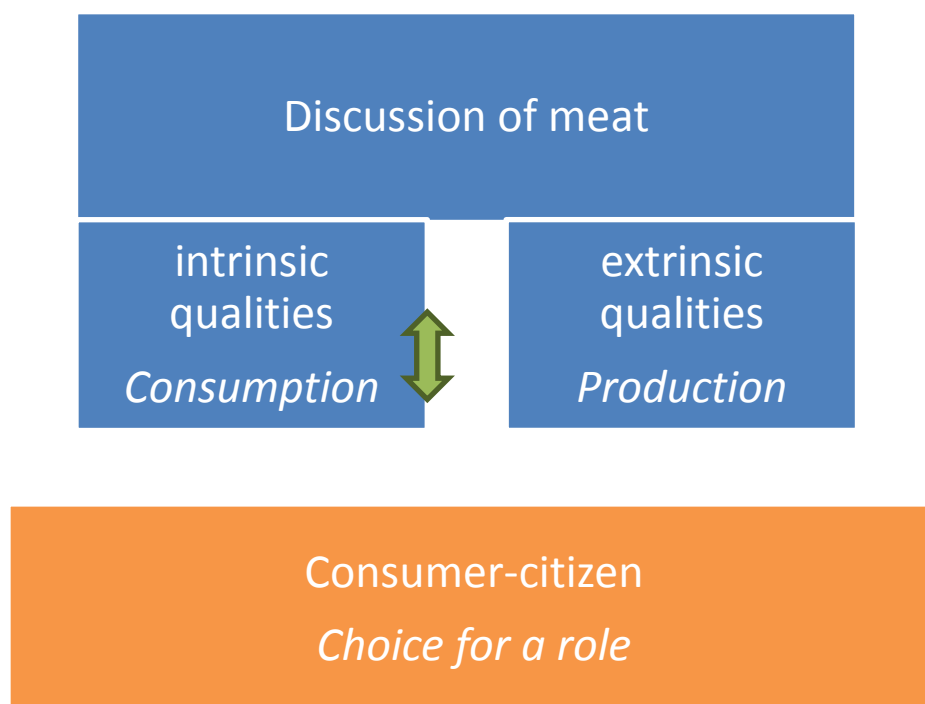


Figure 1: Theoretical framework for the discussion of meat

Cultural capital

In the theory of Bourdieu, there is a strong emphasis on upbringing. The socialisation of children is the most important stage for the formation of one's habitus and thus is of high importance for how class is reproduced. It is explained that it is very difficult to grasp cultural capital, because it is difficult to operationalize all the different ways in which people acquire knowledge and skills. However, one element of cultural capital, namely institutionalised cultural capital, is measurable. Therefore, education can be seen as an indicator for cultural capital levels (Holt 1998). What sort of job people have also provides a quantifiable measure for the cultural capital level. We can thus say that both education level and occupation are measures that can approach the cultural capital level. However, Holt (1998) also included a measure of upbringing. Upbringing was measured with the education and occupation of the participant's father. Unfortunately, this data is not available in this thesis. Therefore, the measures of the participants own educational level and occupation are the only measures used to determine cultural capital level.

In this thesis, this operationalization is made based on the previous work of Holt (1998). It is readjusted to be applicable in the Dutch national context. In this paper, education will be captured with a following five-point scale that was adopted from the study of Holt (1998) and transferred to the Dutch educational system.

- | |
|--|
| 1 = Basisonderwijs of VMBO/MAVO/VBO <i>Elementary school or low level high-school;</i>
2 = MBO of HAVO/VWO <i>low-level higher education or high-level high school</i>
3 = HBO <i>mid-level higher education</i>
4 = WO <i>college</i>
5 = Hoger onderwijs derde fase (PhD, AIO, OIO). <i>Ph.D</i> |
|--|

Table 2: Rating of educational level

The following table gives a rating on a 5-point scale of the occupation as an indication of cultural capital. This table is also an adaption of the rating from Holt (1998) to the Dutch context.

- | |
|--|
| 1 = ongeschoold of geschoold werk in productie/schoonmaak <i>unskilled or skilled manual labour</i>
Example: production worker, cleaner
2 = ongeschoold of geschoold werk in diensten/commercieel/administratief <i>unskilled or skilled service/clerical</i>
Example: nurse, house wife, secretary
3 = verkoop, laag niveau technisch werk, laag niveau management <i>sales, low-level technical, low-level managerial</i>
Example: florist, car mechanic, manager supermarket
4 = hoog-niveau management, laag niveau culturele sector (inclusief onderwijzers basis-middelbaar onderwijs). <i>high-level technical, high-level managerial, and low cultural (e.g., primary/secondary teachers)</i>
Example: manager school, teacher, politician
5 = hoog niveau culturele sector, wetenschap <i>cultural producers</i>
Example: professor, painter, writer, musician |
|--|

Table 3: Rating of occupation

The final cultural capital score is calculated with the following formula:

Cultural capital rating = education + occupation
--

Table 4: Rating of cultural capital

With this measure the cultural capital level is operationalized. Following Holt (1998), the cultural capital levels 2-4 are regarded as low cultural capital and the cultural capital levels 7-10 are regarded as high cultural capital.

Connection to consumption

Now that the level of cultural capital has been operationalized, the next question is how cultural capital is expressed in consumption. In the article *Does Cultural Capital Structure American Consumption?* Douglas B. Holt (1998) presents six different elements in which HCC's differentiate themselves from LCC's. He finds that people with a high level of cultural capital do not so much differ on the things they consume, they differ in the way they discuss that consumption. For example, two of the participants in his study, mentioned *Schindler's List* as a movie they did not like watching. The LCC-participant had a referential perception of the movie and figured she would get too sad and emotional from that movie. The HCC-participant said she did not like the movie, because of the way the director portrait this history. She explained her choice with a critical reception of cultural texts. The following table shows all the different elements that Holt (1998) found to be of importance to cultural capital as a factor in consumption.

Low cultural capital	
Material aesthetics	Primary value: managing everyday life Appreciate functional/practical Pragmatic solutions Utilitarian characteristics appreciated Traditions Comfortable and reassuring choices Conforming to role norms Functional: pragmatic solution
Referential reception of cultural texts	Realistic depiction of the world Texts that speak directly to the life situation
Materialism	Appreciate large quantities Enjoy things that look luxurious
Consumer subjectivity as local identity	Local reference groups Local news Find comfort in familiar objects Traditional concepts Tastes adjusted to being part of a local group Mass goods and conventions provide useful resources for construction of local identity Seldom words of expertise or preferences Do not elaborate to show consumer performance Pragmatic evaluations of goods
Leisure as autotelic sociality	Emphasis on autotelic qualities of hobbies Nature: place to commune with Experience as social resource

High cultural capital	
Formal aesthetics	Discourse of style Material characteristics are baseline criteria Experiential properties Personalised and personalizing activities Particular ideas of what is fashionable Economic choices as less desirable outcomes forced by budgetary constraints Functional means: modern design
Critical reception of cultural texts	Do not reflect empirical world
Idealism	No extravagance Not status-oriented
Cosmopolitan	Expansive social world Reference group geographically spread Exotic consumption objects
Consumer subjectivity as individuality	Unique and original style Authenticity – avoiding contact with mass culture Connoisseurship - reconfiguration mass cultural objects Good outside the commodity form Do not like mass culture Artisan products Like personally meaningful things Eclecticism Defensive or apologetic about lack of connoisseurship Elaborate descriptions
Leisure as self-actualization	Experiential abundance is highly valued Accumulate skill and knowledge Nature: place to draw experience from and express creativity in Achievement Experience as resource for individual expression and personal achievement

Table 5: LCC and HCC consumption derived from Holt (1998)

These elements are not equally relevant to the discussion of meat. They do give a full overview of how cultural capital is a factor in the discussion of consumption choices as explained by Holt (1998). Finding elements from this table in the discussion of meat would be an indicator that cultural capital is a factor in the discussion of meat. The following main question is asked on the basis of this theory:

Is cultural capital a factor for the manner in which consumer-citizens deal with the contexts of production and consumption in meat when discussing meat-and meat reduction?

Research questions

This theoretical framework can be summarized using the following schematic overview (figure 2). From the figure it shows there are two questions this thesis addresses. First the discussion of meat is reviewed and then it is explored whether cultural capital is a factor in the way people deal with consumption and production in that discussion.

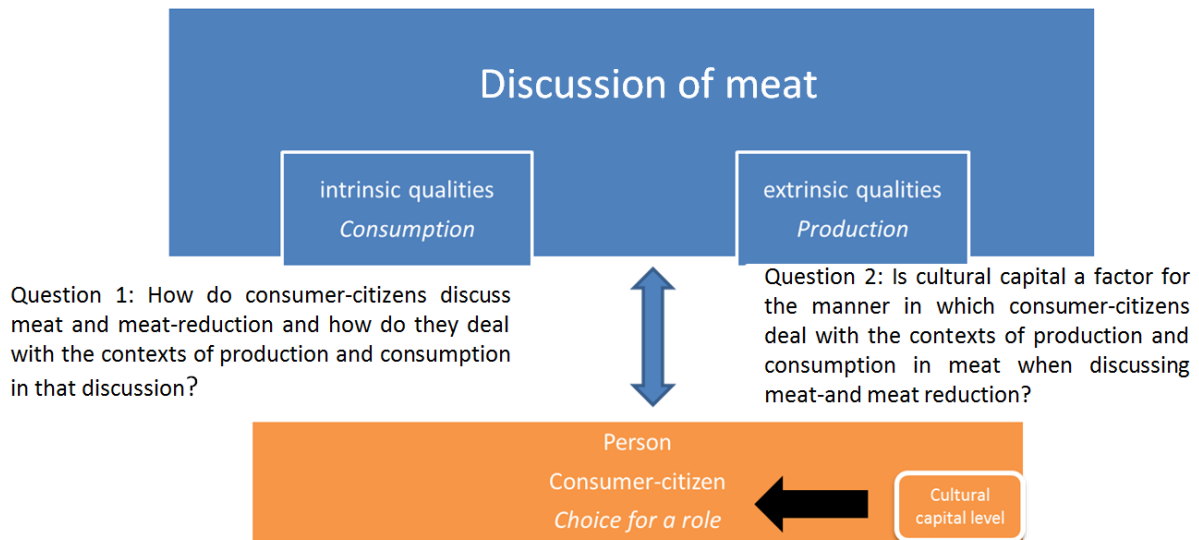


Figure 2: Theoretical framework for the discussion of meat and cultural capital as a factor.

Main questions:

1. How do consumers-citizens discuss meat and meat-reduction and how do they deal with the contexts of production and consumption in that discussion?
2. Is cultural capital a factor for the manner in which consumer-citizens deal with the contexts of production and consumption in meat when discussing meat-and meat reduction?

Sub questions:

Main question 1: How do consumers-citizens discuss meat and meat-reduction and how do they deal with the contexts of production and consumption in that discussion?

1. How has meat consumption been studied in academic literature that is related to consumer studies? (*study 1*)
1. What elements were important in the focus group study related to meat consumption- and reduction? (*study 2*)
2. What similarities can be seen in the participants attitudes towards reducing meat consumption? (*study 3*)
3. How do these different groups differ or are the same amongst each other concerning the elements selected in study two? (*study 3*)
4. How do the participants in these groups deal with the contexts of production and consumption when discussing the different elements of meat? (*study 3*)

Main question 2: Is cultural capital a factor for the manner in which consumer-citizens deal with the contexts of production and consumption in meat when discussing meat-and meat reduction?

1. How do people that are classified as having HCC or LCC according to the work of Holt differ in their discussion of meat? (*study 4*)
2. How do these differences relate to the contexts of production and consumption? (*study 4*)

There are four studies carried out to answer these research questions.

Study 1: Literature review meat consumption

Study 2: Elements in the discussion of meat (health, production, taste, complexity, society, changing behaviour)

Study 3: Grouping of attitudes towards meat reduction and how do these groups discussions differ or are the same in the different elements of the discussion. Then it is studied how these people relate the elements to the contexts of production and consumption.

Study 4: How do people with a high or low CC-level, as operationalized according to Holt, differ in their discussion of meat within each group of attitude towards meat.

In the next chapter, the methods for each of these studies will be explained.

3. Methods

Study 1: Literature study

A literature study is performed in order to systematically review what has been published in an area of research. The research question of this study is: *How has meat consumption been studied in academic literature that is related to consumer studies?* In order to answer this question a set of scholarly papers was searched using the search engine Scopus. A search engine query was performed with articles that were published after 1999. The query was set to search for articles with the words *meat* or *fish* in the title and the words *food*, *consumer* and *consumers* in the title, the abstract or the keywords. This query was performed on a set of journals that are considered to be core journals for consumer studies according to the website of the WUR Library¹. Six journals on this list were found irrelevant, because they were in another language or more related to retail, policy and distribution than consumer studies. One journal was added to this list by the author, the journal *Appetite*, because it was thought to be a journal in which articles could be published that were related to the research questions of study 2 to 4.

The journals included in this query are:

1. Advances in consumer research
2. Consumption, markets & culture
3. Family and consumer sciences research journal / American Association of Family and Consumer Sciences
4. Food quality and preference
5. International journal of consumer studies
6. The Journal of consumer affairs : official publication of the Council on Consumer Information
7. Journal of consumer behaviour
8. Journal of consumer culture
9. Journal of consumer marketing
10. Journal of consumer psychology
11. Journal of consumer research
12. Journal of food products marketing
13. Journal of international consumer marketing
14. Psychology and marketing
15. Appetite

The query produced 97 results. Because this would be a too large data-set to analyse in this research. a selection was made based on the researcher's judgement of the relevance of the article for the

¹ <http://library.wur.nl/desktop/portals/social/> The following journals from this list were not included from the Library list of core journals: Risk analysis, Journal of retailing and consumer services, The international review of retail, distribution and consumer research / University of Stirling, Institute for Retail Studies, Journal für Verbraucherschutz und Lebensmittelsicherheit, Journal of consumer policy,

subject of meat consumption in consumer studies. Forty-two articles were selected for analysis. These results were analysed in Atlas.ti using a bottom-up approach.

The results were grouped into different sections:

- personal characteristics
- knowledge, beliefs and emotions
- household, peers and habits

The results show how different authors have researched these different elements and if there are differences between the findings.

Data collection and preparation for study 2 to 4

The studies 2 to 4 will have the form of an exploratory case study. This is done with a method of qualitative research. The available data are recordings of focus group discussions. The advantage of a focus group is that the purpose is to understand how people feel or think about an issue, product, service or idea (Krueger and Casey 2000). This is in line with the purpose of this study. The focus group provides a 'permissive, nonthreatening environment' so that participants feel free to speak their mind. In focus group data one can find a range of ideas or feelings that people have about a subject (Krueger and Casey 2000). This way of dealing with the data could be problematic when the research becomes too much influenced by *romanticism*. Meaning that there is too much attention for 'experiences', while it is under-theorised what this actually is (Silverman 2006). Therefore, this research focuses not on the 'experience' and works to provide a narrative construction of the participant's discussion of meat during the focus group using a content analysis.

As was seen in the theoretical framework of this study, the opinion that is expressed is produced in the interaction between the habitus and the field. Consequently, it should thus be considered as well in the methodology that the participants are influenced by the context of the focus group and thus produce their opinions accordingly. Since the purpose of this study is how the participants partake in a discussion of meat, the influence of the setting is an important obstacle to take into account. This being said, it is thought that the data can still be a valuable source of information for this research question, because people are forced to formulate their opinion on different themes in the discussion of meat. However, the analysis is not performed on an interactional level. This means that the statements made by the participants will not be studied to examine how the participants interact with each other.

In the following sections the data collection and preparation will first be explained. These are relevant to the studies 2, 3 and 4. Then the methods of data analysis for each study are presented.

Focus group discussions

The focus groups that were held in 2011 for a research on the synergy between health and sustainability in food consumption will be used as the data source of this research. This is suitable data since meat is one of the foods that is often mentioned and is discussed in different contexts during the sessions. There were three focus groups with each 6 participants, making the total number of participants 18. These are all Dutch adults from different age groups and with different backgrounds. The profession and education score of all participants is known for all participants except for the education of participant 21. The participants are given a number that refers to the session they participated in as a first digit and their identification number in the session as the second digit. For example, participant 23 is the third participant from the second focus group session.

The focus groups sessions had a semi-structured set-up, which was explained in a script for the moderators of the discussions. The focus of the sessions was to find out how the participants viewed the synergy between sustainability and health in food. The sessions were held in Amersfoort and lasted about two-and-a-half hours each. More information about the focus group sessions can be found in the publication *Samenspel duurzaam en gezond?* (Sijtsema, Haaster-de Winter et al. 2012).

The following table presents a set-up of the discussion that was set-up. It shows that both elements of extrinsic qualities of meat, production, as well as intrinsic qualities, consumption, are part of this set-up. Furthermore, the participants are encouraged to make linkages between these two topics when they are asked in assignment 4 about sustainability in a meal.

Assignment	Relevance to study of meat consumption
Assignment 1: introduction	Here everybody introduced themselves and said what their favourite meal was. This turned out to give relevant information of some of the participants because they explicitly mention meat or fish and qualities of meat they enjoy.
Assignment 2: yesterday's meal	See how meat is mentioned in this consumption context and what statements are connected to meat.
Assignment 3: what is sustainability	Here people do not have to discuss meat, or the production context. Therefore, it will only be noted who mentions meat consumption and what aspects of sustainability they attach to this.

Assignment 4: sustainability in a meal	In this section people are asked to put together a sustainable meal, this is thus really an exercise that places sustainability in the context of consumption. Here the mentioning of meat will be coded and it is recorded if the participant discusses the meat in the context of consumption or production.
'animal welfare' and 'mega stables'	When animal welfare and mega stables are discussed this forces people to discuss meat in the production context. It will be recorded how they mention meat and what aspects of the production context they mention. Furthermore, it will be recorded whether or not they already connect this back to the consumption context or not.
'transport' and 'lack of space'	Elements from these sections will only be used if meat is part of the discussion.
Assignment 5: synergy sustainability and healthy	Elements from these sections will only be used if meat is part of the discussion.
Assignment 6: sustainability in products and practices	Elements from these sections will only be used if meat is part of the discussion.
Assignment 7: attitude towards a more plant based diet, as opposed to an animal protein diet	The final part of the focus group is very important because the participants are encouraged to discuss the possibility of reducing their own meat consumption. During the focus group, they have thought about sustainability issues in meat consumption. Now the question is whether or not they mention the production context in their answer.

Table 6: Structure of focus group sessions

Participants

The participants were selected to represent a diverse group of people excluding vegetarians. They were aged between 27 and 57 years. The median of the age levels is 40. Half of the participants were male. All the participants worked at least 24 hours per week. Six of the participants had a 40-hour workweek. The households in which the participants resided also differed. Nine of the participants had children, four of them lived only with a partner and three lived alone. Only the data of participant 21 was not completely recorded. The age, working hours per week, family composition and educational background of this participant were not available. A table with all relevant personal data of the members of each group is included in appendix A.

Data preparation

The data from the focus groups required organisation and categorisation in order to find a way to analyse the participants' thoughts about meat. Therefore the three transcripts from the sessions were entered into the software program Atlas.ti as primary documents and coded. The following codes were used:

1. Assignment number
2. Participant number
3. Word relating to meat or fish

This final code consisted of different subsidiaries for the word meat, different animals and different types of meat products, animals, fish products or novel protein foods (NPF's). The text was then read again to see if there were still quotations about meat that were not included in the analysis. There was a word coded in the category 'meat or fish' in every assignment of every session. There are some small differences between the groups as to how often meat or fish-words are mentioned. This could indicate that there were differences between the focus groups as to the frequency of meat as a topic for discussion. However, the differences were not found to be a problem in the analysis. Assignment 4 and 7 generated the most material. The different quotations that included meat were then transferred into primary documents for each different participant. This made it accessible for analysis.

Study 2: Elements in the discussion of meat

The second study is set-up in order to answer the following question: *What elements were important in the focus group study related to meat consumption- and reduction?* The data was coded both bottom-up and top-down. The different elements in the discussion were summarized and organised to see what elements were important in the focus group study related to meat consumption- and reduction. Seven elements in the discussion were picked intuitively to be most important in the discussion of meat. These were summed up and the most remarkable findings are presented as the results.

Study 3: Grouping of attitudes towards meat reduction

The following three questions are related to study 3:

1. *What similarities can be seen in the participants attitudes towards reducing meat consumption?*
2. *How do these different groups differ or are the same amongst each other concerning the elements selected in study two?*
3. *How do the participants in these groups deal with the contexts of production and consumption when discussing the different elements of meat?*

The first question is analysed with a research on each participant's reaction to questions about reducing their meat consumption. In order to answer the second question, elements of the discussion were selected from the second study. These are: 'health', 'production', 'taste', 'complexity', 'society', and 'changing behaviour'. For each group, it was examined how these people differed or resembled in their statements about these elements of the discussion. Continuing with the third question of this study, it was researched whether the participants discussed the elements as a topic in the context of production or consumption.

Study 4: Cultural capital in the discussion of meat

This study continues from the results of the other studies and examines if cultural capital is a factor in the manner in which people deal with the contexts of production and consumption of meat when discussing meat- and meat reduction. In this study the following questions will be answered:

1. *How do people that are classified as having HCC or LCC according to the work of Holt differ in their discussion of meat?*
2. *How do these differences relate to the contexts of production and consumption? (study 4)*

In order to answer these questions, the cultural capital rating of each participant was determined. The participants were rated using the measures of rating for cultural capital. These ratings have been presented in the theoretical framework. They included a rating for occupation and education. Because the education-level of participant 21 was not available, he was scored the same score as occupation. The following table shows the different ratings for each participant.

participant number	occupation	Score	education	Score	Cultural capital score:
11	service monteur	2	LTS	1	3
12	team coordinator	3	HBO	3	6
13	fiscaal financieel adviseur	3	HBO	3	6
14	proces operator	3	MBO	2	5
15	bloemist	2	MBO	2	4
16	freelance redacteur (reizen)	4	WO	4	8
21	Kelner	2	999	2	4
22	telefoniste	2	MBO	2	4
23	chirurg	4	WO	4	8
24	politieagente	3	MBO	2	5
25	zakelijk leider	4	HBO	3	7
26	loopbaanadviseur	4	HBO	3	7
31	logistiek medewerker	2	MEAO	2	4
32	docent	4	HBO	3	7
33	planner	3	MBO	2	5
34	docent / verpleegkundige	4	HBO	3	7
35	adviseur arbeid	3	HBO	3	6
36	laboratorium assistente	3	MBO	2	5

Table 7: Rating of participants cultural capital score

Six participants have a CC-score between 7 and 8 and are therefore rated as high cultural capital participants. There are five participants with a cultural capital score between 3 and 4. They are rated as low cultural capital participants.

The HCC and LCC participant's statements were coded using the following coding scheme.

High cultural capital	
Consumer subjectivity as individuality	Unique and original style Authenticity – avoiding contact with mass culture Do not like mass culture Artisan products Like personally meaningful things Eclecticism Defensive or apologetic about lack of connoisseurship Elaborate descriptions Authenticity changing the product individuality individualizing mass product self-made
Idealism	No extravagance No conspicuous consumption critical of mass consumption peasant food
Cosmopolitan	Exotic consumption objects Non-traditional food International experience
Formal aesthetics	Discourse of style Material characteristics are baseline criteria Experiential properties Personalised and personalizing activities Particular ideas of what is fashionable Economic choices as less desirable outcomes forced by budgetary constraints Functional means: modern design
Low cultural capital	
<i>Material aesthetics</i>	Primary value: managing everyday life Appreciate functional/practical Pragmatic solutions Utilitarian characteristics appreciated Traditions Comfortable and reassuring choices Conforming to role norms Functional: pragmatic solution
<i>Materialism</i>	<i>Appreciate large quantities</i> <i>Enjoy things that look luxurious</i>
<i>Consumer subjectivity as local identity</i>	Local reference groups Local news Find comfort in familiar objects Traditional concepts Tastes adjusted to being part of a local group Mass goods and conventions provide useful resources for construction of local identity Seldom words of expertise or preferences Do not elaborate to show consumer performance Pragmatic evaluations of goods

Table 8: Coding scheme for study 4

Each statement was coded as an item of cultural capital. Each statement that belonged to one of these elements was then reviewed in order to find out if they referred to the contexts of production or consumption. The results are presented in the categories of different attitudes towards meat reduction.

4. Results

Study 1: Literature study

Reviewing the recent literature on meat consumption, there are three categorisations that in the analysis. Before continuing with these themes, one first remarkable finding in this literature study deserves attention. It turns out that there are different aims scholars have to conduct research on meat consumption. There is a difference between five articles that aims to reduce meat consumption (Lea and Worsley 2001; Allen and Baines 2002; McEachern and Schröder 2002; Vinnari 2008; Schösler, Boer et al. 2012) and two that aims to encourage meat consumption (Myrland, Trondsen et al. 2000; Audebert, Deiss et al. 2006). In the articles that aim to encourage meat reduction, emphasize is put on the health considerations related to a diet that includes more fruits and vegetables, the advancement of organic meat consumption and sustainability issues associated with animal production. Encouraging meat consumption is researched in connection with health considerations, namely the risk of anaemia for young women, or in connection with increasing sales for meat producers. The fact that there is both literature aiming at increasing as well as decreasing meat consumption shows the complexity of the subject, which reflects the complexity of the information consumers have to deal with.

In order to understand what is known about the manner in which consumers discuss their meat consumption and their actual meat intake, it is important to take into account that meat is a food category that includes many different products. There is a distinction between red-meat, white-meat and processed meat (Cosgrove, Flynn et al. 2005). Within these groups, there are differences between the types of animal that are consumed. Fish is seen as a separate category by some authors, but not all.

With regard to the demand for meat, there are national preferences that are at the basis of the demand for certain meat types, regardless of price (Tonsor and Marsh 2007). Additionally, there are also changes in the types of meats consumed within countries. In Australia, white-meats are becoming more and more popular (Gatfield 2006). Changes in the consumption of meat are related to changes in lifestyle, cooking habits and moral concerns (Grunert 2006). In a Danish study it was seen that the popularity of meat as the centre of our meal is declining. However, although the negative associations with meat consumption are increasing, this is not reflected in actual consumption levels (Holm and Møhl 2000). In the next section, the determinants of meat consumption will be discussed.

Factors relating to meat consumption

Understanding the choices consumers make with regard to meat is a very complex issue. The reasons that are discussed in the literature are diverse (Lea and Worsley 2001). Here, we make a distinction between three groups of factors of consumer characteristics that come up in the literature on meat consumption. Personal characteristics is seen as a first group, beliefs and knowledge as a second group, and household and habits as the third group of factors that influence meat consumption.

Personal characteristics

In order to understand the demand for meat, researchers look at demographic characteristics. A couple of these demographic characteristics are relevant to meat consumption research.

First of all, meat consumption declines with age, according to American research results. (Yen Lin et al. 2008) However, in a research done in Australia, people from older age groups are not more concerned about health than other age groups when it comes to reasons for meat consumption (Lea and Worsley 2001).

Gender and ethnicity are also demographic factors that are related to meat consumption. Literature shows that gender is an important factor in meat consumption. Women tend to express themselves much more negatively about meat products and meat consumption, although this did not influence their actual consumption (Holm and Møhl 2000). Looking at cultural values, there is a link between perceived masculinity and eating meat. Vegetarian men are seen as less masculine by both meat-eaters as well as vegetarians (Ruby and Heine 2011). Thus, gender is found to be of importance for both meat consumption and for people's perception of meat reducers. Furthermore, two different studies show that ethnicity has an influence on what type of meat products people prefer (Yen, Lin et al. 2008; Carlos and Mishra 2011).

The fourth category of personal characteristics is the socio-economic status. There seems to be some contradictions in the literature on this topic. One American study shows that people from higher income groups eat more meat in total and choose more white meat, especially when eating out of the house (Guenther, Jensen et al. 2005; Yen, Lin et al. 2008). Furthermore, in a Norwegian study, it is seen that education is a positive factor for fish consumption (Myrland, Trondsen et al. 2000). This thus indicates that socio-economic status is an important factor for increased meat consumption. However, Lea and Worsley (2001) find demographic factors, such as education and income, not to be of a high impact on meat reduction beliefs. The idea that education positively contributes to vegetarianism has also been researched (Hoek, Luning et al. 2004). This study compared the socio-demographic profiles, including education and household income, of vegetarians, consumers of meat substitutes and meat eaters. It is found that vegetarians and non-

vegetarians who sometimes consume meat substitutes, are more often from higher education- and income groups (Hoek, Luning et al. 2004).

Knowledge, beliefs and emotions

Researchers relate personal characteristics to beliefs and lifestyle attitudes. We go deeper into the findings on what the influence of different beliefs is in the next section.

Individual beliefs and knowledge are another factor of influence on the consumption of meat. These can be divided into two categories. First, the perceived knowledge of, for example, health aspects or issues related to the animal production system. Second, there is research on the emotional aspects that influence the consumption of individuals, for instance the disgust of raw flesh.

Knowledge and beliefs are a predictor of meat consumption (Guenther, Jensen et al. 2005). Looking at health concerns, research shows that these predictors can have two sorts of influences. Dietary knowledge can lead to less consumption of red meat (Yen, Lin et al. 2008). However, health concerns about a vegetarian diet were found to be a strong reason for people's reluctance to decrease meat consumption (Lea and Worsley 2001). A striking example of the effect of health knowledge comes from the work of Yen, Lin et al (2008). It is shown here that knowledge about the negative and positive health aspects of fish can balance out into an unchanged level of consumption. People are aware of the nutritional benefits of fish. Yet, they are also aware of mercury- and chemical poisoning of fish. This research shows that people have both health-related arguments for and against the reduction of meat consumption. It can be seen that reducing meat consumption is related to concerns about personal health. To such extent, that some researchers even worry about the connection between vegetarianism and unhealthy dieting by young-adult women (Forestell, Spaeth et al. 2012).

Another sort of knowledge that is considered as a factor in the literature is the knowledge about environmental externalities and animal cruelty in the animal production system. However, this knowledge turns out to be not as important as a factor in meat consumption according to the research found. People do have attitudes about animals protection. However, these do not necessarily translate into consumer choices (Holm and Møhl 2000; Grunert 2006; Cerjak, Karolyi et al. 2011). Consumers in a UK qualitative research had a low commitment towards ethical or environmental arguments and did not see a responsibility for the consumer in these issues (McEachern and Schröder 2002). A side note has to be made about the difference between vegetarians and meat-reducers. Research with US college females showed that for meat-reducers ethical concerns are not important. However this concern was found to be an important driver for vegetarians and pesco-

vegetarians (Forestell, Spaeth et al. 2012). This is also confirmed in other research showing that ethical argument were only important for people that buy much of these products, vegetarians, and not for other groups that only decreased their meat consumption (Hoek, Luning et al. 2004). Berndsen and Van Der Pligt (2005) bring together the influence of moral and health concerns on meat consumption. They present a model that is based on risk perception. The finding here is that 'risk acceptance was mediated by perceived health and moral risks, whereas intention about meat consumption was mediated by risk acceptance.' Furthermore, it turned out that people can have both positive and negative feelings about meat at the same time. People who are more ambivalent towards meat show an intention to eat less meat (Berndsen and van der Pligt 2004).

The way people handle the information from the media, influences their beliefs. Media thus have an important role as information sources. Negative information, like the BSE-crisis, has an effect on the demand for a certain type of meat in the aggregated data (Sorenson, Delhumeau et al. 2003; Jin 2008). Health information that gains much attention in the media, for instance the popularity of the Atkins diet, changes demand for certain meat products (Tonsor, Mintert et al. 2010).

Emotional reactions to meat are another topic in the literature. For instance, the focus is on 'disgust reactions' to different types of meat. Studying attitudes towards meat, a qualitative research with Norwegian adolescents (Kubberød, Ueland et al. 2002) showed that disgust for meat is related to conceiving thinking of meat as an a former animal and by conceiving meat products in terms of body parts, blood and the texture and feeling in the mouth. Female negative attitudes towards meat were much more driven by disgust, rather than distaste. This result is confirmed in other qualitative studies where adult women expressed negative perceptions of meat for the same reasons (Holm and Møhl 2000). Connecting disgust to self-reported meat consumption, Fessler et al. (2003) find that people who avoid certain types of meat for taste reasons, do not eat less meat overall. Moreover, limiting meat consumption for ethical or health reasons is not driven by disgust sensitivity. This result is supported by other research (Herzog and Golden 2009) that found no positive correlation between disgust sensitivity and meat consumption.

Household, peers and habits

Meat consumption is also influenced by other members of the household and the behaviour of peers. Holm and Møhl (2000) find that women express a willingness to consume less meat, but they do not act on this belief because they think others in the household will not like a vegetarian meal. A Norwegian study shows, that seafood consumption was influenced by the presence of children in the household (Myrland, Trondsen et al. 2000). Furthermore, in a research conducted in the US, it is shown that having vegetarian friends is a predictor of meat consumption, especially for men. Though, this could be due to the fact that people become friends with each other because they share values associated with meat consumption (Lea and Worsley 2001). Habits too are discussed as a factor in meat consumption (Lea and Worsley 2001; Schösler, Boer et al. 2012). Preparing meals without meat is seen as more challenging. This is related to the finding that people that are less enthusiastic about trying new things are more reluctant to reduce their meat consumption as well. However, there is a trend towards processed, which is not evidently part of an animal's body, meat types, as an ingredient. Examples of these meat products that are not as visibly from an animal are minced meat or chicken nuggets. This way of using meat is replacing traditional dishes where meat is at the 'centre of the plate' (Holm and Møhl 2000; Grunert 2006). The authors note that reducing meat is less challenging to habitual behaviours when it has lost its place at the centre of one's plate and mind.

Study 2: Elements in the discussion of meat consumption

In this section of the results the following question is answered: *What elements were important in the focus group study related to meat consumption- and reduction?*

The following elements of coding were found:

1. Statements about meat consumption in general

This is the broadest category of statements and it includes statements about what people think of meat and meat eating. General statements about the participants' attitudes towards reducing, replacing and rejecting meat are also included here.

2. Statements about aspects of meat products

The aspects of meat products that are mentioned during the focus groups are: taste, health, convenience, quality, freshness and variety.

3. Statements about changing behaviour

Most of these statements are about sources of information and changing one's diet, because this is asked about during the session. It also includes statements about how other people can be encouraged to change behaviour.

4. Statements about sustainable products

Statements about meat replacers and organic meat are included here. Furthermore, people can question the sustainability of a product, for example fish with a label.

5. Statements about society

These are statements that display people's ideas about society in general, 'other people' and governance.

6. Factors influencing consumption practices

People mention factors that influence what and how they eat:

- convenience and time constraints
- cost considerations
- dietary considerations
- family influences
- local food environment
- meat reduction for sports
- Feeling no constraints in the food choices one makes
- partner and family influences
- special constraints of storage
- time constraints

7. *Statements that are relevant in the way the person presents his/herself to the group*

Some statements people made could be really characterizing of how that person thinks and not be directly related to their meat consumption. These statements were recorded in this category.

8. *Remarking elements in the way the participant participates in the conversation*

If people do something that is remarkable like making a joke, asking a question or being critical of somebody else, this was recorded in this category.

Important observations

From this elaborate overview of what elements were mentioned in these discussions, six elements are presented to be most important in the full discussion of meat consumption:

1. Health
2. Production
3. Taste
4. Complexity
5. Society
6. Changing behaviour.

Health considerations

Since health was a topic that was brought up often by the moderators of the groups, it is to be expected that people offered statements about the health aspects of meat. We can see that all but four participants mention health.

Health is an interesting element of the discussion of meat because it can both be seen as something that is necessary for your health and something that is a threat to your health. We see that in the following two statements:

23: Maar een stukje vlees op zich is gezond...

23: But a bit of meat is healthy...

This participant defends the healthiness of meat. Participant 16 is less sure that meat is healthy, but he is doubting the

16: ja, wat ik denk, volgens mij dus, is het niet zo gezond voor mensen om heel veel vlees te eten. Nouja, zij denken van niet. Dus als het de bedoeling is dat we minder vlees eten, dan moet er meer voorlichting komen. En misschien heb ik wel ongelijk hoor.

16: Well, what I think, so according to me, it is not so healthy for people to eat a lot of meat. Well, they might think it is not. So if it is needed to eat less meat, there has to be more consumer education. But I could be wrong.

Statements about production and sustainability in production

Only five participants make no statements at all about production. So the focus groups yielded a good amount of information on what participants stated when discussing meat in the production context.

There are some themes that appear to be most prominent in the attitude towards meat production and sustainability.

- A relation between technology in production and worries for the participants own health. Examples that are mentioned during the sessions are: water injections in chicken, antibiotics in the meat, hormones in the meat, cultivated fish and conservatives in minced meat. It is interesting to see that participant 34 shows a great openness to new technologies, such as meat that is put together with plasma's, and sees sustainability very much in terms of energy usage and is one of the participants that is reducing his meat-intake so deliberately.
- The participants see an opposition between sustainability in terms of energy-usage and sustainability in terms of animal care. Naturalness connected is connected to sustainability by five participants. Participant 35 sees that changing the production means a larger change in society and a different sort of labour input, where sustainable production is more about 'bio, farms and green' and will be more labour intensive. Participant 13 remarks that meat consumption is part of a larger natural circle and that eating meat is part of that system.
- Five participants are critical or even sceptic about the factual sustainability of food products with a sustainability-label or sustainable practices. Most mentioned here was the truthfulness of fish labelling. Furthermore, participant 35 questioned the sustainability of a more vegetarian diet.

Statements about consumption decisions and taste

Although most people make some reference to the tastiness of food.

Complex choices

There are six participants who make a statement about the complexity of meat choices. They state that although they might have worries about what happens in the production of meat products, when they are in the supermarket and acting as a consumer, those concerns are not taken into account.

Society, government and 'other people'

In this segment the statements of the participants concerning society, governance and 'other people' in relation to meat production or consumption are presented. Society-statements are statements about things that are happening in the world, the national context and the environment. 'Other

people' is based on statements that participants made about what they think other people do or argue. This also includes statements that are put in a 'we' sentence, where we does not refer to the person's household or family. The following two general notes can be made about these statements.

- There is critique about the willingness of 'other people' to change to a more sustainable lifestyle. This refers to a worry about both public health as well as the environmental effects of food practices.
- Lifestyles that are related to environmental concerns were discussed as something negative. Even participants that were actively thinking about changing their own routines, did not want to be seen as an idealist. So even though people had expressed concern for the world, being considered as somebody with an environmentally conscious lifestyle is not something these participants wanted to associate themselves with.

Statements about changing behaviour

In this element statements are discussed that concern the participants' reactions to questions about changing behaviour and what is needed in order to change their consumption of meat. Many of the participants do not think incorporating NPF's in their food habits is an option for them. One reason for this is that NPF's are seen as a replacer for meat in a three-component meal. Whereas there were more opportunities seen by these participants in decreasing the amount of meat or leaving it out completely in the case of less traditional meals, such as Italian cuisine or stir-fry. An interesting note comes from participant 33, who mentions the example of his supermarket as a partner in becoming more sustainable. He explains that his supermarket gave a discount and he could buy the second product later as to avoid unnecessary left-overs.

Study 3: Grouping of attitudes towards meat reduction

The following three questions are answered in the third study of this thesis.

- 1. What similarities can be seen in the participants attitudes towards reducing meat consumption?*
- 2. How do these different groups differ or are the same amongst each other concerning the elements selected in study two?*
- 3. How do the participants in these groups deal with the contexts of production and consumption when discussing the different elements of meat?*

The analysis of people's statements about meat reduction shows that there are three groups of people that displayed similarities in the way they talked about reducing meat consumption. Four people were not classified in one of these three groups, because either they offered statements that contrasted with their own previous statements or they stated that their opinion had changed because of what was said during the session. The following four groups were formed:

Group 1: 'I will not eat less meat' (6 participants)

Group 2: 'Looking for a balance' (4 participants)

Group 3: Deliberate meat reducers (4 participants)

Group 4: Uncertain (4 participants)

The results are presented per group and then for each group it is seen how these people differ or are similar in the manner in which they discuss the elements 'health', 'production', 'taste', 'complexity', 'society' and 'changing behaviour'. Then the results are presented of the third question in this study are presented, namely how the participants in each group deal with the topics of production and consumption when discussing the different elements of meat.

‘I will not eat less meat’

Six participants of the total of eighteen thought meat was very important and they did not want to engage in a conversation on how to reduce meat consumption. These similarities are presented in the following four statements by each participant in this group.

Participant 21	Yes, for me it would be that the meat should be a little smaller and some more vegetables, the total amount would then be of equal size. But I don't think that will happen. I think I will actually eat more food in total, the meat stays the same size, will not get smaller, it is what I need.
Participant 11	1. no, I prefer a bit more balance. An equal amount of meat to vegetables. Preferably a bit more meat than vegetables. Moderator: and why is that? 1: I just am a meat-eater.
Participant 35	I think omitting meat... difficult: a meal without meat. I actually don't want to think about that.
Participant 32	I think that if everybody would eat less meat one day (a week). It would be better for the sustainability. I don't mind believing that, but I have to say I find it difficult for myself. I used to be a difficult eater. Nowadays I eat a lot more, (it is special) that I eat vegetables and fish anyways. But I would never eat vegetarian.
Participant 36	Is a human not a meat-eater? I just don't think I'll stand up and think: Yes, tonight no meat!
Participant 22	[...] I really like my piece of meat too much. Meat or fish or something like that. I can't imagine soup without meat.

Table 9: ‘I will not eat less meat’ statements

The statements in table 9 show that these people do not want to reduce their own meat consumption. Participant 11 and 36 argue that eating is normal for people and that this is a given fact. Participant 22 cannot imagine not eating meat either. Participants 21 and 32 state that they do not want to reduce their own meat consumption because they need it. Having found this similarity in the attitude towards meat reduction, the results of the participants' discussion of the different elements that were selected are presented in the tables 10 to 15. The results are first shown in a table and then elaborated upon. The original Dutch quotation is provided in some instances to clarify the summary of the statement. This presentation of the results is the same for the other groups of attitudes towards meat reduction.

Health

36	Reducing meat consumption makes you more fit for sports I would not eat something because it is healthy Remarking that yesterday's food was healthy	Ik zal nooit een spruitje eten omdat het gezond is.
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Table 10: Health statement in group 1

All people in attitude group 'I will not eat less meat', except participant 36, did not mention health-aspects of meat. So it shows that the persons who felt very strongly about eating meat, did not mention health arguments to explain that attitude. Participant 36 does mention health-considerations in her meal-plan of the day before. However, at the end of the session, she states that she would never eat something because it is healthy and that taste is her most important driver. This statement is related to the topic of consumption.

Meat production and sustainability in production

11	Sustainability is giving donations for animal protection	dierenbescherming. Die zet zich in voor dieren. Dus als je toch geld heb, laat maar zeggen, dan zou je daar een deel naar toe kunnen doen.
36	Sustainable: 'bio, farm, and green' Sustainable production is more labour intensive Critical about sustainability of organic meat, credibility of information. Water injection in chicken Thinks In Vitro meat is scary	Als ik aan duurzaam denk en aan biologisch, denk ik niet aan een fabriek. Maar aan groen, aan een boerderij.
35	Discusses TV show that explained water use in production Mentions example of unnecessary animal suffering in production Does not like 'cultivated' fish	
32	Reflects on differences in perception of good animal handling between Western and Asian countries We do not see the animal suffering in meat production <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Seeing an animal transport - Knowing people who worked in meat processing 	Dat ging meer over dat.. Nu we zeggen dat het zielig is van die grote fokkerijen, maar ik wilde vergelijken met het buitenland. Ik was in Azië op vakantie geweest. En ze zeggen altijd wel hoe we met dieren... maar als ik zie hoe ze daar met dieren om gaan.. Vind ik het hier nog wel meevallen hier in Nederland. En veel dingen zien wij niet. En in Azië kun je het zien voor de toerist en de lokale bevolking. Hier wordt het nog iets meer achter de schermen gedaan. En wat daar ligt, dat wil je liever niet zien. Overall varkenssnuiten..

Table 11 Meat production and sustainability in production statements in group 1

Participants 21 and 36 do not participate in the discussion on meat production and sustainability. The other participants in this group do express statements in which they offer their view on the production process of meat and what they consider to be sustainability. Participants 35 and 32 mention animal suffering. Participant 32 also talks about the invisibility of production. Participants 35

and 36 mention intrinsic qualities of meat, connected to consumption, in their discussion of production. They thus link the topics of production and consumption.

Taste

11	Food of yesterday was tasty Won't taste difference regular-organic Meat is tasty	
21	Eat things that taste good	
22	Meat tastes good Food needs to be tasty Meat tastes better than NPF's	ik denk vooral aan lekker bij eten lastig, ben vooral op smaak gericht
36	Yesterday's food was tasty and healthy Meat is very tasty Organic meat tastes better I don't eat ham because I don't like the taste I love food, it has to be tasty	Niet dat ik het financieel slecht heb, maar als ik dat wel zou hebben.. Dan zou ik dat wel doen. Ook omdat ik denk dat het vlees lekkerder is.
32	I go for tasty and convenient Organic chicken can taste better because of what the chicken eats	

Table 12: Taste statements in group 1

Five of the participants in this group state that meat is tasty. They all have similar statements on tastiness of meat and the importance of tastiness. Participant 32 makes a link between production and consumption by stating that organic meat tastes better.

Complexity

36	My love for animals doesn't go so far that I would pay more for free-range chicken
35	I still go for the cheaper meat, even though I don't want animals to suffer
32	We choose as a consumer, we go for the cheaper things.

Table 13: Complexity statements in group 1

Three of the six participants in this group make a statement that shows they do not want to incorporate the production process in their decision-making on meat consumption. They do not want to establish a link between the topics production and consumption.

Society

21	People eat less meat because they think it is pitiful
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Table 14: Society statement in group 1

Only one of the six participants in this group mentions other people's acts. He draws a connection between production and consumption in this element, because he thinks other people incorporate production in their consumption-choices.

Changing behaviour

21	Eating a bit more vegetables and less meat won't work for me
11	In need to eat meat every day
22	Nuts can be good replacer Won't do Meatless Monday
36	Needs meat Flexitarian stupid word Does not like rules about eating
35	Would not want to stop eating Big Macs If they could really convince me, I might eat a little bit less meat Eat more fish as an alternative to meat
32	Not open to changing meat consumption

Table 15: Changing behaviour statements in group 1

These participants are all reluctant when it comes to changing their behaviour. Only participant 35 mentions it indirectly when he refers to being convinced of the seriousness of problems in the production process. So this is a statement in which he relates consumption and production.

'Looking for a balance'

Four participants make statements that concern the idea that they look for a balance in the consumption of meat. They do not want to reject the idea of reducing meat immediately. However, they are not as outspoken about reducing meat as the 'deliberate meat reducers'. The following citations in table 16 demonstrate how these participants talk about balancing your meat consumption.

Participant 15	yes, if it tastes good I would. But I have to be given some ideas. I would always miss a piece of meat, but If I have a good recipe, then I think, well, why not.
Participant 24	[Final comment about meat reduction] balance
Participant 16	I don't eat meat every day no. My boyfriend is all about sustainability etc. and he has this thing like 'we have to eat less meat'. Well, I think we eat meat about 5 times a week. So, 2 times we indeed eat tofu or eggs or lentils, you were just talking about that, I also make lentil pie quite often, yes.
Participant 23	Eat in moderation, live consciously

Table 16: 'Looking for a balance' statements in group 1

These participants make the following statements about the different elements of the discussion of meat. These are presented in the tables 17 to 22 and discussed. In case these participants discuss a link between the topics of consumption and production, this is analysed.

Health

15	Meat is healthy NPF out of dietary consideration 'eat things that are good for you'	dat is alles wat je moet eten eigenlijk, of wat goed voor je is.
24	Dietary considerations Meat is healthy	nou, in vlees zitten heel veel goede dingen
16	Dietary considerations Beef is healthier than pork Eat more fish because it is healthy We are not eating healthy enough Meat is not so healthy, but it is in our system. Not eating meat every day is healthy Not eating too much meat is healthier	ja, want ik denk, volgens mij dus, is het niet zo gezond voor mensen om heel veel vlees te eten. Nouja, zij denken van niet. Dus als het de bedoeling is dat we minder vlees eten, dan moet er meer voorlichting komen. En misschien heb ik wel ongelijk hoor.
23	There are good things in meat You should not eat too much meat	Maar een stukje vlees is op zich gezond..

Table 17: Health statements in group 2

All participants in this group mention health. It is interesting to see that three of the four participants mention the healthiness of meat. All the statements about health are connected to consumption.

Meat production and sustainability in production

24	Sustainability is going back to nature Focus on naturalness and pureness of meat Unnecessary liquids added to chicken There should be no antibiotics in meat	Niet met die antibiotica erin, niet eh, zoveel kip die kiloknallers als je die kip bakt, die helft van het vocht is er al uit, d Dit betekent dat het allemaal toegevoegd is terwijl het niet nodig was, dus eigenlijk terug naar de basis
16	Sustainability is about energy usage, therefore mega stables can be more sustainable	
23	Regular farmers use hormones in meat production 'meat from an (organic). farmer' is good	zo'n volgebouwde, volgestouwde hormoon kip

Table 18: Meat production and sustainability in production statements in group 2

A difference can be discovered between the ideas about the meaning of sustainability. Participants 23 and 24 refer to naturalness as being good, and thus create a link between the topics of production and consumption. Participant 16 discusses sustainability in terms of energy-usage. He refers to the topic of production.

Taste

15	Organic meat tastes different Eats NPF's even though they do not taste so good Eat meat because it tastes good	
16	NPF's don't taste as good as meat NPF's can taste good	
23	I love tasty food I eat more tasty things than others	Het is een beetje divers, iedereen houdt van lekker eten, maar niet iedereen eet lekker.

Table 19: Taste statements in group 2

Participant 15 talks about the tastiness of meat. She also makes a connection between the topic of consumption and the topic of production by stating that you can taste a difference between organic and non-organic meat. Two of the four participants in this group discuss the tastiness of NPF's.

Complexity

24	When I go out for dinner, I don't look if it is organic meat
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Table 20: Complexity statement in group 2

Participant 24 explains that, although she prefers to eat organic meat, this is not always decisive in her food choices. This means that the topics of consumption and production are not always linked for her.

Society

24	People don't know a lot about food and what is in it.
16	I understand that other people don't like tofu. We do not eat healthy enough Consumer education is needed, I think
23	We eat so much chicken and everybody wants to have it cheap I see vegetarians [as a doctor] and I really think they look less healthy than people that do eat meat

Table 21: Society statements in group 2

Three of the four participants talk about the lack of knowledge of other people. There are all indirectly or directly related to health. The worries about society are related to the topic of consumption. Only, the first remark of participant 23 is a statement that makes a link between the topics of consumption and production.

Changing behaviour

15	<p>More information about animals and the environment could be helpful.</p> <p>I don't make a conscious choice for organic meat</p> <p>Cheese can replace meat</p>
24	<p>Looks for information on food and diets in books</p> <p>Be creative when cooking</p>
16	<p>Partij voor de Dieren is a source of information</p> <p>Partner influences choice</p> <p>Help by giving vegetarian recipe in supermarket</p> <p>Eat smaller portions</p> <p>Consumer education is needed, I think</p>
23	<p>Nuts cannot replace meat</p> <p>Eat less meat and more vegetables</p>

Table 22: Changing behaviour statements in group 2

It is interesting to see that information is something three of the four participants talk about. Participants 16 and 15 talk about information in connection to the topic of production. Participant 24 talks about information related to the topic of consumption.

Deliberate meat reducers

Four participants talk about meat consumption in a manner that reveals the personal interest in this subject. The following quotes from each participant in this group are examples of their talk of meat reduction.

Participant 31	I think that that is more in the short term (reacting to statement that unhealthy things will not be sold). The image of 'antidotes'. Especially in mega-farms and mostly in poultry.. with penicillin-like medicine. You can simply get sick from that! In the long-term.. that the animals won't fall over, but humans will fall over!
Participant 12	Yes, or just not, no meat extra vegetables? [...] then you just don't eat meat and therefore it is more considerate of animal welfare, because there are less animals needed, and less animals have to die for that. And instead we usually eat vegetables. So not eating meat every day anymore, but NPF's or sometimes just really... I did that for a while, at a certain moment I just thought, that just can't be done. Vegetables and then an extra salad with it or something, also fine.
Participant 26	I have been vegetarian for a long time, well, that was not possible to sustain, then we had organic meat, but that was also not possible to sustain en then we made a compromise to eat less meat.
Participant 34	Well, I sometimes talk about that with my wife.. when we hear what other eat and what we see. I think it is not because of sustainability, but I do think it is better. I am not an 'idealist'. M: did it just creep in? No, that's also not it... I think it is something in between.

Table 23: Deliberate meat reducers statements

Health

31	Has special diet because of health problems Only white meat because of health problems 'Natural fish' is healthy, because it is clean Can only eat healthy products Mega-stables are not necessarily more healthy	
12	Responsible combinations of plants/meat in food Eat enough vegetables and fruits Thinks of healthiness in food choices	
34	Soya is really healthy You need vegetable fats as well 50 to 100 grams of proteins per day.	We eten veel meer dan we nodig hebben. Met 50 tot 100 gram eiwitten per dag, daar heb je voldoende aan. En wij eten vaak het zesvoudige. Bij ons thuis hebben we ook geen grote biefstukken ofzo.
26	Feel fitter when eating vegetables, when going to the gym.	

Table 24: Health statements in group 3

Health is a special topic for participant 31 because he has health problems. He makes many statements about health and in those statements he makes a connection between the topic of production and consumption. He talks about the waters from which he gets his salmon and relates that to the healthiness of that salmon. Both participants 34 and 26 discuss the healthiness of alternatives to meat. Participant 12 also talks about the importance of eating enough vegetables and fruits. We can thus see these three participants stress the healthiness of vegetables in this discussion. All these statements relate to the topic of consumption.

Meat production and sustainability in production

31	Dutch free-range meat production is too small scaled. In Holland it is not possible to do large scale meat production Sustainability is about the ratio between food eaten by the animal and amount of meat produced I don't trust meat from places like Hema or snackbars. Too much antibiotics are used, you can get sick from that. Antibiotics are bad for humanity
34	Had a lecture from work about In Vitro meat, people just have to get used to it. Questions sustainability of free-range chicken, more space and feed Tells about meat that is glued together with plasma's, nothing wrong with it

Table 25: Production and sustainability in production statements in group 3

Two of these participants make statements that are recorded as statements about meat production and sustainability in production. Participant 31 talks about the distrust he has in the meat industry. Participant 34 gives two examples of technological innovations in meat production. Both participants talk about sustainability in terms of energy-usage. These statements all belong to the topic of production.

Taste

31	I look for tasty foods
12	Proud of daughter that became a vegetarian even though she found meat very taste NPF's don't work if you don't like the taste Explains how to make vegetarian meal tasty Reducing meat is challenging to make it tasty
34	Fruits and nuts are tasty
26	Organic meat tastes better than regular meat I am not a real meat-eater NPF's taste good I like tasty food I don't think meat tastes that good

Table 26: Taste statements in group 3

None of these participants make statements about the tastiness of meat. Participant 26 makes a connection between the topics of consumption and production when stating that organic meat tastes better than regular meat.

Complexity

12	Started to eat less meat for sustainability as well, but think about it less in the supermarket It is difficult to know what is sustainable I think it is really difficult to make sustainable choices	Dan zit er wel een stukje duurzaamheid in. Maar als ik echt boodschappen ga doen en kies wat ik ga kopen, dan denk ik daar op dat moment minder bij na.
26	It is difficult to do everything good	de een is duurzaam gevangen en de ander niet, schijnt met de seizoenen te wisselen. Ehm, maar, ik heb me ook nooit in verdiept, dus weet niet hoe het zit. Sommige dingen geloof ik ook wel. Teveel gedoe.

Table 27: Complexity statements in group 3

Participant 12 talks about the fact that he does care about the production process. Yet, when he is in the supermarket these concerns are not always part of the decision-making. Both participant 12 and 26 make a statement about the difficulty of distinguishing good and sustainable food. Participant 26 discusses the topic and states that it is too difficult to know what sustainable food is. Both make a link between the topics of production and consumption.

Society

31	It is difficult to get something done in the Netherlands because of all the rules and regulations There are too many laws in this country Nobody can afford meat from 'happy cows' . In the long-term our meat consumption will be destructive to humankind. Eating a lot of meat should be banned.	Wij zijn te veel met wetjes verbonden. Dat zie je in alles terug, vooral in voedsel. De hele voedselketen is meer, pas je in het patroon van de wetgeving, dan mag je wel wat doen. En als je idee grandioos is , maar je past er niet in, dan ben je een probleem.
12	Other people eat more traditional meals, for them it is more difficult to reduce or replace meat.	
34	If people eat less meat, it would help to fight world poverty It would be better for the general wellbeing in the world if we would eat more plant-based products We eat a lot more proteins than we need.	Ja, dat was ik. Dat associeer ik met.. Van soja kun je.. veel dingen doen. Heel gezond, maar ook prima vleesvervanger. Als een boel mensen minder vlees zouden eten en meer soja, dan zou dat ook schelen in de honger in de wereld, denk ik.
26	I care about the Dutch nature A lot of people eat meat every day	

Table 28: Society statements in group 3

All these participants make a statement about other people's meat consumption in the topic of society. Participant 31 is most extreme with his statement about the banning of meat. It has to be noted that he only eats fish. The other participants make milder statements. Participant 12 shows an

understanding for other people's meat consumption. There is a link between the topics of production and consumption.

Changing behaviour

12	Finding consensus in the family Not wanting to change to 'alternative' foods Need more scientific information on health and meat reduction Easy to eat less meat Cheese is a good alternative	noten, ik zou eerder naar noten grijpen dan naar linzen. Dat vind ik wel heel alternatief klinken.
34	Deliberately not eating meat once a week Problem with word flexitarian, not wanting to be seen as idealistic	Ik ben geen wereldverbeteraar.
26	When I see something on sale, I won't look at what's written on the package Showing limits	Alleen als je naar de veganisten luistert, zitten overal dierlijke producten in, ja dan houd het op natuurlijk

Table 29: Changing behaviour statements in group 3

Both participants 12 and 34 talk positively about changing their meat consumption. Both also make a statement about disliking or being 'alternative' or an 'idealist'. They both prefer not to talk about themselves in that way. Participant 26 also talks about the limits of reducing animal products and the impossibility of avoiding all of those because.... These statements are rather concerned with the topic of consumption, but it is difficult to make that distinction here.

Uncertain

This is a complicated group due to the dissimilarity these participants display with regard to the participants of the other three groups. They are not grouped together based on similarities. Participants 14 and 33 are placed in this group because they make different statements that come across as ambiguous about meat consumption. For example, participant 33 expresses worries about the lack of responsible and sustainable consumption and then bringing forward that you would rather eat more meat than less. Participant 13 and 25 make statements in which they say that the focus group discussion has made them more conscious of reducing meat consumption. Table 30 presents the translated citations of each participant in this group. These are examples of their talk about meat reduction.

Participant 33	<p>I also think: where are we going towards in the world today? Over-population, poverty everywhere. If people are more deliberate about eating, like with sustainable responsible food...that would fit perfectly.</p> <p>3: I had a lion and that is too...I a crazy about meat and rather a bit bigger than smaller. If there really is nothing, I will eat some vegetables...so I can get into that.</p>
Participant 14	<p>[...] ik would want to replace it, but I want the same taste and it has to be healthy. It should not be some kind of artificial... the other day we had something, a replacement for minced meat, in an oven dish, and that tasted fine. And it had nothing to do with meat. I must have been some kind of dough. But it tasted fine.</p> <p>I would definitely not go for the NPF, even though I like it, just like what participant 15 said, I had it before. It tastes alright. Yes, what I am totally crazy about and what I always try in restaurants are spareribs...</p>
Participant 13	<p>Yes I am trying... to be honest we are not thinking about that at all. So I was thinking, maybe we are, but I fear we don't.</p> <p>In our situation a regular meatless day seems like a fun challenge. Meatless Monday. Yes, I really think that would be fun. Maybe I will really do that now. One time something with omelette or eh just without meat indeed.</p> <p>My feeling not necessary, not desirable! Not needed?</p>
Participant 25	<p>That meatless Monday. We have fish standard one day a week and I was raised a catholic, but I don't do anything with that anymore, but that stuck</p> <p>Have become more conscious of it.</p>

Table 30: 'Uncertain' statements

Health

14	Not healthy, but so taste NPF's have to be healthy
13	Does not want products with artificial ingredients Meat does not have to be unhealthy, depends on how you cook it

Table 31: Health statements in group 4

Participant 14 states that meat is not health. Participant 13 states the healthiness of meat depends on how you cook it.

Meat production and sustainability in production

14	Mega stables are more sustainable because less energy and space needs to be used	
33	Mega stables are healthier, why else would we build them? They are also built in a way that is better for the animals. There are good rules for animal husbandry	Ze zullen de stallen zo bouwen, dat het voor de dieren beter zou zijn. En mega.. Wat je in grote hoeveelheden hebt, wordt ook goedkoper. Tegenwoordig ben je aan allemaal regeltjes gebonden, ze zullen heus niet een bak voer en geven en that's it.
13	Minced beef is not sustainable because conservatives have to be added to keep it looking fresh Eating meat is part of a circle, natural balance in the number of animals, helped by humans.	het is ook wel een cirkeltje denk ik. Anders krijg je ook veel te veel beesten. Ik denk dat er een soort natuurlijk, door de mensen geholpen misschien, evenwicht is.

Table 32: Meat production and sustainability in production in group 4

Participant 33 makes two statements in which he shows that he trusts the producers of meat. For participant 14 sustainability is a concept that is mainly related to energy-usage. Participant 13 makes a statement about the natural balance between animals and humans. He makes a link between the topics of production and consumption. There are no similarities found in the statements of the participants in this group.

Taste

14	Taste of NPF's is ok, but would not choose that. You eat meat because it tastes good Taste more important than health NPF's should taste the same as meat
13	You can taste it if an animal is treated better (special beef in restaurant)
25	I eat thinks because they are tasty Surprisingly, when I had a vegetarian meal, I thought it was tasty

Table 33: Taste statements in group 4

Participants 14 and 25 both find taste a very important aspect of meat. This is related to the topic of consumption. Participant 13 makes a link between the topics of consumption and production when relating taste to the treatment of animals.

Complexity

25	When I see something on sale, I won't look at what's written on the package
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Table 34: Complexity statements in group 4

Participant 25 makes a statement about the complexity of information on packages. This statement is related to the topic of consumption.

Society

33	I am worried about where we are going with this world. An environmental freak buys organic meat, but most people don't do that. Mega stables will only be built if they are good for people and animals. There are a lot of rules for that.	Tegenwoordig ben je aan allemaal regeltjes gebonden, ze zullen heus niet een bak voer en geven en that's it.
25	Animals and production is much bigger than just meat, it is about animal testing etc.	

Table 35: Society statements in group 4

Participant 33 expresses a great concern for the world. However, he also states that buying organic meat is only for 'environmental freaks'. He then also makes a statement where he shows that he trusts the meat production system. So he does express his worries about the world's food system. However, he doesn't connect these worries to the meat production system or consumption. It is difficult to determine whether a link between the topics of consumption and production is made by participant 33. Participant 25 puts meat production in a larger perspective of general production.

Changing behaviour

33	Supermarkets can help to make people more sustainable
14	Milk products cannot replace meat
13	Meatless Monday could work More difficult to change when eating a traditional meal
25	Meat cannot be replaced

Table 36: Changing behaviour statements in group 4

Participant 33 is the only participant who mentions supermarkets as actors in changing behaviour. Participant 13 makes a statement about the possibility of reducing meat as well as a statement about the difficulty of changing his meat consumption. All these statements are related to the topic of consumption.

Study 4: Cultural capital in the discussion of meat

In this study the second main question of this thesis will be dealt with. This is the following question:

Is cultural capital a factor for the manner in which people deal with the topics of production and consumption of meat when discussing meat-and meat reduction?

Two sub-questions belonged to this second main question.

1. *How do people that are classified as having HCC or LCC differ in their discussion of meat?*
2. *How do these differences relate to the contexts of production and consumption?*

In order to provide an answer to these questions the statements of the participants that were rated either as HCC or LCC were analysed using the coding-scheme that was based on the work of Holt (1998).

The statements are ordered per group of attitudes towards meat reduction. These categorisations are derived from the third study in this thesis. Only the statements that are labelled with one of the categories from the coding scheme are presented in these results. If none of the statements of one of the selected participants was labelled with one of the labels from the coding scheme, this is recorded as 'no coding'.

Group 1: 'I will not eat less meat'

Part	CC	Code	Statement in Dutch:	Topic
21	3	Material aesthetics <i>Primary value managing everyday life</i>	die hele kipfilet, is zo'n bak. Dat dt, past eh.. vaak veel voor meer dagen boodschappen en koelkast zit gewoon vol als ik.. alles eruit halen en alles in bakjes doen .. (praat te zacht) dat wat je over houdt aan het eind gaat ehh..	Consumption
11	3	No coding	-	-
22	4	subjectivity as local identity <i>Find comfort in familiar objects</i>	weet niet geen ervaring mee, zag laatst op tv kok allemaal vega producten, leek allemaal lekkere producten enzo, vonden ze heel lekker, dacht het zal wel, maar wat ik er ooit van geproefd heb, dacht ik nee dit is niks, tofu enzo vies, geef mij maar vlees, ik denk niet na over wat er ingespoten is, als je daar te veel over gaat nadenken wordt het leven wat minder prettig.	production and consumption

Table 37: Coding for low cultural capital group 1

Two codes from the coding scheme were applicable to this data.

Part	CC	Code	Statement in Dutch	Topic
32	7	Cosmopolitan <i>international experience</i>	Dat ging meer over dat.. Nu we zeggen dat het zielig is van die grote fokkerijen, maar ik wilde vergelijken met het buitenland. Ik was in Azië op vakantie geweest. En ze zeggen altijd wel hoe we met dieren... maar als ik zie hoe ze daar met dieren om gaan.. Vind ik het hier nog wel meevallen hier in Nederland. En veel dingen zien wij niet. En in Azië kun je het zien voor de toerist en de lokale bevolking. Hier wordt het nog iets meer achter de schermen gedaan.	production

Table 38: Coding for high cultural capital group 2

Participant 32 makes a statement where she puts animal treatment in an international perspective.

This is code as cosmopolitan.

Group 2: 'Looking for a balance'

Part	CC	Code	Statement in Dutch	Topic
15	4	Consumer subjectivity as local identity <i>Mass goods and conventions provide useful resources for construction of local identity</i>	nou, een periode had ik Sonja Bakker gedaan en dan staat er dat je dat moet nemen, dus eh. Meer die daar zit dan saté achtige saus in of kaas. En dat is dan in plaats van vis of vlees. Maar tofu daar ben ik zelf dan niet zo weg van.	consumption

Table 39: Coding for low cultural capital group 2

Participant 15 discusses Sonja Bakker as a good source of information. This is coded in the category of mass goods and conventions that provide a useful resource for the construction of a local identity.

Part	CC	Codes	Statement in Dutch	Topic
16	8	<i>Consumer subjectivity as individuality</i> <i>Elaborate descriptions</i> <i>Cosmopolitan international experience</i>	Ik lust alles inderdaad. Maar toen ik wat langer nadacht, dacht ik, ja, Indiaas eten vind ik wel erg lekker. We hebben een aantal keer in India gereisd en ja, dat eten is gewoon zalig. Tis heel vaak vegetarisch, maar dat vind ik dus blijkbaar helemaal niet zo erg. Maar, ja ik lust ook natuurlijk wel heel graag vlees, maar ik vind, ja, dat eten gewoon heel lekker. Misschien ook die sfeer en de kruiden en alles wat erbij hoort.	consumption
		<i>Consumer subjectivity as individuality</i> <i>Elaborate descriptions</i>	ja, mijn vriend die zit momenteel in het buitenland. Ik had me voorgenomen om eventjes, dus geen pasta te eten deze weken. Eventjes weer, even op de lijn letten. En ik had gebakken aardappelen gegeten, wat ik toch wel op het randje vond, maar dus wel van verse aardappelen. En uh, de boni, daar ga ik normaal nooit naar toe, ik ga altijd naar Albert Heijn, maar de Boni die had twee zakken spinazie in de aanbieding voor een euro. Dus ik denk, wat, spinazie in de herfst, dus naja, ik had dus ook in mijn eentje die hele zak spinazie leeggegeten. En een tartaartje, want dat was weer vanwege het slanke oogpunt zeg maar.	consumption
		<i>Cosmopolitan Non-traditional food</i>	nou, ik vind gehaktballen wel lekker, maar ik hou gewoon niet van aardappelen, groente, vlees, dat vind ik helemaal niks. Maar kijk, ik lust wel stampotten, daar ben ik echt dol op. Dr gaan daarom veel aardappelen bij ons doorheen in de winter.	consumption
		<i>Consumer subjectivity as individuality</i> <i>individualizing mass product</i>	ja, ik was echt aan het zoeken van kip, wat moet ik daar nou mee, en toen werd ik getriggerd door de kidneybonen, want die vind ik namelijk wel lekker en ik heb altijd het idee dat dat enorm gezond is. Ik weet helemaal niet of het zo is, maar... En dan eten we chili con carne eten we dus met kidneybonen. Dus vandaar de gehakt. Naja, dat is bij ons dan meestal niet biologisch, maar wel runder. En dan doen we er inderdaad meestal een prei door, en dan paprika, tomaten, en dan met zilvervliesrijst, meestal. En dan van dat chilipoeder enzo. Ik weet niet of ik nog meer op mn joker moet schrijven, maar dat geeft natuurlijk wel wat smaak. En sambal.	consumption
		<i>Idealism critical of mass</i>	ja, ik eet niet elke dag vlees nee. Mijn vriend die is echt helemaal duurzaam enzo en die heeft zoiets van 'we moeten minder vlees	Production and consumption

		<i>consumption</i> <i>Idealism</i> <i>peasant food</i>	eten'. Nouja, ik dnek dat we 5x in de week vlees eten. Maar 2x dus inderdaad tofu of eieren of linzen, daar had jij het net al over, ik maak ook wel vaak linzentaart, ja	
		<i>Consumer subjectivity as individuality</i> <i>Defensive or apologetic about lack of connoisseurship</i>	Gezond, Beter voor dieren en uiteindelijk na wat nadenken duurzamer/groener. Maar ik weet niet of dat echt zo is.	Production
23	8	<i>Idealism</i> <i>critical of mass consumption</i>	3. dat is wel zo als je naar de ah gaat en je koopt een hele kip, zo'n volgebouwde, volgestouwde hormoon kip is 4 euro, maar echt zo'n scharrelkip is 11, 12, 13 euro.	consumption
		<i>Idealism</i> <i>No extravagance</i>	nou kijk, ik kan wel een kilo vlees op, maar ik heb het niet nodig.	consumption
		<i>Idealism</i> <i>critical of mass consumption</i>	ja die kip, die is niet duurzaam. Dat is echt een kiloknaller. Wij eten zoveel kip en iedereen wil het goedkoop hebben.	Production and consumption
		<i>Consumer subjectivity as individuality</i> <i>Artisan products</i>	vlees van een boer	Production and consumption

Table 40: Coding for high cultural capital group 2

Participant 16 has the most statements that are in accordance with the HCC coding-scheme. These are placed in the categories of 'consumer subjectivity as individuality', 'idealism' and 'cosmopolitan'. Six statements of participant 16 are coded with this coding scheme. Four statements of participant 23 are put in one of the HCC consumption categories. These refer to 'individuality' and 'idealism'.

Group 3: deliberate meat reducers

Part	CC	Code	Statement in Dutch	Topic
31	4	<i>Material aesthetics</i> <i>Utilitarian characteristics appreciated</i> <i>Materialism</i> <i>Appreciate large quantities</i>	Elk dier heeft het voedsel nodig, bijna net zoveel als een mens. En sommige dieren zelfs het veelvoud van.. En nu zit je verkeerd. Ik mag bijna niets eten, alleen dat groenvoer en wat fruit. Mijn ruimtegebruik is nihil. Maar er is één storende factor, want er is yoghurt. En dat komt van een koe. En die eten weet ik het hoeveel graan en weet ik het allemaal. En dan een klein beetje de kip. Een beetje een lekkere maïskip. Maar ik heb niet echt recht van spreken in de groep. Want iedereen zit in een relatie met, met veel kinderen, vooral jij. En ik kan gaan en staan waar ik wil, eten wanneer ik wil. Mijn garage is mijn bijkeuken. Wat moet je nou met zoveel koelkasten? Ik heb er drie. En vriezers allemaal een helftje. Dat heeft een reden. Ik ben wel spaarzaam. Als ik ergens een overheerlijk stukje vis zie. Tonijn.. Jullie weten hoe groot tonijnen zijn? En dan ga ik praten met die man.. Hij begint met zoveel de kilo. En wedden dat ik met minder dan een derde van de prijs met die tonijn er vandoor ga? Maar hij moet dan niet met zo'n stukje komen. Dan kom ik met een halve tonijn. En dan gaat het door.	Consumption

Table 41: Coding for low cultural capital group 3

Participant 31 has one statement which is coded as 'materialism' and 'material aesthetics'.

Part	CC	Code	Statement in Dutch	Topic
26	7	Consumer subjectivity as individuality <i>self-made</i>	Ik maak altijd zelf soep, zonder vlees overigens, ik doe geen vlees in de soep.	Consumption
		Idealism <i>No extravagance</i>	omdat je niet veel vlees hoeft te eten vind ik.	Consumption
		Consumer subjectivity as individuality <i>Artisan products</i>	wij hebben thuis vlees gekocht bij een biologische boerderij en dat is echt lekkerder dan dus je zelf worstjes, gehakt en alles. Maar nu zijn we gewoon met teveel en dan wordt het erg kostbaar, maar, dat proef je echt wel.	Consumption and production
		Idealism <i>No extravagance</i>	ja, ik ben heel lang vegetarier geweest, nou, dat viel ook niet vol te houden, toen hebben we biologisch vlees gekocht, maar dat viel ook niet vol te houden en toen hebben we een compromis gemaakt, dat we wat minder vlees eten.	Consumption and production
34	7	No coding		

Table 42: Coding for high cultural capital group 3

Four statements of participant 26 are coded. These refer both to ‘consumer subjectivity as individuality’ and ‘idealism’. None of the statements from participant 34 are coded.

Group 4: uncertain

None of the participants in this group had a cultural capital score of three or four.

Part	CC	Code	Statement in Dutch	Topic
25	7	Consumer subjectivity as individuality <i>Artisan products</i>	nou, ik zal eens wat zeggen, ik krijg van een boertje en die dat weet ik gewoon, die kippen lopen over het erf, en als je daar komt ook, is hartstikke leuk.	Consumption and production
		Consumer subjectivity as individuality <i>Authenticity</i>	ehh mijn lievelingseten is ehh authentiek indische keuken heeft bij mij de voorkeur	Consumption
		Consumer subjectivity as individuality <i>self-made</i>	Zelf marinade makenen dat soort dingen.	Consumption

Table 43: Coding for high cultural capital group 4

Three statements of participant 25 are coded with the HCC coding scheme. All of these refer to ‘consumer subjectivity as individuality’ and are about artisan products, authenticity and self-made products.

5. Discussion

The discussion is divided into five parts. First, a comparison is made between the results of the first and second study. Then the results from the third study are discussed. This is followed by a discussion on the use of contexts of production and consumption. This is followed by a review of the relevance of cultural capital as a factor in people's discussion of meat consumption. Finally, the discussion ends with a reflection on the research.

Elements in the discussion of meat

Both the first as well as the second study it aimed to contribute to an understanding of the important elements in the discussion of meat. The first study reviewed which elements of meat consumption have been analysed by authors in the field of consumer studies. In the second study, it was explored what the participants of a focus-group on the synergy between health and sustainability discussed when they were asked about meat.

Both in the literature as well as in the empirical findings of the second study, health was reviewed to be a prominent element. Meat and fish can be seen as positively related to health as well as negatively. Subsequently, people can have health-arguments in their discussion of meat that are both for and against the reduction of meat. Scholars have also studied the effect of knowledge and beliefs about environmental issues on meat consumption. In the second study, there were participants that made a connection between their beliefs about meat production and the reduction of their meat consumption. It can be concluded that both health and environmental concerns were topics in the research of meat consumption as well as in the focus group study of elements in the discussion of meat.

Scholars also reviewed the influence of household composition, people's friends and habits as a factor in meat consumption. Both in the literature as well as in the analysis of the focus groups, the partner and children are reviewed to be influential to the choices people make regarding meat consumption. In both the first as well as the second study convenience was mentioned as a factor in meat consumption.

Different attitudes towards meat reduction

The results of the third study show that there are similarities between groups of participants in the way they talk about the reduction of their meat consumption. There were three groups that contribute to the discussion with similar statements about reducing their own meat consumption. These were labelled: 'I will not eat less meat', 'looking for balance' and 'deliberate meat-reducers'. A fourth group was named 'uncertain'. These participants either gave statements that were

contradicting or stated that their opinion changed during the session. Because this group is so different from the other three groups, it will be discussed separately.

Participants from the group that expressed no interest in reducing their meat consumption did not talk much about health, neither the healthiness of meat nor the unhealthy aspects of meat. On the contrary, the positive health-aspects of meat were clearly brought up by the participants in the balancing group. Furthermore, participants from the third group stress the unhealthy aspects of meat consumption. Participants of this group made statements about a diet with enough vegetables.

Only five participants made no statements at all on meat production. So the focus groups yielded a good amount of information on what participants stated when discussing meat in the production context. It is interesting to see that there are no differences between the groups of people with a different opinion about meat production and sustainability in meat production. No evident relation was found between people's statements about meat consumption and statements about production.

Regarding taste, it is seen that for the meat-lovers the good taste of meat is an important element of their discussion. This focus is not seen with any of the other groups.

Three of the six participants from the group 'I will not eat less meat', two of the four participants from the group 'deliberate meat reducers' and one from each other group made a statement about the complexity of meat consumption. They expressed that worries concerning the production process are difficult to incorporate in their consumption choices.

Looking at the statements on society, we see was discussed by all the participants in the group of deliberate meat reducers. They expressed worries about the negative externalities of meat production. Two other participants that are not in this group also expressed these worries.

It can thus be seen that for first group, the taste of meat is an important argument. The balancing-group was keener to talk about the healthiness of meat. For the deliberate meat reducers, health was also important. However, they focused on the healthiness of vegetables and meat-replacements. For this group a worry about the externalities of the meat production process also was an important element of the discussion.

Four of the participants made statements that could not be put into these three groups. This fourth group was named 'uncertain'. They either gave statements that were contradicting or stated that the session had made them think about the issues related to meat and their own meat consumption. The results from these participants are difficult to connect to the different elements of the discussion of meat. There are fewer similarities seen amongst these participants. It is possible that these participants struggled with the discussion on the issues that came up during these

sessions. Although this is the most interesting group, it is also the group that is most difficult to analyse with the methods used in this thesis.

A very small but still relevant result that was found in this research was that some participants made negative negative statements about 'alternative' lifestyles related to the reduction of meat consumption. Participant 23 from the balancing-group talked about the unhealthy lifestyle of vegetarians. The participants in session 3 considered the word 'flexitarian' a stupid word. And two of the deliberate meat-reducers made statements about not being an idealist or eat 'alternative' lentils. Participant 33 states that buying organic meat is only for 'environmental freaks'. These are all indicators that meat-reduction lifestyles have a negative image among these participants.

The contexts of production and consumption in the discussion meat

Both in this research and in the research of Korzen and Lassen (2010), evidence was found in support of the hypothesis that meat is discussed differently in the contexts of production and consumption. What makes this research an addition to those findings is that the topic of production was discussed before the participants were asked about changing meat consumption practices. What is seen here is that for some participants the switch to the own household practices, meant that they incorporated elements from the production-context in their explanation of changing meat consumption. For instance, by referring to the 'natural equilibrium' between animals and humans. That is why the results show that people made links between the topics of production and consumption when they were discussing meat and especially meat-reduction. For a few participants, there was a larger contradiction between statements they made in the different assignments of the two-and-a-half hour group sessions. As Korzen and Lassen (2010) explain the fact that people talk differently about food quality in different contexts is not a methodological problem or a sign of people's inconsistency as a flaw in their thinking. It is because these topics are part of different fields, to keep with Bourdieu's words. This current study confirms Korzen and Lassen's (2010) approach to understanding meat consumption and further contributes to this work by relating this approach to meat reduction.

Some participants were themselves very much aware of this division between production and consumption when talking about their consumer choices. One participant mentioned a care for sustainability. However, this care was not incorporated in the consumer decision-making process. So, as Korzen and Lassen (2010) state, the opposition between people's role as consumers and citizens is visible in the discussion of meat consumption, especially in the discussion of sustainability and decreasing meat consumption. People can be aware of this duality in the discussion of meat.

Cultural capital and the discussion on meat consumption

Bourdieu pays attention to food practices as an example of cultural phenomena (Wright, Nancarrow et al. 2001). He stated that people from lower classes only ate things for their nutritional value and that people from higher class used food to express themselves. Wright Nancarrow et al. (2001) find that Bourdieu's theory could very well explain vegetarianism in Western societies because of the connection to body culture. So we see that Bourdieu is still considered relevant as an author to explain food decisions. As we see in this research, the HCC participants are not different from the LCC participants in terms of what they thought of meat reduction. The concept of HCC-idealism that is presented by Holt (1998) could not directly be seen in the discussion of meat reduction by HCC participants of this research. The emphasis on moderation was not seen in the statements the HCC participants made in this research. Moreover, very little of the concepts Holt (1998) sees as part of the LCC discussion of meat were found in this research. So, the LCC discourse on consumption turned out to be unsuitable for the analysis of a discussion on meat. There are two main possible explanations for these results. Firstly, this could be a methodological issue. The CC-rating that was used in this research could have been inadequate for the identification of people with low or high cultural capital and could have been based too much on their financial capital. Secondly, what also could be the case is that the discussion of meat is a discussion in which meat-eaters with a high cultural capital are not displaying their status with the concept of 'idealism' or moderation. The negative remarks about lifestyles associated with environmental concerns are in line with that idea. So it is questionable whether the work of Holt (1998) is applicable to actual anti-consumption related to environmental concerns. More research is needed to review this. However, Aarts (1999) also could not find evidence for the decrease of energy-usage as a form of status. So Holt's (1998) finding that HCC consumption is also visible in people's talk of moderation did not apply to the reduction of meat in this exploratory study.

One remark that Holt makes as a suggestion for further research is worth mentioning here:

"[...] this study examines social class differences apart from other important social categories such as gender and race. Yet, since W. E. B. DuBois's seminal writing on race and class, social theorists have sought to understand the complex interpenetration of these categories [...] For example, an interesting extension of this study would be to explore how class and gender interact. If American women tend to exhibit an "ethic of care" in their consumption practices [...], this would suggest that gendered tastes are congruent with class tastes for LCC women since both emphasize the use of consumption as a resource to foster local communal ties. For HCC women, in contrast, class and gendered tastes would be in conflict since gendered tastes emphasize a collective orientation while HCC tastes emphasize an individuating consumption style." (Holt 1998)

Holt (1998) makes a point about the interaction of gender and class as social categories. This is relevant to this study because he places collective orientation in opposition to an individual orientation. Scholars of anti-consumption also refer to this division between the “I and the We” (Lee, Fernandez et al. 2009). Although this research was not successful in finding strong evidence of individual orientation with HCC participants, this could give a perspective on the reluctance of these participants to identify themselves with ‘collective’ environmental groups or lifestyles.

Reflection on the research

This research was set up as an explorative qualitative research. There were two important elements to the methodology of this research. First of all, the discussion of all participants concerning meat was analysed. This led to an overview of the most important results relating to the discussion of meat. Secondly, the statements of the participants that rated as HCC or LCC were analysed using a coding scheme based on the findings of Douglas Holt (1998).

Considering the results, limitations to this research need to be acknowledged. First of all, the most important limitation is the operationalization of cultural capital. It turned out that the material was not suitable for the coding scheme. Secondly, the size of this study was 18 participants, which is good for a qualitative study. However, it could have been better to have two specific groups of participants to make a comparison between HCC and LCC participants. With this approach, a comparison between groups would have been possible. In this case, an interview setting could also have been more appropriate. There are thus some limitations to the size and composition of the data set. Secondly, it was difficult to make groupings based on criteria that were set before the analysis. During the procedure, it became clear that it was worthwhile to make groups of the different attitudes towards meat consumption. It is thus seen that the research process needed adjustments in the phase of analysis. One of the things that became evident during the procedure was that some of the participants did make contradicting statements during the sessions. Although the theoretical framework did allow for this ambiguity, the methodology used in this research was not a good tool for finding out what actually triggered these ambiguous statements. This is a third limitation to this research. Fourthly, the second and third study did pay attention to the discussion of meat by the participants with a cultural capital rating between 5 and 6. However, these results were not linked to the second main question on cultural capital. This was a barrier for the discussion of the results, because it further complicated the research and obstructed the possibility to fulfil the aim of this research.

When reflecting on these results, the work of Wilma Aarts (1999) gives some more insights. In her PhD dissertation, written in 1999, she predicted that the openness to sustainable practices she found with HCC people would spread throughout society. Only, this would be reflected in buying

more sustainable alternatives for goods and not into the reduction of fuel-intensive practices such as travel and transport. She based this on the understanding the HCC participants had of what environmentally friendly consumption meant. Whether this prediction turned out to be right or not, is something that this thesis was not about. It did contribute to the development of scholarly research on status as a factor in ethical consumption and the trickling-down of changes in the patterns of consumption from people with a higher education to the rest of society. Decreasing meat consumption is an aspect of ethical consumption that is different from other forms of ethical consumption because people actually have to give something up. If people would actually derive status from meat-reduction, this could be very important to the successfulness of this transition in consumption. Unfortunately, it was not clearly evident in this research that decreased meat consumption is a vehicle for status mediated by cultural capital.

6. Conclusion

As the novelist Jonathan Saran Foer (2009) tells in his book *Eating Animals*, food is always connected to stories. There are the stories of society, which drive cultural change, but there are also the stories of tradition, for example Christmas dinner can make us feel connected to the past. Meat has been and for many people still is an important part of their food story. The stories of society and of our personal history together form our perception of meat consumption and are the basis of our practices. This is essentially why the theory of Bourdieu (Holt, 1998) could help to grasp how changes in what people find “good meat consumption” are formed and can change. Meat is changing its place from the centre of our plates and moving to the side of the plate (Kubberød, Ueland et al. 2002). Nonetheless, the fact that meat is placed less at the centre of our minds does not mean we are actually decreasing meat consumption. There is a difference between those two things.

The findings of this thesis can be put into a larger perspective. They are related to larger developments in culinary culture (Dixon 2002). Culinary culture is the entire system of food production and consumption. It involves what foods people consider eatable, but also the practices around food and the stories connected to those foods. There are two larger transitions in culinary culture that this research shows to be visible in discussions of meat.

First of all, reflexive modernity influences the role of the consumer-citizen (Spaargaren, Oosterveer et al. 2012). The popularity of the television program “Keuringsdienst van Waarde”², which participants refer to as a source of information in this research as well, is an example of the broadly felt unease people have concerning their food and the way it is produced. Whereas critique on food practices used to be located in a clearly defined ‘alternative circuit’, these thoughts are now much more ‘diffused, multi-layered and less grassroots-like’ (Spaargaren, Oosterveer et al. 2012). Consumer-interests in sustainable food practices have become much more widespread and with that also less visible as a political instrument. The results about the expressed concerns for the environment are congruent with this larger sociological development.

Secondly, Bourdieu argued that control of the body was a peculiarly middle-class preoccupation “the body is the most indisputable materialisation of class taste” (as cited by Len Tui, Nancarrow et al. 2001). One of the findings from this research is that a concern for health is something that is discussed as an important topic by a majority of the participants. Eating meat can both be an essential part of good health as well as a threat to health. The standards of health and control of the body are another way to attain symbolic capital (Shilling 2004). In reflexive modernity the risks of health and sustainability are widespread and very diverse. The manner in which people

² This is a television show that tries to find out more about the production process of different food products

deal with both their own health and a care for sustainability involves both the risks as well as the pleasures people experience in food consumption. How people struggle to attain symbolic capital in the field of food consumption is not only shaped by the culinary culture. It is transforming culinary culture itself. Focusing on the interaction between field and habitus, which are at core of the work of Bourdieu and other structuralist thinkers, makes it possible to research the transition of food practices as a whole (Spaargaren, Oosterveer et al. 2012).

These larger sociological changes in the field of consumer studies not only reflect the changing values of consumers. They reflect on the entire food system, including changes in the production of food (Dixon 2003). Actors in the business of distributing and retailing meat products are also changing and reacting on the changes in society. Jane Dixon (2003) gives a very compelling example of the relevance of Bourdieu's cultural capital beyond that of consumers to encompass the transition of different forms of capital by the companies that are most proximate to the consumer. She shows how Australian KFC translated financial capital into other forms of capital, 'including symbolic and cultural capital' (Dixon 2003). In order for the chicken fast-food provider to sell its products it invested in a campaign to change its image to being a family-dinner provider. This example shows that cultural capital is not only of importance to consumers and the study of consumption. It can also be useful to see that providers of food, including meat, can be better understood as actors that try to gain symbolic capital in a way that reflects the mechanisms of consumer's search for symbolic capital. An understanding of the entire 'field', to keep with the terminology of Bourdieu, of meat consumption and production together is necessary in the research on the changes in culinary culture and finding more sustainable food chains (Aarts 1998), including changing attitudes towards meat.

Consumer research can contribute to the understanding of voluntary reduction of consumers who aim towards a more sustainable food regime and consequently a more sustainable society. Research on the discussion of meat is important for actors that want to be involved in an attitude change of consumers towards their own meat consumption. It was attempted in this thesis to broaden this view by looking both at elements that refer to the consumption- and production-context. In this way it was hoped gain knowledge of the interaction between people's opinions as a consumer-citizen. This approach provides an opportunity to research the seemingly contradicting attitudes people can have towards meat (Holm and Møhl 2000). Additionally, this way of analysing contributes to the understanding of the role of consumer-citizens as agents in the agro-food system (Goodman 2002).

The second pillar of this research was the concept of cultural capital and the existence of class boundaries in post-modern consumption. There was no direct evidence found in this thesis of

clear HCC or LCC discussions of consumption. However, the observation of the unpopularity of 'alternative' lifestyles for these participants raises questions about the individuating or collective orientation that is possibly related to different attitudes towards meat consumption. The concept of cultural capital could provide opportunities in the research of meat reduction.

Further research

In this study a contribution was made to the understanding of Bourdieu's theory of social class differences in contemporary societies. An article of Douglas B. Holt (1998) on the relevance of cultural capital, when adapted to 'the socio-historical context' (Holt 1998), is still a very strong theory for the explanation of consumption practices. Further research could expand on this theory by further examining how the differences between a collective orientation in opposition to an individual orientation of people, as both consumers as well as citizens, are related to other elements of cultural capital.

The methodology of cultural capital ratings should also be further developed. The appropriateness of the rating scale on cultural capital is a point that needs further attention. Furthermore, it could be seen if the link between education and cultural innovation has changed or is changing. The cultural-capital rating scores used in this thesis also lean very much on a possibly outdated categorisation of professions. Yet, cultural innovation might no longer be linked so much to profession or formal education. So this is an area in which cultural capital could be further developed methodologically.

Concerning the discussion on meat consumption itself, the biggest question is whether cultural capital differences are found in actual levels of meat consumption or larger surveys of attitudes towards meat reduction. More specific research is needed in the field of status consumption and idealism. It is yet unclear if symbolic capital can be acquired through a form of political consumption, such as a meat-reductionist lifestyle.

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8. Appendix

Appendix A: personal data of participants

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	Age	gender	Cultural capital score	Working hours per week	Family composition
'I will not eat less meat'					
21	?	M	3	?	?
11	40	M	3	40 hours	More than two persons. Children: 6 and 10 years old.
22	56	F	4	24 hours	2 person
36	40	F	5	24 hours	More than two persons. Children: 7, 11 and 14 years old.
35	34	F	6	24 hours	More than two persons. Children: 6 and 8 years old.
32	28	F	7	36 hours	2 person
Looking for a balance					
15	29	F	4	40 hours	single
24	27	F	5	36 hours	2 children
16	43	F	8	25 hours	2 person
23	34	M	8	50 hours	single
Deliberate meat reducers					
31	57	M	4	40 hours	single
12	45	F	6	34 hours	More than two persons. Children: 13 and 15 years old.
26	42	F	7	34 hours	More than two persons. Children: 6, 11 and 14 years old.
34	42	M	6	36 hours	More than two persons. Children: 13 and 14 years old.
Uncertain					
33	39	M	5	36 hours	More than two persons. Children: 4 and 6 years old.
14	51	M	5	40 hours	2 person
13	39	M	6	40 hours	More than two persons. Children: 2 and 4 years old.
25	46	M	7	40 hours	More than two persons. Children: 13 and 18 years old.

