

Positioning processes around vegetarianism

A psychological study of change in foodways from a
socio-cultural perspective

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Neuchâtel, le 21 janvier 2020

Le doyen
Pierre Alain Mariaux



*Ce soir, j'étais convoqué à nouveau devant mon tribunal intime.
Il m'arrive régulièrement de comparaître pour lâcheté devant la vie.
J'en étais quitte pour deux jours de vertiges.
Le voyageur est une catastrophe ambulante.
(C. Gras - Le Nord, c'est l'Est)*

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ABSTRACT

How do people start to question what was taken-for-granted and habitual to them? How do they construct new representations of themselves and of the world? How do they develop new practices related to domains that are complex and ever-changing? These are the issues lying at the core of this thesis. In other words, this work is about the way people navigate the world in which they live, in a possibly reflective and creative way. In order to address these complex issues, I use a socio-cultural framework, as this approach takes as a starting point the dynamic co-construction between the person and her or his environment. Within this framework, I place particular emphasis on approaches underlining the importance of dialogicity and socio-materiality in human activities. I select several conceptual tools that I consider as useful to analyze these processes of navigation of the world, namely positioning, rupture/transition, responsibility and creativity. The phenomenon that I examine with this theoretical framework is the elaboration of a foodway at an individual level and, more specifically, the questioning and refusal of products of animal origin, which, depending notably on the extent of the avoidance, might be labelled vegetarianism or veganism. I argue that this phenomenon is of high interest notably because it is at the core of societal debates and challenges related to animal ethics, environmental impact and health issues. In this thesis, I conceptualize changes in foodways as movements of repositioning in a foodscape (a landscape of discourses and practices related to food and eating) and I address the following research question: What are the positioning dynamics around the consumption of products of animal origin among people who changed their foodway regarding these products? This research question is divided into five sub-questions, namely: (1) What are the constitutive elements of the foodscape of the participants and how are they organized? (2) What are the constitutive elements of the subjective foodscape of each participant and how does the participant position him or herself in this foodscape? (3) How does positioning evolve during the person's food trajectory, in relation notably to the rupture/transition dynamics? (4) What is the role played by responsibility in positioning? (5) How does the person creatively shape and enact positionings in concrete everyday activities? In order to address these questions, I use a qualitative approach in order to be able to understand each situation and trajectory in its complexity and dynamicity. I propose a methodological design combining a narrative interview, a dialogical experiment, and a filmed observation. As a complement, I also collect elements from the socio-cultural environment such as newspaper articles. Participants are ten adults who changed their food habits in relation to products of animal origin. The analysis is organized following the research sub-questions. In the first part, I propose a thematic analysis of the themes appearing in the interviews, with the aim of providing an

overview of the content of the interviews. In the second part, I describe the positioning of each participant, thus going deeper into the subjective and unique landscape of each person. In the third part, I focus on the temporal dimension and propose three case studies analyzed through the lens of rupture/transition dynamics. In the fourth part, I examine the dynamics underlying the positioning movements through the notion of responsibility in two case studies. Finally, in the fifth part, I focus more on socio-material aspects and propose one case study in which I analyze the creative microgenetic shaping of a foodway during the preparation of a meal. The main contribution of this thesis is to propose a psychological socio-cultural approach of changes in foodways around vegetarianisms, an emergent topic that is currently of high interest notably because of the manifold challenges it raises but to which socio-cultural psychologists did not contribute much yet. This also leads me to reflect on the possibilities and limits of positioning as a theoretical notion, and to argue that the distinction between socio-material, socio-discursive and moral positioning provides a relevant conceptual tool to address the complexity of the way humans navigate the world in which they live. Finally, the combination of the notions of positioning, rupture/transition, responsibility and creativity also constitutes an original proposition allowing the exploration of a phenomenon like elaborating a foodway in all its complexity and dynamicity.

Keywords:

Positioning, vegetarianism, foodway, trajectory, transition, responsibility, creativity, dialogism, socio-materiality

RÉSUMÉ

Comment des personnes remettent-elles en question ce qui était pris pour acquis et habituel ? Comment élaborent-elles de nouvelles représentations d'elles-mêmes et du monde ? Comment développent-elles de nouvelles pratiques en lien avec des défis complexes et en perpétuel changement ? Ces questions illustrent les interrogations qui se trouvent au cœur de cette thèse. En d'autres termes, ce travail aborde la manière dont les individus naviguent le monde dans lequel ils vivent de manière potentiellement réflexive et créative. Afin d'aborder ces questions, j'utilise un cadre théorique socio-culturel, dans la mesure où ces théories partent de la co-construction dynamique entre la personne et son environnement. Une place particulière est accordée aux approches qui soulignent l'importance de la dialogicité et de la socio-matérialité dans les activités humaines. Les notions de positionnement, rupture/transition, responsabilité et créativité ont été sélectionnées comme outils conceptuels utiles pour analyser ces processus de navigation du monde. À l'aide de ce cadre théorique, il s'agit d'étudier l'élaboration de représentations et habitudes alimentaires au niveau individuel, et plus spécifiquement le questionnement ou le refus de produits d'origine animale. En fonction de l'ampleur de l'évitement, le régime peut être catégorisé comme végétarisme ou végétalisme. Ce phénomène est particulièrement intéressant, notamment dans la mesure où il est au cœur de débats et défis sociétaux liés à l'éthique animale, à l'impact environnemental et aux questions sanitaires. Dans cette thèse, je conceptualise les changements de représentations et habitudes alimentaires en termes de mouvements de repositionnement au sein d'un paysage alimentaire (c'est-à-dire un paysage de discours et de pratiques liés à l'alimentation) et j'aborde la question de recherche suivante : Quelles sont les dynamiques de positionnement autour de la consommation de produits d'origine animale chez des personnes ayant changé leurs habitudes et représentations alimentaires quant à ces produits ? Cette question de recherche est abordée à travers les cinq sous-questions suivantes : (1) Quels sont les éléments constitutifs du paysage alimentaire des participant-es et comment ces éléments sont-ils organisés ? (2) Quels sont les éléments constitutifs du paysage alimentaire subjectif de chaque participant-e et comment la participant-e se positionne-t-iel au sein de ce paysage alimentaire ? (3) Comment le positionnement évolue-t-il durant la trajectoire alimentaire de la personne, en lien notamment avec des dynamiques de rupture/transition ? (4) Quel est le rôle joué par la responsabilité dans le positionnement ? (5) Comment la personne élabore-t-elle et réactualise-t-elle de manière créative son positionnement dans des activités concrètes et quotidiennes ?

En vue de répondre à ces questions, j'utilise une approche qualitative dans le but de pouvoir comprendre chaque situation et trajectoire dans sa complexité et sa dynamique. Je propose un dispositif méthodologique combinant un entretien narratif, une expérience dialogique et une observation filmée. En complément, j'ai également collecté des éléments trouvés dans l'environnement socio-culturel du projet tels que des articles de journaux. Dix adultes ayant changé leurs habitudes et représentations alimentaires ont participé à ce projet. L'analyse est organisée en fonction des sous-questions de recherche. Dans la première partie, je propose une analyse thématique des thèmes apparaissant dans les entretiens, dans le but de fournir une vue d'ensemble de leur contenu. Dans la seconde partie, je décris le positionnement de chaque participant-e, proposant ainsi une analyse plus poussée du paysage subjectif et unique de chacun-e. Dans la troisième partie, je me focalise sur la dimension temporelle et propose trois études de cas analysées sous l'angle des dynamiques de rupture/transition. Dans la quatrième partie, j'examine à travers deux études de cas les dynamiques sous-jacentes aux mouvements de positionnement en mobilisant la notion de responsabilité. Finalement, dans la cinquième partie, je me concentre sur les aspects socio-matériels par une étude de cas dans laquelle j'analyse l'élaboration créative microgénétique d'habitudes et représentations alimentaires pendant la préparation d'un repas. La principale contribution de cette thèse est de proposer une approche socio-culturelle des changements de représentations et habitudes alimentaires autour du végétarisme, une thématique émergente qui est aujourd'hui particulièrement intéressante mais également urgente en raison des nombreux défis aux seins desquels elle s'inscrit, et à laquelle les psychologues socio-culturels ont encore peu contribué. Ceci me mène aussi à réfléchir aux possibilités et limites de la notion théorique de positionnement. Je suggère notamment de considérer la distinction entre positionnement socio-matériel, socio-discursif et moral comme un outil conceptuel pertinent permettant d'aborder la complexité des manières qu'ont les humains de naviguer le monde dans lequel ils vivent. Finalement, la combinaison des notions de positionnement, rupture/transition, responsabilité et créativité constitue également une proposition originale permettant d'aborder un phénomène dans sa complexité et sa dynamique.

Mots-clés:

Positionnement, végétarisme, habitudes alimentaires, représentations alimentaires, trajectoire, transition, responsabilité, créativité, dialogisme, socio-matérialité

TABLE OF CONTENT

Chapter one: Introduction	1
1. Studying vegetarianism/veganism from the perspective of socio-cultural psychology	2
2. A few landmarks for the reader	5
Chapter two: Theoretical frame	9
1. General framework	9
A. Socio-cultural psychology.....	9
B. Dialogism	13
C. Materiality and Embodiment	17
D. Pragmatism.....	24
2. Conceptual tools for this study	26
A. Positioning.....	26
B. Trajectory, rupture and transition.....	41
C. Responsibility	45
D. Creativity and affordances	51
E. Overview of the theoretical framework.....	56
Chapter three: Food, foodways and food related activities	59
1. The food system	59
A. Industrialisation of farming	61
B. Financial and economic interests.....	63
C. Working conditions	66
D. Environmental impact	69
E. Animal ethics	71
F. Health and nutrition	77
2. Eating and food: Objects for social sciences	83

A.	Identity	85
B.	Food and morality	90
C.	Pleasure	93
3.	Vegetarian, vegan, carnist.....	94
A.	Vegetarianism and veganism: state of the literature.....	97
B.	Who are they?	99
C.	Veg* in social interactions.....	104
D.	Relations between humans and animals	106
E.	Situation in the context of this study	109
4.	A psychological study around veg*ism	110
A.	A socio-cultural approach of veg*ism	111
B.	The relevance of the conceptual tools for studying veg*ism.....	113
C.	Contributions and perspectives of this thesis regarding the understanding of veg*ism....	118
Chapter four: Studying positioning around vegetarianism		121
1.	Research questions.....	121
2.	Methods	124
A.	Narrative interview.....	131
B.	Dialogical experiment.....	133
C.	Filmed observation.....	137
D.	Complementary data.....	139
3.	Participants.....	140
4.	My positioning as a researcher	144
5.	Ethical aspects of the project	147
6.	Preparation of the data and organization of the analysis.....	149
Chapter five: The landscape of the participants		153
1.	Animal Ethics	155
A.	Animals' living and dying conditions	156

B.	Death of the animal.....	157
C.	Status of the animal(s).....	159
2.	Environmental impact	160
A.	Environmental impact of products of animal origin	161
B.	Environmental impact of the consumer.....	162
C.	Landscape and harmony	162
3.	Health	163
A.	Impact of products of animal origin	163
B.	Healthy and balanced nutrition.....	164
C.	Feeling well and fit	166
4.	Pleasure	167
A.	Pleasure related to products of animal origin.....	168
B.	Pleasure related to veg* food	169
C.	Pleasure to share and exchange.....	170
D.	Pleasure to cook, cultivate and fabricate.....	172
5.	Economic dimensions.....	172
A.	Price of products	173
B.	The economic system.....	174
6.	Interpersonal relations	174
A.	Interpersonal respect and acceptation	175
B.	Affecting others.....	176
7.	Conditions of navigation of the landscape.....	177
A.	Coherence	178
B.	Normal and easy.....	179
C.	Knowledge	180
8.	A few words of discussion	182

Chapter six: The participants' positioning.....	189
1. Overview of participants' positionings.....	193
2. Alexandre.....	195
3. Aline.....	200
4. Aurélia	204
5. Gaël.....	208
6. Laura.....	212
7. Léa	215
8. Lisa.....	219
9. Marilou	224
10. Michel.....	227
11. Pierre	231
12. Positioning in the landscape and change around vegetarianism.....	236
A. Positioning, landscape and veg*	236
B. Positioning beyond interhuman interactions.....	239
Chapter seven: The trajectory: Positioning on the ontogenetic scale.....	247
1. Aline: Change in relation to the environment.....	248
2. Léa: Stuck in the transition?	253
3. Lisa: To be or not to be a full vegetarian?.....	263
4. (Un)stabilities: articulating micro and ontogenesis	269
Chapter eight: Responsibility and positioning.....	275
1. Gael: Learning to live with contradictions.....	275
A. "I blew a fuse"	276
B. Learning to live with contradictions.....	278
C. "It is not the fundamental battle"	281
D. Self-, other- and collective responsibility.....	282
2. Aurélia: We will never be perfect but I do my best.....	282

A.	Becoming vegetarian, a few failures	283
B.	“It’s maybe not exactly the truth”	285
C.	Responsibility towards others and other-responsibility	286
D.	“What’s the point?”	288
3.	Negotiating responsibility along the five dimensions	289
Chapter nine: Creatively shaping the foodway between should, could and would		295
1.	Alexandre and his salad	296
2.	The affordances of vegetables (and other foods)	297
3.	Situation one: What parts of the vegetable can be used in the salad?	300
4.	Situation two: Dates from the supermarket	302
5.	Situation three: Raw food	304
6.	Creating the foodway: Dynamic interplays between should, could and would	307
Chapter ten: Conclusion and openings		311
1.	Back to the research sub-questions	311
2.	Back to the research question	315
3.	A few epistemological reflections	319
4.	Main contributions	321
5.	Limits	327
6.	Openings	329
References		333
Appendices		365
	Appendix A – Informed consent	367
	Appendix B – Flyer for participants	369
	Appendix C – Texts for dialogical experiment and sources	371
	Santé, nutrition	371
	Environnement, écologie	373
	Ethique animale	375

Plaisir, goût.....	377
Economique	379
Nature – culture et hominisation.....	381
English translation of the texts used in the experiment.....	382
Appendix D – Conventions of transcription.....	387
Appendix E – Extracts of transcriptions: Original and translated.....	389
Chapter five: The landscape of the participants.....	389
Chapter six: The participants’ positioning.....	403
Chapter seven: The trajectory: Positioning on the ontogenetic scale.....	420
Chapter eight: Responsibility and positioning	429

TABLE OF FIGURES

Figure 1 Overview of the theoretical frame	57
Figure 2 Terminology around vegetarianism and veganism	101
Figure 3 Advertisement by a supermarket for vegetarian and vegan products	114
Figure 4 Data collection setting.....	130
Figure 5 Material for the dialogic experience	135
Figure 6 Special issue of a vulgarization magazine, "The agriculture of the future, 7 challenges for the 21st century"	139
Figure 7 Overview of the analysis.....	152
Figure 8 Elaboration of themes.....	153
Figure 9 Themes and sub-themes constituting the landscape of participants	154
Figure 10 Number of extracts per theme.....	183
Figure 11 Aurélia's foodscape evolution	192
Figure 12 Main categories of actors playing a role in the positioning	240
Figure 13 Aline's trajectory of foodway	248
Figure 14 Léa's trajectory of foodway	254
Figure 15 Lisa's trajectory of foodway	263
Figure 16 Overview of the theoretical framework.....	324

TABLE OF TABLES

Table 1 Level under focus for each methodological unit	127
Table 2 Themes for the dialogical experiment.....	136
Table 3 Aspects included in the excel table for the analysis of participants' positioning.....	190
Table 4 Overview of participants	193
Table 5 First situation from the video	300
Table 6 Second situation from the video	302
Table 7 Third situation from the video.....	305

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Maeva is sitting at table, looking at the chicken wing prepared by the friend who invited her for lunch. While, for many years, chicken wings were simply chicken wings to Maeva, thus one of her favorite meals because it tastes so nicely, because of the smell that fills the whole house when preparing them, because you can simply take them in your hands and bite into them, and because the recipe her grandmother showed her is definitely the best, now she cannot avoid thinking that this wing has a story, that it had a life before landing in this plate. She knows of course that this was a part of an animal that was living, breathing, eating, fighting maybe. That it probably was raised in a closed, dark, noisy and stinking place, among so many other chickens that there was barely any space to move and without ever seeing the sunlight. But maybe – hopefully (her friend is rather sensitive to animals and a well-informed consumer) – it is one of these chickens that grew up happily on a beautiful farm, between the flowers, the trees and the other animals, with a lot of space to move and explore, and a kind farmer taking care of it. How to know? *I can't ask...* But it was killed anyway, isn't that unfair? And how was it actually killed? They were so many awful stories in media recently about what is going on in slaughterhouses, even those in Switzerland! At the same time, the people who infiltrated the slaughterhouses were... how are they called again?... anti-species... anti-speciesists? Something like that. They are a bit extremists anyway. Well, at least, it is chicken and not beef, Maeva heard that chickens' carbon footprint is lower, that beef production is just a disaster regarding climate change. And it seems that it is also healthier, or at least, less bad. A few days ago, she read in a newspaper that we eat too much meat and that's why so many people have diabetes and cancer. She starts to feel a bit less eager to eat that chicken wing, despite its delicious smell. But it is already in the plate, *too late to say something. I wonder how they would react if I tell them I became vegetarian?* Her brother became one recently, *maybe he's right?*¹

These kinds of questions and reflections, and more precisely the fact that they emerge, the way they develop and the implications they have on the individual and collective level, are at the heart of this thesis. I am fundamentally interested in the way individuals question the taken-for-granted, in the way they possibly think beyond what is here-and-now (in the plate, in the present situation) to the (past

¹ This story was invented for the sake of this introduction. However, it draws heavily on what I could see, hear and experience during these last years. Moreover, Maéva was the pseudonym I chose for the participant in a project for a training in qualitative methods during my master studies. The imposed theme of the project was food, and it came out that, during the project, Maéva became vegetarian. This student work was certainly (also) a trigger to this project.

and future, but also geographically distant) implications of this here-and-now, in the way they navigate and make meaning of a complex world in which so many dynamics are intertwined, and in the way they think themselves (their role, responsibility, belonging, interdependences) in this world. I will explore these questions through the study of positioning in and around vegetarianism and vegetarian diets. In other words, in order to address the issues and questionings presented above, I selected more specific entrenches. Firstly, I chose to focus on one particular (although complex) phenomenon, namely individual changes in foodways that concern the consumption of products of animal origin, as for instance someone deciding to become vegetarian or vegan. Secondly, on the theoretical level, I identified socio-cultural psychology as the general framework through which I consider this phenomenon, and a series of more specific concepts, among which positioning occupies a central place, that I will use as analytical tools. In what follows, I underline the main reasons for which I propose this articulation between a socio-cultural psychological approach and a study about the changes in the consumption of foods of animal origin.

1. STUDYING VEGETARIANISM/VEGANISM FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF SOCIO-CULTURAL PSYCHOLOGY

As a socio-cultural psychologist, I identify four main reasons to engage with food and more particularly products of animal origin and vegetarianism/veganism as an object of study. The first reason is related to the current state of the research regarding this topic; the second one, which I identify as a slightly opportunistic choice but also as a methodological strategy, is related to the rich debates around these products and foodways; the third one is related to my understanding of the role of research regarding society; and the fourth one is linked to the nature of food related activities. The first reason is anchored in a review of the literature regarding vegetarianism, veganism and meat that is presented in more details in chapter three (sub-section “Vegetarianism and veganism: state of the literature”, p. 97). It appears first of all that this is a rather recent field of research that seems to be developing in a quite important way over the last 10 years and continues to do so. Moreover, it is a highly medicalized field of research, in which social sciences and psychology in particular are clearly under-represented. Among psychologists, only very few took this topic as a central object of research, concentrating notably on children’s reasons to become vegetarian (Hussar & Harris, 2009), on meat-eaters’ reactions to vegetarians (Minson & Monin, 2012) and on the vegetarian identity (Carmichael, 2002). Therefore, studying change around vegetarian foodways from the perspective of socio-cultural psychology represents a contribution to a field of study that stays largely unexplored from the angle of psychology.

Later in this section, I will present a few arguments regarding why socio-cultural psychology provides particularly relevant theoretical tools in order to address this topic; however, before that, I will briefly develop also the three other reasons for which the issues related to the consumption of products of animal origin represent an interesting object of study. Nevertheless, in order to do so, it is necessary to first provide a bit more information about this topic.

In the context where this study took place, namely the French speaking part of Switzerland, products of animal origin and meat in particular are more and more discussed, problematized and questioned and vegetarianism is more and more present in the public space. Three dimensions are at the core of the discussions around products of animal origin (see also Grauerholz & Owens, 2015). The first one is their environmental impact. Meat production is often pointed too as one of the main contributors to climate change, soil and water degradation and deforestation. The milk industry is less discussed, however it also contributes importantly to climate change (Gerber et al., 2013). The second issue concerns the human – animal relation, and is generally labelled as “animal ethics”. Here questions such as *Are we allowed to kill animals in order to eat them? Which animals and how? How should we treat them? What are their rights?* are raised. The proposed answers cover a huge diversity of positions and are anchored in different philosophical traditions (Jeangène Vilmer, 2011; Le Goff, 2012). Thirdly, products of animal origin are also pointed to because of their impact on health (Steinfeld et al., 2006), in particular when the average consumption is higher than the nutritional recommendations, as it is the case in Switzerland where the average consumption is three times as high as recommended (Office fédéral de la sécurité alimentaire et des affaires vétérinaires, 2017). Such kinds of debates and changes at the societal level provide a context where the processes of questioning and change of habits at the individual level that I mentioned at the beginning of this introduction are the most likely to appear. This is the opportunistic, but also methodological reason for choosing this topic for this thesis. Nevertheless, these debates also make evident that food and, in particular, meat consumption and production are fundamental challenges for humanity, and as a researcher, I think that they deserve attention and work. Indeed, social sciences (Forney, 2013; Ziegler, 2011) and psychology in particular can certainly contribute to address these issues, and I consider that it is part of the researcher’s role to engage with topics that are socially relevant. Finally, a fourth reason for a psychologist to get interested in food is related to two characteristics of food related activities (at least on the side of the consumer/eater, which is the part of food related activities I’m interested in here), namely that they are, on one hand, often strongly routinized, habitual activities that are part of everyday life and that they have, on the other hand, an important symbolic dimension. This makes them a highly interesting phenomenon for cultural psychologists as “the phenomena of direct relevance for research in cultural psychologies are the ones that link the most obvious acts of everyday life with the highest-level

hypergeneralized affective fields” (Valsiner, 2019, p. 17). In this frame, meat constitutes a particularly interesting case because it is both a highly valued food and the object of many taboos (Rozin, 2007).

On the theoretical level, I draw on socio-cultural psychology, with a particular attention to dialogicality and socio-materiality. Regarding the type of psychological processes I am interested in, two main reasons lead me to identify socio-cultural psychology as the most relevant framework for this thesis. Firstly, the possibility of taking distance from the here-and-now, of escaping to a reflex behavior directly conditioned by the present situation through mediation or to become reflexive about habitual processes and thus to create alternative possibilities are a core issue in these approaches (Clot, 2008; Vygotsky, 1931/1997, 1930/2004; Zittoun & Gillespie, 2016). This conceptualization of human activity is particularly relevant regarding food related activities because it does include socio-materially situated activities as well as semiotic processes without opposing them and without reducing them to a single process. This articulation is interesting when addressing food related activities as they are at the same time a necessity anchored in socio-materiality and importantly involve semiotic processes. Indeed, while it is a daily activity that is absolutely vital on the biological level in order to survive, it is at the same time a highly social and symbolic activity, that can never be reduced to a biological drive (Anderson, 2005; Lewin, 1943; Montanari, 2010). This brings us back on the last reason mentioned in the previous paragraph regarding why psychologist should study food related activities; to some extent, the argument works in both directions as the characteristics of food related activities meet the interests of socio-cultural psychology. A second reason for which I consider socio-cultural psychology as particularly relevant to address food related issues is that it considers the person not as isolated but focuses on the co-construction between the person and the socio-historico-cultural environment (Shweder, 1991; Vygotsky, 1934/1994). In order to understand food related activities, it seems crucial not to artificially isolate the person as food is about changing the environment and its components in order to produce something (or more of something) edible, putting elements from the external world into one’s body and rejecting what is not assimilable outside of oneself. To that extent, the shaping of foodways is strongly related with the material environment; it is about what is available as well as about possible changes in what can be available (Anderson, 2005; Lewin, 1943; M. Mead, 1943). However, this “material” interaction between the person and the world is possible only thanks to a very complex network of social relation that allows to produce the food but also to orient oneself as a consumer and eater, to gather information and to make food related activities meaningful. Simultaneously, food plays a very important role in the making and remaking of the social relations and hierarchies (Anderson, 2005; Counihan & Kaplan, 1998/2004) and this must also be taken into account when trying to understand changes in foodways. For instance, refusing the food that is offered is not only about what one will swallow but also about possibly offending the host and/or the cook.

More specifically, literature on vegetarianism highlights that interaction with a vegetarian plays an important role for many people in their transition towards this foodway (Maurer, 1961/2002; Ossipow, 1997) and thus we can assume that social interactions are of high importance in the promotion of this foodway. I argue here that these different characteristics of food related activities – namely their material, social and symbolic nature – require a theoretical approach that considers seriously these characteristics and that socio-cultural psychology can play this role.

Such a study of course also implies an appropriate methodology. Socio-cultural psychology notably asks for methodological settings that can account for the phenomena under study without artificially reducing them, in particular without segmenting them in units of analysis that are unappropriate (Valsiner, 2019; Vygotsky, 1933/1985). The methodological dimensions of this research are presented in details in chapter four, and I will only add here that I propose a research setting that combines different methods, more exactly narrative interview, qualitative experiment and filmed observation. Both the theoretical and methodological dimensions of the thesis aim at respecting and capturing the complexity and dynamic of the phenomenon under study.

2. A FEW LANDMARKERS FOR THE READER

Following an abductive process of research, numerous movements between the theoretical frame and the phenomenon introduced in the previous section permitted the formulation of the main research question that guides this work:

What are the positioning dynamics around the consumption of products of animal origin among people who recently changed their foodway regarding these products?

This research question will be addressed through five sub-questions:

1. *What are the constitutive elements of the subjective foodscape of the participants and how are they organized?*
2. *What are the constitutive elements of the subjective foodscape of each participant and how does the participant position him or herself in this foodscape?*
3. *How does positioning evolve during the person's food trajectory, in relation notably to the rupture/transition dynamics?*
4. *What is the role played by responsibility in positioning?*
5. *How does the person creatively shape and enact positionings in concrete everyday activities?*

In order to address these questions, I propose the following path to the reader: In **chapter two**, I present the theoretical framework on which I will draw. I start with the general theoretical approach that constitutes the background and frame, and then move towards the analytical concepts I will use in this study. **Chapter three** is articulated around food consumption and production, with a particular focus on products of animal origin. I provide first some information about different dimensions of the food system, then I present some key aspects of food and eating from the point of view of social sciences, before focusing more specifically on vegetarianism and veganism. **Chapter four** provides a description of the methodological choices and tools, the process of data collection and the participants, as well as some reflections about the ethical dimensions of this work and my own positioning as a researcher. In chapters five to nine the reader will find the analyses and their discussion. **Chapter five**, through the presentation of the results of a thematic analysis, provides an overview of the themes that appeared in the interviews. Drawing on these results, **chapter six** consists into the presentation of the way each participant positions her or himself regarding the themes and issues related to products of animal origin. In **chapter seven**, I focus on cases studies of three participants in order to examine the construction of the positioning on the ontogenetic scale, with an analysis of their trajectories of foodways. **Chapter eight** is focused on the notion of responsibility, with the aim of examining its role and place in the positioning process through two case studies. In **chapter nine**, I examine the positioning process under the angle of creativity and affordances. Finally, in **chapter ten**, I return to my main research question, after what I take a step back and discuss the main outcomes and limits of this thesis, as well as possible future perspectives.

Before entering the heart of the matter, I introduce here a few terminological clarifications as well as some abbreviations I will use in this thesis, and I provide some information about translations of quotations from participants.

- I use the formulation veg* in order to designate the whole range of the different variations of diets that avoid certain categories or all of the products of animal origin (vegan, ovo-lacto-vegetarian, flexitarian,...). I sometimes use veg*ism to refer more specifically to the foodway (as in “vegetarianism”), or veg*an when the word is related more to an idea of identity or used as an adjective (as in “vegetarian”). More details about the definition of vegetarianism as well as about these different categories (flexitarian, semi-vegetarian, etc.) are provided in chapter three, p. 99.
- The abbreviation PAO stands for *products of animal origin*, simply in order to lighten the text (not to be confused with FAO, the abbreviation for Food and Agriculture Organization; this is the main reason why I opted for PAO rather than FAO for food of animal origin).

- I sometimes use the abbreviation WEIRD, which stands for Western, Educated, Industrialized, Rich, and Democratic (Henrich, Heine, & Norenzayan, 2010). Through this abbreviation, Henrich, Heine and Norenzayan (2010) underline the specificities in the psychological process of people living in these societies and question the species-generalizing claims that researchers in behavioral sciences often produce based on this population. However, and as these authors also acknowledge, this is only one scale of categorization among many others.
- I opted for the terms “carnist diet” and “carnism” in order to designate a diet with average meat and PAO consumption (see chapter three, p. 102 for more explanations about that word).
- I also use sometimes the notions of foodways, food landscape or foodscape. Foodways are defined as “beliefs and behaviors associated with the production, distribution, and consumption of food” (Counihan, 1999, p. 2). This notion presents the advantage to refer at the same time to practices (for instance what is eaten, how is it prepared, with whom is it shared) and meanings (what does the chicken wing represent to the eater? What are the values of certain foods in a specific social group?). As far as I know, the notion was not used with reference to the temporal dimension, however in this study this dimension is certainly also of importance. Regarding the notion of foodscape, Potter and Westall (2013) “use [it] to ‘map food geographies’ onto cultural activities and socio-economic patterns” (p. 157). This notion refers to the food environment, to what is promoted, available and how this is spatially distributed.
- Without being completely consequent with this distinction, I sometimes use the term food practices (or simply practices) in order to refer to what people eat or not, rather than food habits. Indeed, the term habit shares the same root as habitual, and thus refers to something that is “established”, to some extent (at least for a while) taken for granted, usual in the person’s life. This connotation is sometimes not appropriated for what I describe, as I focus on movements and changes. I used the term food habits mostly when it comes to broader time periods and thus more lasting practices, notably in the part concerning trajectories.
- As some part of the literature I draw on is in French or German, I translated the quotations I used in order to make them understandable for the readers who do not understand these languages. However, as translating is sometimes a quite delicate procedure, I always added the original text in footnotes. In order not to overcharge the text, I did not indicate every time “my translation” in the referencing. The reader can start from the principle that, each time there is an “original quotation” in footnote, the translation was done by me.
- The fact that the data is in French (except one interview, hold in English) also raised some issues of translation. I made the analysis entirely on the French version of the data. I also kept

the extracts which I selected and integrated for the thesis in French during the writing process, and translated them only at the very end. However, as this is a particularly delicate work, I present all the original extracts in French in Appendix E. I also sometimes used footnotes when referring to specific words used by the participants in the text.

CHAPTER TWO: THEORETICAL FRAME

1. GENERAL FRAMEWORK

Any research relies on a specific theoretical background that involves ontological and epistemological assumptions about the phenomena that is studied. As this background structures the thinking of the researcher (Mortari, 2015) and therefore also the whole procedure, methods and theoretical choices (Jovanović, 2010), it seems important to make its main lines explicit. Indeed, this influence notably conditions the kind of knowledge that is constructed through the research project, as theoretical choices, for instance, make visible certain dynamics and let others in the shadow (Zittoun & Perret-Clermont, 2009). Thus, presenting these assumptions (or at least attempting to present some of them) participates to the transparency on the process of knowledge construction, which is a part of what guarantees the quality of a research (Mortari, 2015). Indeed, these basic assumptions cannot be eliminated, but they can be integrated in the research project with more or less reflexivity (Packer, 2011). This first section's purpose is to present and make explicit some of these fundamental assumptions, and thus both to situate the study in the landscape of debates and approaches existing in psychology, and to clarify where I am speaking from. I will start with a few words about socio-cultural psychology, which constitutes the most general framework in which I situate my work. Among socio-cultural psychologists, there has been recently a strong interest in dialogism and this trend has certainly been a strong inspiration in this thesis. Thus, dialogism will be the subject of the second subsection. Moreover, socio-cultural psychologists and, in particular, dialogical approaches recognize more and more the interest of integrating materiality, be it "external" materiality such as objects or settings, or the human materiality (body, brain), in their understanding of human experience and human mind. I will address materiality and embodiment in the third subsection of this general framework. Finally, I also consider pragmatism as the epistemologic background of this thesis, and many authors I draw on are anchored in this approach. Thus, in the last subsection of this general framework, I will provide some basic information about pragmatism.

A. Socio-cultural psychology

Food related activities are complex and imply permanent exchanges between the individual and his or her environment. Thus, socio-cultural psychology provides a particularly interesting approach in order to study them, as it brings the focus on the dynamic interrelations between person and socio-cultural

context. My aim here is not to provide a full presentation of socio-cultural psychology, its history and its different variations, but rather to present a few fundamental assumptions that underlie the work presented here, connecting them to food related activities and processes through a few simple examples, and to clarify how these assumptions will be considered or translated through more specific concepts and models in the present work.

“[C]ultural psychology can be defined as a psychology interested in the transactions between the individual and the society, seen as a symbolic world — it thus examines the relationship between collective culture and personal culture; it traces how individual, intentional persons, render their life meaningful; it focuses therefore on semiotic processes (signs exchanged in the world, and signs translated in mind); and it assumes the always changing nature of the world and consciousness (Bruner, 1990; Cole, 1996; Shweder, 1990; Valsiner, 2000; Wertsch, 1994).” (Zittoun, 2007, p. 197)

The focus on the relationship between collective cultural dynamics and personal (intrapyschological) processes is a main reason for which cultural psychology is appropriate to study issues related to food habits. Indeed, these habits are at the same time specific to each person and shared, transmitted and reproduced inside of more or less large groups and oriented by marketing strategies or public health recommendations. This dialogue between a possible emerging individual foodway and the collectively shared habits lies at the core of this thesis. I will introduce later the notions of positioning and landscape as analytical concepts, which I will use in order to depict those dynamics.

The definition proposed by Zittoun also emphasises the semiotic processes that allow meaning-making. These are part of what is generally called mediation, namely the fact that the relation between the person and the world or him/herself is not direct, but that tools and signs are used to act on the world and on oneself (Vygotsky, 1930-35/1978). While this aspect will not be developed as a central part of this work, it is however ubiquitous: food can be used as a tool to act on oneself, give oneself a treat, providing the body with the energy it requires; food can be a gift, it can be used to gather the group, to reassess and transform social relation; planning a meal requires semiotic mediation, I need to think the ingredients I should buy for the pizza; understanding that the meat I eat has quite a long and complex history before arriving in my mouth, which might imply animal suffering and requires land and feed, is a highly complex semiotic process involving many signs. When I will address in this work how people position themselves regarding all the different aspects of PAO, I assume that the positioning is always a mediated process.

These mediation processes and, in particular, the semiotic processes allow the persons to “render their life meaningful”, as Zittoun underlines. However, this meaning-making process is not only turned

towards oneself, there is also a need to make the world meaningful, as highlighted in the following definition: “cultural psychology examines how people, working together, using a vast range of tools, both physical and symbolic [...] make meaningful the world they find, make meaningful worlds and, in the course of doing all these things, construct themselves as types of person and self who inhabit these worlds” (Benson, 2001, p. 11). In other words, not only are persons involved both in meaning-making about themselves and about the worlds, but through this there is a process of construction and transformation of the worlds and of oneself, both being interrelated. In food related activities, people indeed engage in meaning-making about the world - what is this meal I am consuming? Where does it come from? Is this organic food? What is the carbon footprint of this cheese? – and about themselves – am I vegetarian? Can I stop eating the traditional cevapcici that remind me my grandmother? Am I the kind of person who eats foie gras? In what follows, the notion of “meaning-making” will appear as a component of the rupture/transition model developed by Zittoun (2006), that I will use in order to analyse participants’ trajectories. However, meaning-making is more broadly fundamental in all positioning processes that will be described.

The possible transformation pointed to above, as well as the “always changing nature of the world and consciousness” mentioned by Zittoun (2007, p. 5), imply a temporal dimension. The irreversibility of time is another fundamental assumption of cultural psychology. Considering the everlasting unfolding of time is necessary in order to study development, and adopting a developmental perspective is another core feature of socio-cultural psychology. But what is development? According to Lerner, Hershberg, Hilliard and Johnson (2015), among the diversity of existing definitions of development, it is possible to identify some minimal core features. Development implies change, “but not all changes are developmental ones” (Lerner et al., 2015, p. 5). In order to be considered as developmental, change must be organized, systematic and successive. For socio-cultural psychology, the environment or context is fully part of the developmental process.

“The processes of development are in the relations between the organism and the context that is inherently functional (Umwelt – see Chang, 2009). There are no “context effects” or “influences” on development – but development takes place through the relating with the context. The study of development needs to address the processes “in-between”– of the organism and environment, and of the future and the past” (Valsiner, 2011, p. 149).

My interest in this work is in change in foodways, and of course the issue of whether these changes are developmental is of importance both from a psychological point of view and for the sake of more healthy, ethical and environmentally sustainable foodways. In what follows, the developmental dimension is addressed through different lenses during the analyses, notably with the examination ruptures and transitions but also the role of responsibility, where the focus on the ontogenetic scale

allows to examine what moves and what stabilizes in “organized, systematic and successive” ways, and thus responds to Lerner’s criteria for development.

One aspect that is not really emphasized by Zittoun’s definition is the “cultural ‘situatedness’ of all mental activity” (Benson, 2001, p. 12). Indeed, it is assumed that psychological processes are “constituted by the socio-cultural-historical context (SCHC) in which they take place” (Baucal, Gillespie, Krstić, & Zittoun, 2019, p. 2), which however does not exclude the existence of universal psychological processes. The current situation of food production has some specificities that are to a large extent the result of a historical process of industrialization and thus also of the development of capitalism and, more recently, of neoliberalism. Thus, individuals are confronted with this complex situation, need to navigate it, participate to its reproduction and its evolution. This includes an important discursive level about what is good or not, what is their role as a (responsible) consumer, as a parent who cooks for a child, as a guest to whom meat is offered, what is food and for whom (are insects food? For us “Europeans” too?). The importance of the situatedness for the understanding of human activities asks for a description of the context in which the participants of a study live.

While the title of the section (and the approach I claim to follow) is “socio-cultural”, Zittoun’s definition on which I mainly drew on until now provides a definition of cultural psychology. These different labels refer to somewhat different developments of an approach anchored in and drawing on the work of a group of scholars led by Lev Vygotsky. A discussion of these variations and debates goes far beyond the aim of this thesis, and I will here simply consider that the term “social” guards us from considering the context in which the individual lives as merely an abstract, symbolic, linguistic environment (see Iannaccone, 2013). Indeed, Vygotsky already pointed to the importance of social interactions through what is called the general genetic law of development of higher mental functions (see Vygotsky, 1930-35/1978), according to which “we are (re)becoming ourselves through relationship with others and by participating in the activities of socio-cultural communities to which we belong and participate in” (Baucal & Zittoun, 2013, p. 210). In the case of food, the importance of sharing meals with other and of socialization into food and eating habits have been largely underlined (Fischler & Pardo, 2013; Ochs, Pontecorvo, & Fasulo, 1996), thus it appears as fundamental not to oversee the importance of interactions with specific people *in presentia*. In order to capture this social dimension, I will draw on some authors working with dialogical approaches. This will be the matter of the next section.

In alignment with the socio-cultural assumption that individuals should be studied in a holistic way and the warnings against an analytical approach that leads to a psychology without a subject, I will speak here about individuals/persons, and use more specific terms such as consumer or eater only in cases where the moment I refer to is mainly centered around the activity of buying or eating.

“The consumer is facing products: generally you look at him in his buying practices. The eater is facing foods and dishes usually composed into a meal: you are generally interested in the operations he performs on the food and to the global construction of his diet. When you study the eater, you do not only look at his choices of products but also at their transformation (cooking) and consumption (meals)”² (Lamine, 2008, p. 28).

I share Lamine’s concern not to reduce the participant to a consumer in front of a series of products; however, I will also not adopt the use of the term “eater” in a systematic way, as for me it closes the perspective too much on the act and moment of eating itself. Indeed, the dynamics I study here *de facto* encompass issues in which this act is not the unique and central question, as for instance the issue of being coherent enough if I avoid eating meat for ecological reasons while still having a car. In this case, the participant is not only an “eater” but firstly a person.

B. Dialogism

Among socio-cultural psychologists, there is a strong interest in dialogism and dialogicality. Bakhtin is usually cited as the father of this approach. As a linguist, he used the couple dialogic/monologic in literature analysis. To him, “dialogic orientation [...] is a property of *any* discourse” (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 279, italics in the original), but also of any word. In psychology, dialogism notably became popular since Herman, Kempen and Van Loon’s formulation of the Dialogical Self Theory (1992), but expanded also in many other directions in psychology and education (see, for instance, Baucal & Zittoun, 2013; Dafermos, 2018b; Ligorio, 2010; Linell, 2009; Marková, 2003). Among these, one field of research emerged as a subgroup of socio-cultural psychology, on which I will focus in what follows. It is beyond the scope of this work to provide a full account of past and current dialogical approaches, thus I will only present a classification of different approaches proposed by Zittoun (2013), and then explicitate a few basic assumptions that underlie this study. While in the section on socio-cultural psychology I highlighted mainly how the implications of this approach are reflected in the choice of theoretical frame, in this section I will rather say a few words on the methodological consequences of a dialogical stance.

² Original quotation in French : « Le consommateur est face à des produits: on le regarde en général dans ses pratiques d’achat. Le mangeur est face à des aliments et à des plats composés en général en repas : on s’intéresse aux opérations qu’il effectue sur les aliments et à la construction d’ensemble de son régime alimentaire. Lorsqu’on étudie le mangeur, on ne regarde plus seulement le choix des produits mais aussi leur transformation (la cuisine) et leur consommation (les repas). »

Finding one's way in dialogical approaches might be tricky as this word is used for a wide range of theories that can be quite diverse. Zittoun (2013) propose to distinguish four main families of approaches. The first one, in which she classifies for example Bakhtin, Levinas and Ricoeur, considers dialogue as an ontological or ethical prerequisite. The second one poses dialogicality as an epistemological stance, and here Zittoun cites for instance Linell and Marková. This distinction between an epistemological and an ontological framework is also underlined by Linell (2009), who proposes to use the word dialogism in reference to an epistemological perspective, while dialogicality relates to the ontological focus. What can introduce confusion in this distinction is that the adjectives derived from dialogism and from dialogicality are the same, namely dialogical. The third approach identified by Zittoun studies diverse forms of dialogue, understood as "actual conversations and interpersonal communication" (Zittoun, 2013, p. 100). Finally, the fourth approach regroups the works developed in the frame of the dialogical self theory, originally developed by Hermans, Kempen and Van Loon (1992). In these four approaches, dialogue or dialogicity are situated at different levels in the researchers' conceptualization, however these are not mutually exclusive categories.

a. Four basic principles of dialogism

In this work, I will follow Linell and Marková and adopt dialogism as an epistemological stance. What does this imply? In what follows, I will draw mainly on Linell's chapter "dialogism and its axiomatic assumption" (2009, pp. 11-33), in which he proposes other-orientation, interaction, contexts and semiotic mediation as a summary of the basic assumptions of dialogism, completing it with a few other authors.

First, dialogism places *interactions* at the core of what is studied. This opposes dialogism to individualistic and cognitivist approaches (Marková, 2016), as it considers communication and cognition as "always involve[ing] interactions with [different types of] others" (Linell, 2009, p. 14). These interactions imply interdependences; "a human being, a person, is interdependent with others' experiences, actions, thoughts and utterances; a person is not an autonomous individual who can decide everything for him or herself, as monologism tends to assume" (Linell, 2009, p. 11). Dialogical approaches presuppose that "the mind of the Self and the minds of Others are interdependent in and through sense-making and sense-creating" (Marková, 2016, p. 1). These others might be of different types; in particular, others might be present or absent (which implies dialogues *in presentia* and *in absentia*) and they might be more or less generalized (Baucal & Zittoun, 2013). Thus, it should not be concluded from these quotations that interdependence exists merely at the interpersonal level. These interactions and interdependencies also develop at the level of intergroup relations (Baucal & Zittoun, 2013) as well as through dialogue involving other elements than human beings (see for instance Last,

2013). I will come back on this later. This first principle has methodological and analytical implications as it redefines the object of study and the methods used to approach it. Indeed, in dialogical approaches, interactions and interdependences rather than individuals considered as independent entities are at the core of study and thus constitute the unit of analysis (Grossen, 2018; Grossen & Salazar Orvig, 2011), which also implies specific challenges such as avoiding monologising discourses through the analysis (Grossen, 2010).

A second important principle of dialogism is *other-orientation*, which might again be understood as implying interdependences. This other-orientation takes two main forms: responsivity and anticipation (Linell, 2009). For Bakhtin, “Every word is directed towards an *answer* and cannot escape the profound influence of the answering word that it anticipates” (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 280). Thus, any word, and even more any utterance or action is fundamentally oriented and addressed to some other. It relates to previous and anticipated words/utterances/actions to which it responds (see also Baucal & Zittoun, 2013). A slightly different way to formulate it is that “any dialogue (even a dialogue with oneself) echoes the voices of discourses that were held elsewhere at other times and in other situations” (Grossen & Salazar Orvig, 2011, p. 492). This quotation introduces the notions of echo and of voices which are very present in dialogical approaches, however the anticipation is less visible. This phenomenon of echoing is also referred to as multivoicedness, which, for instance at the level of the self, means that “the Self often thinks and speaks with the words of Others” (Aveling, Gillespie, & Cornish, 2015, p. 671). Methodologically, it would thus be misleading to consider the subject and his discourse (or pieces of discourse) as an isolated entity. Rather, dialogism invites to pay attention to the way discourses always respond to and anticipate other discourses and is also woven with others’ words and discourses. However, the challenge then might be not to lose the subject in the analysis.

Thirdly – and this is overlapping with what has been written above in the socio-cultural approach – it emphasizes the *situatedness* of language and thinking (Baucal & Zittoun, 2013), a basic principle that Linell (2009) calls contextualism. Not only is it necessary for the researcher to take in account the context to make sense of an event, but “contexts would not be what they are in the absence of the (particular) discourse(s) that take(s) place within them” (Linell, 2009, p. 16). Thus, there is again interdependence between the context, on one side, and sense-making processes and situated discourse on the other side. This point is closely related to the previous one as the discourses to which the person responds might be implicit, thus a knowledge of the context is capital in order to recognize them. Methodologically, this requires gathering information about the specific context in which the participants live and that is relevant to the topic under study, but also during the analysis to pay attention to the way elements from a broader context participate to shaping the individuals discourse,

as “researchers assume that the subjects draw upon resources that are not necessarily to be found or displayed within the micro-context of their interaction” (Grossen, 2010, p. 15).

Finally, a fourth principle highlighted by Linell (2009) – and which again meets the socio-cultural assumptions – is *semiotic mediation*, to which he adds “other types of mediation” (Linell, 2009, p. 19). He reminds us that etymologically, the greek word *dialogos* should be translated “in and through words” (Linell, 2009, p. 21) (or speech/talk), and that the prefix *dia-* does mean “by” or “through” and not “two” (which is another *dia*). However, Linell also warns against a language-centered approach, and reminds the reader that “more fundamental than language is dialogue [...]. Language is simply one of several semiotic means by which humans are in dialogue with their environment” (Linell, 2009, p. xxvii). Doing this, instead of an abstract and disembodied language, he puts dialogue at the center and therefore focuses on dynamic interactions in which humans are involved with a large range of others. But what is a *dialogue*? Dafermos (2018) identifies the polysemy of this word as a source of confusion and distinguishes at least three families of definitions. According to a first definition, “dialogue is a live conversation between two or more people” (Dafermos, 2018, p. 2). This reduces dialogue to oral communication, and some authors would even use the term only for oral interpersonal communication responding to certain criteria such as unfinalizability and allosensus. A second definition “refers to dialogue as a genre or literary device” (Dafermos, 2018, p. 3), such as Plato’s dialogues. However, in this case the form of dialogue does not necessarily imply dialogical content. The third definition relies on the assumption that the use of language is dialogical by definition, and this is also the kind of definition I adopt here. This definition contrasts with the conception of language as a formal symbolic system by seeing it mainly as an intersubjective engagement, and it goes in the same direction (but is slightly more assertive) than Linell’s quote at the beginning of the paragraph. Thus, approaches working with this kind of definition have a much broader conceptualization of what can be dialogical. For instance, Dafermos assumes that consciousness has also a dialogical character, as it etymologically means “jointly knowing” (Dafermos, 2018, p. 3, with reference to Toulmin, 1982), which can be either interpreted as together with another person or with oneself (I know that I know). Methodologically, this conception implies that a much broader range of situations than strictly interpersonal oral dialogues can be examined with the tools provided by dialogical approaches. In particular, I consider this as an invitation to examine dialogues that are not restricted to inter-human dialogues and that do not necessarily imply oral or written language, but also other semiotic means.

In addition to these four basic assumptions proposed by Linell (2009), two other points seem important to me for this work. The first one is an epistemological reflection proposed by Morgan (2005) on the work of the researcher, who should herself produce a report that stays dialogical, as “. . . to articulate the trace through a history or conceptual representation that is too masterful is to lose the trace again,

this time through seeking to know it too full and too well (Butler, 2004, p. 99)” (Morgan, 2005, p. 368). As I understand it, this relates also to what Grossen (2010) points to when she mentions the risk to monologise the data through decontextualizing it; however Morgan (drawing on Butler) points toward a more global risk to monologise, that goes beyond the relation to data. In the present project, I tried in particular to account for the multiplicity of voices and complexity of dialogues around veg*ism and consumption of products of animal origin, trying not to let my own positioning, my own voice drowning out other possible voices. This of course enters into conflict with the necessity of clarity and of conciseness. The second point concerns the place of embodiment and of materiality in dialogical approaches. According to Linell (2009), dialogical approaches should also take into account the embodied nature of the human mind. This implies the need to understand the mind, body and brain system as a whole. Linell, drawing on Damasio’s work, very briefly introduces this idea in his chapter on the brain (Linell, 2009, chap. 17). He argues that pre-conceptual meanings and feelings are influenced by or have their basis in the body. This includes the nervous system, but also for instance the muscular system or hormones conveyed by the blood. It is however interesting that the body or embodiment do not deserve their own section in Linell’s book, but that these discussions are taking place under the heading “Dialogue and the Brain”. However, Iannaccone (2017) proposes a reading of Linell that opens much more paths of research than an exclusive focus on the brain. He starts from Linell’s distinction between dualism (related to monologism) and dualities. “[D]ualism would consider any dichotomy as constituted by separated entities, while all dualities would be constituted by interdependent parts”³ (Iannaccone, 2017, p. 109), a distinction that radically changes the approach to materiality. Materiality, body and embodiment are very important aspects of food related activities. How can we conceive materiality and embodiment in the frame of this thesis? This is what I will turn to in the following section.

C. Materiality and Embodiment

It seems that psychology suffers from a focus on language that leads to neglecting concrete, embodied activity in and on the material world (Glăveanu, 2012b; Iannaccone, 2013). The last few years have seen an increased interest in materiality. In particular, the use of objects in early development has been examined in very detailed ways. Researchers showed, for example, their crucial role in pre-linguistic psychological development (Moro & Muller Mirza, 2014; Rodriguez, 2007; Rodriguez & Moro,

³ Original quotation in French: « le dualisme considérerait toute dichotomie comme composée d’entités séparées entre elles, tandis que toute dualité serait composée de parties interdépendantes. »

2008). In dialogical studies, Grossen and Salazar Orvig (2011) highlighted the role of materiality in the construction of the self. In argumentative studies, material premises in argumentative exchanges between young children and adults were also examined and identified as a recurrent factor of misunderstanding (Greco et al., 2018). Finally, the heuristic power of the notion of materiality was also highlighted in the field of educational psychology (Iannaccone, 2017), and researchers notably built on Latour's actor-network theory to underline the importance of taking in account non human actants in the study of learning and human development (Kontopodis, 2007; Kontopodis & Perret-Clermont, 2016; Niewöhner & Kontopodis, 2011). According to Ferraro and Reid (2013), seriously taking in account materiality is of higher importance for the conceptualization of human beings, as

“The relevance of paying attention to the materiality of human life within the materiality of the world lies in its helping understand human beings as necessarily relational and dependent beings (Becker, 2010, 2012), and human existence as co-evolving as one with the natural environment and every constituent of it, both human and non-human (Ingold, 2000)” (Ferraro & Reid, 2013, p. 128).

This interdependence on the material plane is just one dimension of the interdependence emphasized by dialogism.

a. From Latour to socio-materiality in psychology, passing through Descartes and Vygotsky

Latour's work had an important impact on the current interest in materiality. His argument was articulated around the critique of the traditional separation between the social and the material, which had as consequence the exclusion of material entities (subject of natural sciences) from the field of sociology (Latour, 2005). Thus, the actor network theory (ANT) he proposes emphasizes the necessity to take into account a very broad range of actants in a symmetrical way, rather than starting from and focusing on human beings. According to Leonardi (2013), Latour's point is centered rather around an ontological issue, while Barad, another influential author, raises an epistemological point in examining the way “scientists develop machines and other apparatuses that will capture [the world]” (Leonardi, 2013, p. 61) and thus showing how knowledge is intersubjectively constructed.

Latour identifies a long tradition that led to this current division, and notably points to Descartes as one philosopher who had a main impact. Indeed, cartesianism is often presented as the source of many modern limitations in our conceptualization of humans and the world. He is often considered as bearing a major responsibility in the climate crisis (Orr, 1994), and the crisis in the social sciences (Latour, 1999) including psychology (Brown & Stenner, 2001) where it notably takes the form of a “dichotomy between mind and body, psychological and material, inner and outer” (Glăveanu, 2012b, p. 192). The alternative view is traditionally identified as taking its source in Spinoza's work (Brown &

Stenner, 2001). Spinoza considers that there is a parallelism between “extension (the physical field of objects positioned in a geometric space) and thought (that property which distinguishes conscious beings from objects)” (Brown & Stenner, 2001, p. 82-83). Thought and extension are similar in substance (and that is the central point on which he distinguishes from Descartes), but are different in their attributes.

“Now this acts, on the one hand, as a barrier to simple reductionism. But it also sets up a peculiar tension between what might be characterized as “materiality” and “the work of thought.” Spinoza requires that the order of things and the order of thought be both “the same” (when considered as substance) and yet “different” (when viewed under the attributes)” (Brown & Stenner, 2001, p. 97).

Moreover, Spinoza not only questions the usual conception of the human being, but also of the body and the object. Regarding the object, it is redefined as “manifold, as defined by alliances and relationships” (Brown & Stenner, 2001, p. 103) rather than being considered as isolated.

Kontopodis (2007) relates the current debates on the relations between discourses and materiality with Vygotsky’s use of the couple signs and tools. According to him, discourse and materiality are contemporary terms for the issues Vygotsky addressed through the notions of sign and tools, or rather did not (completely) address, as “Vygotsky introduced the idea that child development is possible only through mediation but was quite unsure what the difference between signs and tools was” (Kontopodis, 2007, p. 16). In particular, the role of the tool – thus, the materiality – is identified as not yet understood in its psychological role. “Vygotsky admits at 1931 that no psychologist of his time – including himself – has deciphered the notion of tool in regard to psychological processes, such as memory and thinking (Vygotsky, 1931/1997, p. 61)” (Kontopodis, 2007, p. 16). Currently, it seems that there is still a lot to do in order to properly understand the role of objects as tool and signs in psychological development (Moro, Dupertuis, Fardel, & Piguet, 2015; Moro, Schneuwly, & Brossard, 1997; Moro & Rodriguez, 2005). However, materiality and tools are not equivalent as “the social and the material [...] includes not only artifacts but also ‘landscapes, layout and material buildings and settlements, trees and vegetation, animals, bodies and less evident material matter such as rain, ice and snow’ (Fahlander, 2008: 136)” (Carlile, Nicolini, Langley, & Tsoukas, 2013, p. 8).

Currently, the use of the notion of socio-materiality (also sometimes written without hyphen) rather than materiality aims at highlighting the fact that “when we look at the social, we are also looking at the production of materiality. And when we look at materials, we are witnessing the production of the social”, and thus, “materiality and sociality produce themselves together” (Law & Mol, 1995, p. 274). While the production of sociality is of direct interest for Law and Mol in this publication for a journal

of sociology, the socio-cultural and dialogical framework also lead to considering social processes as fundamental for psychological processes. Thus, if sociality is important to psychologists, then materiality should be too.

However, one might wonder whether the introduction of ANT or the focus on socio-materiality could be a threat to psychology, because it erases the specificity of human beings into the symmetry between the different actants. Schraube (2013) argues that in ANT studies, “the course and trajectory of human action is only conceptualized and traced in a reluctant and truncated way” and that “the subject disappears” (p. 19). In particular, it underestimates the resistances, dilemmas and ambivalences experienced by the individuals. Despite of this, according to Schraube, ANT should not be completely rejected, as it is a mean to recognize the importance of materiality and thus to decenter from solely human oriented approach. Nevertheless, he shows the necessity of combining it with a first-person perspective that allows to grab the individuals’ experience and reasons for action (Schraube, 2013). Indeed, according to Schraube and Sørensen (2013), ANT does not exclude subjectivity. What it rejects is to consider it as taken-for-granted; it examines “how [humans] are made into subjects that feel, think and act alongside with how materials are made passive” (p. 8). To them, the notion of socio-materiality can be a way to “challenge [...] individualistic and mentalist visions of the human and contributes to a contextual understanding of human subjectivity” (p. 1).

b. The body and embodiment

One of the places in which the question of materiality/physicality in psychology is debated and actualized is the issue of the body and of embodiment. Although it has a long history (Stam, 1998), the question took a certain importance in the field recently in what is called the embodied turn (Brown, Cromby, Harper, Johnson, & Reavey, 2011). Here also, the debate seems to be deeply rooted in the fight around cartesian dualism (Brown et al., 2011; Morgan, 2005). As eating practices directly involve the body, the question of its place and role can hardly be avoided here. Brown and his colleagues identify four emergent traditions that were part of the embodied turn, namely “(a) social theories of the body, (b) “histories” of the body, (c) analyses of bodily techniques, and (d) studies of embodied experience” (Brown et al., 2011, p. 494). It is the last one that is of interest to us here, as these are the approaches “recognizing the interdependence of subjectivity with a physical body that is simultaneously enrolled with and constitutive of social processes” (Brown et al., 2011, p. 495).

Embodiment is defined by Lerner, Hershberg, Hiliard and Johnson (2015) as “the fusion among the levels of organization within the relational developmental system itself” (p. 13). The different levels they consider are summed up in four main categories, namely genes, epigenetics, behavior and culture. Interestingly, they include both biological, psychological and cultural dimensions, which goes

beyond a split opposing views of the body merely as a biomedical object and approaches presenting it as a subjectively experienced and culturally constructed entity. Indeed, this must not be taken-for-granted as “much of the recent feminist, critical psychological and other writing on the body variously and differently eschews the positivist empiricist tradition of constituting the body as physical material object: a biomedical body” (Morgan, 2005, p. 358). The feminist approaches Morgan is referring to are opposed to a discourse presenting the body as pre-discursive or natural. The problem relies in the fact that, although some try to overcome this vision of the body, in any case, contestations stay organized around this discourse. It relates to an individualistic view, relying on the conceptualization of the individual as a biomedical body and a rational mind (and we find here again the Cartesian dualism). However, the deconstruction of this approach of the body notably by feminist psychologists did not provide a clear shared understanding of what we mean when we speak or write about the body, and it seems difficult to escape the Cartesian dualism.

“It is as if the more recent critical interest in the discursive constitution of social power relations has ripped the fabric of our discourse from its material constitution. How are we to ‘bring the body back in’ (Parker, 2002, p. 2) to speak of embodied domination without reinstating its position as material object and witnessing a reprisal of the empirico-transcendental doublet?” (Morgan, 2005, pp. 359-360)

Thus, the challenge is the following: including the body and taking the embodied nature of human experience into account in researches in psychology without drawing on a biomedical conception of the body.

One might think that discursive psychology is not a good candidate for including the body as a legitimate and important dimension in psychological research, as discourse must be logo-centered. While an overview of the place of the body in discourse analysis goes far beyond this thesis, as I will in the following draw heavily on Rom Harré and other researchers who developed his ideas (see section on positioning, p. 26), it is relevant to briefly consider what is the place of the body in his theory. Morgan (2005) discusses this question from a critical/feminist psychological perspective, with the aim of clarifying what conceptualizations of embodiment could participate to the transformation of social power relations. She focuses on Harré’s text “The discursive production of selves” (1991) and highlights that for Harré, the body is central to the continuity and the unity of the Self, as it constitutes the vantage-point from which the world is viewed. The positioning of the body in the world is always singular and this is the base for the continuity of the consciousness, while the moral level “opens to a multiplicity of possible positions” (Morgan, 2005, p. 363). One of the limits Morgan points to, and that might be important regarding food related activities, is that Harré’s conceptualization of the body as a vantage point reflects an oculocentric approach in which other senses (such as taste, smell,...) and

more globally the felt body (proprioception, rhythmic consciousness,...) are marginalized. To that extent, the embodied experience is less singular than what is conveyed by Harré (Morgan, 2005). Bodies, considered as “sites of discontinuous consciousness grounding diverse perspectives” (Morgan, 2005, p. 367), are considered as multiple rather than univocal, and this conceptualization is not without remembering the resistance to monologicality that can be found in dialogical approaches. Theoretically, however, Harré et al. mention that “positioning is accomplished as a feature of discursive fluxes of various sorts and is implicit in various modes of presentation— words, signs, gestures, architectural conventions, and so on” (Harré, Moghaddam, Cairnie, Rothbart, & Sabat, 2009, p. 10). Thus, there is an explicit attempt to overcome a focus on language and to include non-verbal signs, the body (gestures) and material world such as constructions (architecture).

c. Materiality, embodiment and food related activities

What are the implications of these considerations on materiality and embodiment? In short, what I keep from these debates and works is first of all the importance of taking into account non human entities in order to escape to the Cartesian dichotomy between the individual and the world. In the subsection on dialogism, I highlighted that dialogism is opposed to an individualistic approach to human beings as it emphasizes interdependences. Thus, if one wants to consider the notion of interdependence fully, one has to extend it to non human actors, as socio-material approaches show the role they play in the elaboration of subjectivity (Schraube & Sørensen, 2013). Regarding socio-cultural principles, they highlight interrelations between external and internal processes (Vygotsky, 1930-35/1978). As materiality and sociality are deeply intertwined, focusing exclusively on social dimensions would certainly lead us to miss an important part of the phenomenon. More specifically, this means that we might envisage a whole range of others with whom we potentially dialogue that are not human beings. According to Last (2013), the relation between inhuman and humans was a key aspect of Bakhtin’s work.

“Bakhtin views the world as permanently in a state of becoming, continually constituted by a dialogue not only between human, but also between human and ‘nonhuman’ forces. This dialogue [...] represents a struggle rather than a harmonious co-creation, which sees humans pitched against an ‘alien’, active world beyond their control. [...] this human–world relationship [is related] to Bakhtin’s concept of ‘cosmic terror’ – the human reaction to extreme spatial and temporal distances. This concept is compared with current social scientific engagements with the ‘inhuman’, which also stress the radical asymmetry of human–nonhuman dialogue.” (Last, 2013, p. 62).

Thus, according to Last, the consideration of materiality and of non human others (although this is not the term used by Bakhtin himself) is not only compatible with dialogism, but is an important part of Bakhtin's work and, moreover, a key to address the current crisis in the human – environment relations. She notably stresses the non-harmonious, struggling quality of that relation, which can be related to what other authors highlighted as the resistance of materiality (see Iannaccone, 2017), as well as the asymmetry (and – as I understand it - it is not meant in the advantage of humans).

Secondly, I retain from the embodiment discussion the necessity to consider the embodied dimensions of any human experience. More precisely, I am interested in the way embodied experience interrelates with the development of the individual's positioning. Socio-cultural and dialogical approaches recognize the fact that any psychological process and any interaction are always situated. This logically implies that they are also embodied. Debates on embodiment and the body point toward the risk to reduce the body to its biomedical dimensions. While acknowledging the multidimensionality of the body and notably its biological, social and cultural dimensions, I will consider the body mainly through the way participants make the body present and visible in their practices and discourses.

Until now, I examined the issue of materiality from the side of (epistemological, ontological and theoretical) debates in the academic field and I related it to socio-cultural and dialogical approaches. However, the decision to address materiality and the body also emerged from some characteristics of the object of my study. I will not go into too much details here as food and veg*ism are the central topic of chapter three, but will simply underline a few reasons why materiality and embodiment are important to address in this thesis. Food related activities are a form of engagement of human beings with the world in which materiality is of high importance (which does not exclude other dimensions such as the symbolic or social). They imply a multiplicity of interactions between the human body and the external world, sometimes mediated by tools. The most central interaction is obviously the act of eating, during which an external object (for instance an apple) is made a part of the individual's materiality, his body. However, this is only one interaction among others, before that the food might be prepared, chopped, cooked. Even further away from the moment of eating, the food usually is cultivated, or hunted, or raised, or at least gathered. After eating, digesting and eliminating waste are also forms of material interactions. In eating related activities, materiality is also what potentially resists to human plan and wishes, for instance when digestion is difficult because the food was not fresh enough or because it was eaten too quickly, when cows develop diseases because they were made carnivorous by the humans who fed them, or when soil degradation due to intensive agriculture requires always more fertilizers in order to grow crops. Iannaccone showed, in educational settings, that "materiality [is] a possible trigger of creative explorations and restructuration of social relations"

(2017, p. 118). Similarly, I formulate the hypothesis here that those resistances of animals, bodies and the environment might play the role of triggering repositioning processes.

More specifically, concerning food of animal origin, the socio-material arrangement plays an important role in our relation to animals, and thus to the possibility of eating them or not. Researchers, for instance, note that we do not eat animals that have the right to occupy the same parts of the house than we do (for instance cats and dogs). Animals that we eat live in separated places (barns) or outside. Currently, there is also a big interest in animals' well-being that implies issues such as light, space, free range farming. More globally, researchers show that the way animals are killed (Benkheira, 2007) and prepared (Delavigne, 2015) are fundamental for the possibility of meat consumption (not only to make them edible on a biological level but also for humans to consider them as food). Killing and preparing are transformation of a body into food – into an edible object.

D. Pragmatism

Finally, there is a last tradition that I will briefly present in this section, namely pragmatism. This approach constitutes a background for many of the authors I refer to in this thesis, and (this is obviously related) I also frame my work within its assumptions. Pragmatism is a stream of thought that was developed both in the field of philosophy and in psychology, at a time when both areas were not that clearly separated, namely at the end of the 19th century. Pierce, James, Dewey and Mead are usually considered as the founders of this approach (Brassac, 2007; Cornish & Gillespie, 2009). “The term is derived from the same Greek word [πραγμα], meaning action, from which our words 'practice' and 'practical' come”(James, 1906-07/1998, p. 28). In opposition to idealism, pragmatism considers practical activity rather than rationality as place where knowledge is elaborated and tested. Thus, the value of knowledge is not judged based on whether it reflects reality in a proper way, but based on its usefulness in action and the possibilities it opens. “For pragmatists, the only sensible yardstick by which to judge a piece of knowledge is whether that knowledge is useful for a given interest” (Cornish & Gillespie, 2009, p. 802). These interests are recognized as being very varied, which makes pragmatism a pluralistic approach (Cornish & Gillespie, 2009). In this sense, pragmatism is opposed to a positivist approach in which one would consider that knowledge construction and thus science are oriented toward the discovery of the truth (as a unique and coherent understanding of reality). Cornish and Gillespie (2009) define pragmatism as pluralist, critical, non-relativist and action-oriented, while Brinkmann and Tanggaard (2010) label it an epistemology of the hand, an alternative to the dominant epistemology of the eye.

I assume here that pragmatism, although being a specific tradition of thought, articulates with the other theoretical approaches I refer to in this work. Indeed,

“like such a pragmatist philosophy and other traditions that look outward over the broad landscape of life, cultural psychology is concerned with the manifold ‘ways of knowing and acting’ that mark the intentional bonds and webs of transactions between us and what we call ‘the world’” (Innis, 2016, p. 332).

Let us go a little bit more into the details of these similarities. When considering the statement that “rather than mirroring reality, knowledge mediates our relation to the physical and social world” (Cornish & Gillespie, 2009, p. 802), the possible articulation between socio-cultural psychology and pragmatism become obvious: the socio-cultural underlining of the role of mediation through tools and signs notably constitutes one point that I would qualify as a pragmatic assumption. This point also implies action-orientedness; while for pragmatism the usefulness of concepts in action is the central measure of their epistemologic value, socio-cultural psychology is concerned with people’s action in everyday life, with what they do with the tools and signs they elaborate and appropriate. Another point is the recognition of the people’s intentionality; what Cornish and Gillespie (2009) label the critical dimension of pragmatism and what was notably underlined in socio-cultural psychology as future-orientation. Regarding the social dimension of action, which is underlined and detailed in particular by the dialogical trend in socio-cultural approaches, it was developed in particular by Mead in the frame of pragmatism (Brassac, 2007). More conceptually, the pragmatist assumption that there is not only one truth but that knowledge is plural also articulates with the dialogical recognition of the multivoicedness and diversity of points of view. Finally, regarding socio-materiality and embodiment, the fact that pragmatism is concerned with what knowledge changes in everyday practical action presupposes the centrality of the interactions between embodied human beings and a concrete world that might resist to people’s actions; the metaphor of an epistemology of the hand underlines this presupposition.

While these are conceptual considerations about the articulation between different traditions, I propose to turn now towards the (pragmatic) question of what are the implications of pragmatism in the frame of this work. First of all, as I presented it in chapter three, the area of food production and consumption is a very complex field where many (sometimes contradictory) statements are made by different actors. Rather than trying to discover “the truth” in these debates, I understand them as a plurality of understandings of the worlds by actors (including groups and institutions) who have interests and who act through these understandings. Similarly, I perceive the participants in this study as actors who have their own specific and changing interests and who use knowledge in order to act in and on the world and on themselves. Conversely, this also implies that I don’t try to assess whether

they are right or wrong in terms of truth. Secondly, I take a similar stance towards the theoretical frame presented in this chapter. This theoretical frame is not elaborated based on the question whether these theories are true or not, but based on questions such as: are these theories useful to understand the dynamics I am interested in? What are the consequences of these approaches in terms of the understanding we have of the human being and his or her possibilities? What interests do these theories reflect and serve? (on the responsibility of psychologists regarding the kind of knowledge they produce, see notably Benson, 2001; Brinkmann, 2011; Stam, 2015). Finally, I ask similar questions to the knowledge I produce through this thesis and this oriented my choices during the whole project. This is a point I elaborate further in chapter four in the section “Ethical aspects of the project” (p. 147). Indeed, if epistemological issues are deeply connected to human interests, then ethical questions are not far away.

2. CONCEPTUAL TOOLS FOR THIS STUDY

The theoretical approaches presented until now constitute the background on which this thesis rely. From these broad approaches and assumption, I will move now to a more specific level by presenting the approaches and concepts that will organise the present study as analytical tools. I will start with the notion of positioning that acts as the core notion I will draw on. I will consider in particular the discursive tradition developed by Harré and his colleagues and continued by Benson, the dialogical approach notably through Hermans’ work, as well as some authors who worked on connecting both. As positioning of course takes place in the irreversible unfolding of time, in order to address this dimension on an ontogenetical level I will resort to the notion of trajectory, understood through the lens of the concepts of rupture and transition. Then, I will move toward the notion of responsibility, which has been identified by Benson as one of the fundamental conditions for creating one’s own path and creatively shaping one’s positioning. Finally, I will move to the notion of creativity as it is a notion, I argue, that allows to understand the dynamics through which positioning and being positioned are shaped and actualized actively and concretely in everyday activities.

A. Positioning

The question of how individuals navigate the complex and changing worlds they live in, which is at the core of this thesis, can be addressed through the notion of positioning. Historically, from a spatial description, it has been extended into a notion used in discursive and psychological theories and analysis (Gülerce et al., 2014). The notion of discursive positioning was notably used by Davies and

Harry (1990) in their Positioning Theory, and this is what I will focus on in this paragraph. Positioning Theory has been developed by Rom Harré and his colleagues as a theoretical alternative to the more static notions of role: “the concept of positioning, anchored in a fine grained analysis of discourse, reveals that people give, receive, resist, and claim subject positions, often all within a short space of time or while they are ostensibly in the same role” (Gillespie & Martin, 2014, p. 73). It is “is a contribution to the cognitive psychology of social action” (Harré et al., 2009, p. 5) whose main contribution to this field is to highlight the moral dimensions involved under the form of “beliefs and practices involving rights and duties” (Harré et al., 2009, p. 6). Through this reaction to the notion of role in the frame of social and cognitive psychology, positioning theory provides a theorization of the self: “the sense of self is the sense of being located at a point in space, of having a perspective in time and of having a variety of positions in local moral orders” (Harré, 1979/1993, p. 4). Morgan, presenting Harré’s approach, highlights that according to Positioning Theory the production of the self happens through positioning. “[P]ositioning is a social process that is not necessarily intentional [...] and produces the self” (Morgan, 2005, p. 362-363).

Positioning theory shares many of the fundamental assumption exposed above, which is not by chance as its authors refer to narrative approaches and notably to Jerome Bruner. Presenting these aspects briefly will at the same time highlight the compatibility of these theoretical approaches, and provide some more information about the way positioning is conceptualized by these authors. Firstly, Positioning Theory takes into account the situatedness of psychological phenomena, as it insists on the importance of the local conditions in which rights and duties are produced and reproduced, and warns against “premature cross-world generalization” (Harré et al., 2009, p. 6). “There are local and even idiographic implicit/explicit practices implying powers, abilities, or status levels which support ascriptions of duties; and vulnerabilities, incapacitations, social deficits, which, in turn, support rights-ascriptions and claims” (Harré et al., 2009, p. 10). Secondly, it considers meanings as the core unity of psychology, which implies that positioning can not be understood with an approach of causalities (social act A would *cause* social act B – each social act being a form of positioning). Rather, the social act a has a certain meaning for each person involved, and in order to understanding the positioning, the researcher needs to understand the meaning of this act for the person, meaning that is also framed through the local norms. Thirdly, it gives importance to the social dynamics, as it considers that “positioning is something which happens in the course of an interaction” (Harré et al., 2009, p. 10). Indeed, positioning theory is concerned with positioning in social interactions (Gülerce et al., 2014; Raggatt, 2015). Finally, Morgan provides the following description of Harré’s approach: “the notion of positioning is written as an immanentist approach, critical to the relationship between personhood and discourse. It is compared with role theory, which is characterized as transcendentalist” (2005, p.

362). With this definition, she acknowledges the situatedness of positioning, but also points (with the term immanentist) to the person as an active subject, in opposition to role theory where the person is rather a vehicle for roles that are socially defined.

To conclude this short part on Harré et al.'s Positioning Theory, I should add that one aspect of positions and positioning that makes them particularly interesting concepts for the study of food related activities is that those largely relate to acts. Each positioning movement, as it redefines the rights and duties, affects the acts that might be performed (Harré & Moghaddam, 2003). "Positions are more often than not simply immanent in everyday practices of some group of people" (Harré et al., 2009, p. 9). This description of what positions are invites to pay attention to the display and enactment of positions that are not restricted to language. In the case of meat consumption, we can consider for instance that buying and eating a steak implies ascribing oneself the right to eat meat, therefore as the right for humankind to kill animals in order to eat them. This enacted ascription of a right thus constitutes a form of positioning regarding meat and animals which could be summed up in the following way: *I am/we are allowed (have the right) to kill animals in order to eat them*. This enacted aspect is particularly important because of the taken-for-granted nature of the right for killing animals to eat them (in the context of this study). Because it is taken-for-granted, it is not verbalised, but it becomes visible on one side as it is enacted, on the other side (and this is often where debates emerge) when this right is contested, notably in an enacted way by a veg*an.

a. The self as a locative system: Benson's approach

Benson integrated this notion of positioning in his theorization of the self as a locative system (Benson, 2001). In his approach, positioning is therefore one of the important notions that allow to understand how the self as a locative system permits human beings to navigate the complex and changing worlds they live in. As I will mainly draw on Benson's work for the sake of this study, I will provide in this section a short overview of Benson's approach, based to a large extent on his book *The cultural psychology of self: place, morality and art in human worlds* (2001).

Orienting, locating, navigating, positioning

Through his theory of self, Benson tries to account for the psychological dynamics allowing the person to orient her or himself in the world and to occupy a place in this world, and he proposes to conceptualise the self as a locative system. He takes as point of departure for his theorization the unavoidable situatedness of any human experience.

"Where and when, place and time, are the conditions of existence. Being nowhere is quite simply a contradiction in terms. Without being placed or located I would not be, and where I find myself

implaced influences not just the fact of my being but also its nature. Where, when and who are mutually constitutive” (Benson, 2001, p. 3-4).

Therefore, “who” we are is intrinsically linked to “when” and “where” we are. The basic assumption stating that psychological processes are always situated in time and space, in a society constituted by other individuals, and that these processes are partly defined by this situation is already assumed by Vygotsky when he defends the idea of an objective psychology that takes into account the concrete material conditions in which individuals live (Vygotsky, 1925/2005) but also the socio-cultural environment in a broader sense (Vygotsky, 1930-35/1978). However, Benson also insists on the fact that orientation is one of the central and essential tasks of the self, in other words not only that the socio-cultural conditions shape the self, but also that there is a pilot navigating this environment (a pilot who is however shaped also by the landscape she or he navigates). Thus, we find in Benson’s work the socio-cultural assumption of a co-construction between the individual and his environment (Vygotsky, 1934/1994).

However, the processes allowing orientation are manifold and as such, not specific to human beings. They have a very physical, organic dimension. “Perceptual systems orient organisms. For the sake of survival even the simplest creature must be able to register ‘where-they-are’” (Benson, 2001, p. 4). The auditive and visual systems introduce distance. Much more complex and requiring semiotic function, selves are qualified by Benson as a

“novel solutions for the perennial problem of orientation and location. What we call self is one such solution to the human problem of location in time and place, in meaning and moral order, in cultural place-time as well as in physical space-time” (Benson, 2001, p. 5).

Thus, the self is the mean allowing human beings to orient in a world that is not only physical, but also symbolic, social and moral. This orientation capacity also involves a fundamental distinction between here and there, that will be the basis for the distinction between what comes from oneself and what the environment engenders. This later distinction is itself the condition for the emergence of agency. Again, this here/there distinction also exists for very basic organisms. Human selves, however, are fundamentally linguistic and dialogic, and at that level the I/you and I/me distinctions are core organizers, the first being related to the here/there distinction, the second to the now/then distinction (see also Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). Regarding the process of positioning, this implies that the elements that are kept at distance, what is “not me” and the ideas with which I don’t identify are as important as those with which “I” identify positively (see also Benson, 2003).

In addition to the notion of orientation, which is organized around the distinction between what is I/here/now vs what is you/there/then, Benson uses the notion of navigation/navigating, for which he provides the following definition:

“To navigate is to have a destination in mind, to plan a course which will take one to that terminus, and to be able to control and adapt along the way according to the various obstacles and advantages encountered. Of course, to start with any prospect of success one must first know where one is in the here and now” (Benson, 2001, p. 240).

Thus, the process of navigation does not only imply locating oneself in the world but refers to a movement from the actual here to a there that will become the new here. Moreover, this movement is anticipated, controlled and possibly adapted while unfolding.

Finally, the notion of position is used (mainly as a verb, sometimes as a noun) both to refer to spatial acts of location, with reference to sensitive perception such as seeing and to refer to semiotic processes such as “imaginary positionings of myself as a subject within an idea of time” (Benson, 2001, p. 80) or the “positions within the ongoing conversation of their culture” (Benson, 2001, p. 84). Positions might have an institutional dimension such as “position in the family, job” (Benson, 2001, p. 89), however Benson speaks rather about “social positions”, which refer to categories such as sex and nationality, or relations such as father–son. A single person can occupy several layers of positions simultaneously.

“I can of course occupy places in a number of locative systems simultaneously. For any particular episode of experience, I occupy a position in place–time. Depending on the discourse I will speak or think from a social position as a teacher or son or defendant. Finally, as we saw from Charles Taylor’s work, I speak from some moral position where my identity is further defined by what I am committed to and responsible for” (Benson, 2001, p. 99).

Thus, it also becomes clear with this quotation that another type of position is the one taking place regarding moral issues. While the term positioning is used to refer to these different types of positions, there is also a more specific use that implies semiotic mediation, and more precisely pronouns. “Only by being adept in skills of positioning, of which forms of pronoun use are primary, can I come into being as an owner, author, moral agent or location of desire for future possibilities” (Benson, 2001, p. 91). In that sense, positioning requires higher psychological processes and excludes a “simple” physical positioning from a place A to a place B without any semiotic mediation. While this type of positioning is anchored in the more physical/spatial positioning, it is this semiotic and moral type of positioning that is at the core of the psychologist’ interest. Moreover, as underlined in the following quotation

(and implied what was just mentioned on the use of pronouns), they arise through social relations, and particularly under the form of processes of questioning, ownership and authorship.

“[The] processes of questioning, ownership, and authorship arise from within social relationships and are at the heart of personal psychology. Each is a fundamental way of positioning its speaker/ thinker in social, moral, intellectual, or legal spaces and of identifying her or him as a person of a certain kind. They define personal and social identities” (Benson, 2001, p. 91)

Landscape and worlds

The term *landscape* is also used several times by Benson, in order to describe the environment in which the individual evolves. The notion of *world* also appears repeatedly, often in plural form. Both refer to a dimension that is fundamental for the researcher as in order to understand how a person navigates the world, it is necessary to understand the topography of the world she or he lives in. “Understanding the navigational strategies of people in symbolic worlds means understanding the local topographies of meaning of their communities and culture” (Benson, 2001, p. 25). While these terms are used several times by Benson, they are however never defined explicitly. Thus, what follows is the result of a transversal reading of Benson’s work, through which I tried to collect the different indications concerning what is this landscape, what are these worlds that the “selves” studied by Benson navigate. Benson proposes no explicit distinction between the two terms and most of the time seems to use them in an interchangeable way. Landscape is most of the time used in relation to human activities such as meaning-making, politics, economics or metaphysics. It seems used as an equivalent of environment, as it is something surrounding the individual. The notion of world is often used as something “given” to us in the sense that it is already there and to that extent we do neither choose nor create it. This is for instance the case when Benson states that “Our insertion as infants and as children into pre-existing worlds of meaning and obligation centrally influences the sorts of selves we become” (Benson, 2001, p. 131). However, worlds are also something that humans think (categorize), transform and create. Moreover, the use of possessive determiner and genitive forms (for instance my world, our world, other people’s world, a child’s world) also indicates that there is a subjective relation to the world and possibly a relation of possession (maybe, but this is my understanding, through the transformation and creation processes).

Moreover, the “worlds” are of different sorts. Sometimes, it is used as an equivalent of the planet earth, designating a unity that humans share and that is strongly defined by its physical characteristics. It is also used in order to refer to the more social dimension of living together, for instance “a world without sympathy” (Benson, 2001, p. 146). At this level, the semiotic dimension is fundamental, as

“social worlds have distinctive identities which are constituted by beliefs” (Benson, 2001, p. 151). It is submitted to temporality ; as the “world [...] unfolds before us” (Benson, 2001, p. 170) and there is a “contemporary world” (Benson, 2001, p. 159).

Benson doesn't mention animals, however the present work obviously requires including them into the landscape taken into account by the researcher. This would inevitably raise the question of their status. Moreover, Benson, as he is interested in the global development of the self, takes into account a landscape that is extremely large, diversified and inclusive. But this notion of landscape is also already used by Harré and his colleagues, who mention the existence of moral landscapes and relate them to positions.

“‘Positions’ are features of the local moral landscape. [...] This ‘moral landscape’ consists of practices: for example, taking notice of someone or ignoring them, giving them tasks, praising them, and so on. We, as analysts, extract from these practices something we call a ‘position’ which someone seems to ‘occupy’” (Harré et al., 2009, p. 9).

Thus, Harré et al. propose a very “enacted” understanding of the landscape, which is constituted and always recreated and negotiated through interactions. In the case of my study, I broaden this understanding a little bit, also taking into account dynamics, discourses and acts that are to some extent not that local. If we think for instance about the farm producing beef in Brazil, the Amazon rainforest that was destroyed in order to produce feed and the consequences this has on climate change, it becomes difficult to speak about a local landscape. It is also difficult or very restrictive to grab this only in terms of interpersonal interactions and of local norms about right and duties; the politico-economic ideologies that lead to these kinds of practices for instance are missing. However, these elements indeed become part of the participant's landscape as they find the piece of meat coming from Brazil in the supermarket, as they see some incentive to be a “responsible consumer” on a poster elaborated by a NGO or when they speak with a friend who participated to the climate strike. Thus, I prefer to avoid the term “local” in favour of the term “subjective”.

Feeling and emotion as pathfinders

Navigation and positioning are not purely rational processes; emotions and feelings play a fundamental role in it and Benson again aims at including a large range of levels of analysis in order to provide an integrated theorization of navigation and positioning. Doing so, he identifies emotions and feeling as the pathfinders in the navigation of the landscape. “Some of the best contemporary work on emotion can be understood as elaborating the ways in which feeling and emotions act as self's pathfinders through human landscapes both familiar and unfamiliar” (Benson, 2001, p. 103). Benson draws on Susanne Langer's work on feelings, from whom he borrows three basic characteristics that permit to

describe feelings: 1) they are processes rather than entities; 2) a fundamental distinction separates feelings experienced as due to an impact from outside and feelings experienced as arising within oneself (this distinction will notably play a central role in responsibility, on which I will come back later) and 3) there is a threshold or limen, in particular at the level of cerebral arousal, which is constitutive of different phases. From Damasio's work, Benson retains that feelings are at the basis of consciousness, of decision-making and of self, to what he adds that "implicitly, this situates feeling at the heart of our abilities to navigate human worlds" (Benson, 2001, p. 105) and that embodiment, visceral feelings are fundamental in that processes. In that approach which also draws on William James, "emotions are our feelings of the bodily changes that occur when we perceive or comprehend some event that excites or moves us" (Benson, 2001, p. 105). It is thus an approach giving a lot of importance to the embodied experience.

Feelings and emotions are not opposed to rational thinking. Rather, they are combining in different ways in everyday life. Doing so, Benson takes distance from the traditional dichotomy opposing emotions and cognition.

"The belief that 'Reason' is somehow opposed to 'emotion' – the latter often contaminating and distorting the former – is identified as a major misconstrual by those who wish to argue against the validity of this dichotomisation of experience, and for an integrated 'felt-thinking' which is more appropriate to actual human behaviour as it occurs in normal, real-life situations" (Benson, 2001, p. 106).

On the other hand, he also takes distance from approaches that concentrate only on the subjective, self-reported aspects of feelings and emotions, assessing that this is only one part of the process. According to him, understanding emotions requires to consider the subjective experience

"only as part of a larger story. This larger story must include the 'world' inhabited by that person, and the elements of that world which the person cares about. It involves the ways in which certain aspects of that world induce emotion and the intensity with which the emotion is felt. It is linked to how their culture interprets, emphasises and legitimates some patterns of decisive action rather than others, and to all of the other ways in which those elements and these forms of caring and concern are shared with, and shaped by, others" (Benson, 2001, p. 106).

Thus, Benson insists also on the interpersonal, cultural dimension of emotions. Moreover, he also adds a temporal dimension when stating that the embodied feelings relate the present situation with past experiences. These memories provide indications of what it is worth carrying about, based notably on what is pleasurable or not. Through these processes, they participate to the meaning-making of the

current situation as they give relief to the landscape; some part of that landscape will be more or less worth carrying about.

This approach prevents against considering some positionings as rational, opposed to others as emotional, and to analyze potential conflicts between those as clashes between reason and emotions. Conflictual positions are reframed as anchored in different meaning-makings, in caring about different aspects of the world.

“When people talk of emotion ‘distorting’ rational thinking, cultural psychology reformulates this as one kind of informed caring coming into conflict with another. The basis of the conflict would then be understood as residing in conflicting ways of making meaning, each in the service of different interests, rather than with one ‘primitive’ system – emotion contaminating a more advanced one, ‘Reason’” (Benson, 2001, p. 107).

Moreover, negative emotions such as disgust, fear, shame play a fundamental role in positioning as they orient what people envisage doing and how they define themselves. Negative has a restricted meaning as it points toward “things that we simply will not countenance doing voluntarily” (Benson, 2003, p. 63). Those negative feelings can be so highly aversive that the actions they relate to become unthinkable. Benson proposes as an example the fact that most of the people cannot even imagine murdering defenseless people, and shows how this impossibility can be explained by the fact that identities are shaped as much by what we do, claim or could imagine doing, than what is unimaginable because “[I am] *not that* kind of person” (Benson, 2003, p. 70, italics in the original). In the case of food, similar dynamics might be observed in particular in relation to disgust and to the impossibility to imagine eating (some) animals or parts of them. This refines the idea that feelings participate to our positioning through the coloration of some parts of the landscape as worth carrying about. In the case of negative feelings, the (action-)positions they are related to indeed take a particular importance for the person, but in a repulsive rather than attractive manner.

b. Dialogical self theory

Another important range of research that uses the notions of positioning and position are those referring to and developing Herman’s Dialogical Self Theory, notably with the concept of “I-positions” (Hermans et al., 1992). Through this theoretical proposition, they bring the notion of positioning into the realm of intra-psychological processes, and its spatial dimension obviously becomes a metaphor, if space is understood in Euclidian terms (Gülerce et al., 2014). According to this theory, “the dialogical self can be described as a dynamic multiplicity of I-positions in the landscape of the mind, intertwined as this mind is with the minds of other people” (Hermans, 2002, p. 147) and “the I has the possibility to move from one spatial position to another in accordance with changes in situation and time”

(Hermans, 2001, p. 248). In other words, in a similar way as in Benson's approach – which certainly comes from the physical notion of position – a position is relative to a certain landscape (here of the mind) and is also temporally situated. Moreover, this approach is based on the assumption of a fundamental similarity between a position taken in the social realm and a position taken as part of the self. The *I* (understood in a Jamesian way as the self-as-knower, in opposition to the *me* which is the self-as-known, see Hermans, 2001) can move from one position to the other and “has the capacity to imaginatively endow each position with a voice so that dialogical relations between positions can be established” (Hermans, 2002, p. 148). Thus, each person has a certain repertoire of positions, in which new positions can be introduced. Between the different positions of the repertoire, there might be relations of power and dominance. Moreover these relations might be more or less cooperative and interactive (Hermans, 2002). *I*-positions might be rather reflexive (*I*-as-complicated for instance) while other are more anchored in external sources (the internalized voice of my mother for instance) (Raggatt, 2015). For Raggatt, “our [reflexive] micro-dialogues, therefore, can be conceptualized in precisely the same metaphorical terms as ordinary social interaction, that is, as a movement between positions in discursive space” (2015, p. 779).

Dialogical self theory focusses on a weakness of positioning theory, namely its concentration on interpersonal interactions to the detriment of the examination of intrapsychic dynamics such as reflexivity. Developmentally, this also implies the absence of the examination of processes of internalization: “internalization of discourse implies the ability to perform dialogical encounters and confrontations among evaluative perspectives in a self regulated way, that is, independently of the immediate collaboration of the other” (Larrain & Haye, 2012, pp. 9–10, quoted by Raggatt, 2015, p. 780). However, while the definition of the *I* and the *self* are obviously presented, there is barely any information of what is meant by *position*. How can they be recognized and differentiated? What are their limits and how are they organized? However, a few elements that can help us to understand what a position is can be found. Firstly, *position* and *positioning* express “the spatial nature of the self” (Hermans, 2001, p. 249), as a complement to its temporal dimension largely highlighted by narrative approaches. While a position is always defined in place and time, this can be meant “either physically or mentally” (Hermans et al., 1992, p. 29), however the difference and potential relation between physical and mental is not further elaborated. The spatial dimension permits the juxtaposition of voices that are often heterogenous and even opposed. This juxtaposition makes a conversation between these voices possible (Hermans, 2001). Secondly, a position implies a certain perspective on the world, and thus changing position will equate to taking a new perspective, something that Hermans highlights when discussing the possibility to imagine the other's position. “I'm able to construe another person or being as a position that I can occupy and as a position that creates an alternative perspective on the

world and myself” (Hermans, 2001, p. 250). Thirdly, a distinction is made between internal and external positions. Internal positions refer to positions “felt as part of myself” (Hermans, 2001, p. 252). External positions refer to people or objects that are “felt as part of the environment” (Hermans, 2001, p. 252) but that are however related to a certain internal position. For instance, “I as a father” is the internal position related to “my child” (external position). Both internal and external positions are I-positions. Fourthly, positions are related to each other in different modalities, such as for instance cooperation and competition.

The dialogical self theory was further developed by many scholars, among which (socio-)cultural psychologists who found in this notion a way to articulate the social and the individual (or the social in the individual) as well as to theorize the self as a complex construction with its dynamics and contradictions (Valsiner, 2019; Valsiner & Cabell, 2012). Some authors notably highlighted the role of dialogical positioning in sense-making and more specifically in learning trajectories (Amenduni & Ligorio, 2017; Ligorio, 2010). More globally, they also showed how dialogical approaches to learning allow to consider at the same time semiotic and material dimensions through the Bakhtinian notion of chronotope (Ritella & Ligorio, 2016).

c. Gillespie and Martin’s Position Exchange Theory

Harré and his colleagues’ concept of positioning was also further developed by Alex Gillespie and Jack Martin (2014), through the Position Exchange Theory. This approach emphasizes strongly the social and institutional dimension of positions, their situatedness as well as their relational (interdependent) nature. To that extent, it contrasts with Benson’s approach, which is very focused on the development of the self in the self-world interaction, but tends to give only few attention to social interactions. They propose the notion of *social position*, which “comprise physical, spatial, institutional, and normative aspects” (Gillespie & Martin in Gülerce et al., 2014, p. 82). With this notion, they aim at linking the discursive and the psychological through the social, which they consider as being at the fundament of discursive and psychological positioning (Gillespie & Martin in Gülerce et al., 2014). “Social positions only exist in social situations. They are socio-institutional locations within our social structure from which people speak and act, constituted by rights, responsibilities, and situational demands” (Gillespie & Martin, 2014, p. 74). These authors also relate the notion of position to that of perspective; positions “constitute perspectives, that is, psychological and embodied orientations, interests, and even world views” (Gillespie & Martin, 2014, p. 74). Through the experiencing of different complementary positions such as feeding and being fed, the child develops his capacities of perspective taking (Martin & Gillespie, 2010), a fundamental ability in psychological development (Mead, 1934). Indeed, “to become a self, for Mead, entails becoming other to oneself. Mead argues that as we come to see

ourselves from the perspective of other organisms we distanciate from ourselves and become self-reflective selves” (Martin & Gillespie, 2010, p. 257). I argue that this conceptualization of positions constituting perspectives allows to apprehend another aspect of the relation between a position and a landscape. Positions are not only features of landscapes (see Harré et al.’s quote, p. 32) and landscape do not only constitute context, support and material for positioning, but each position shapes a certain relation or orientation to different elements of the landscape; certain aspects will be more salient and even attracting from a specific position.

Another important emphasis of Position Exchange Theory is the movement between positions. This is slightly different from the focus one can find in Harré and his colleagues’ work or in Benson (2010) on the negotiation of rights and duties. For Gillespie and Martin (2014), the movement between and the “layering up” of different social positions is the condition for becoming a dialogical being. This layering up points towards a possible integration of different positions and the perspectives they imply, an integration which is related to the ability to take distance from the immediate situation. “Integrating multiple perspectives as a basis for action and reflection enables greater distanciation from immediate circumstances and the formation and pursuit of projects and plans” (Martin, 2013, p. 5). Thus, in the ontogenetical development the possibility for more and more abstract perspectives emerges, together with the discursive possibilities to evoke them in interactions with others (Gillespie & Martin in Gülerce et al., 2014). Finally, positions can be analyzed in terms of authority they provide to certain discourses, and in this case the social (including institutional) dimension of the positions (of the self and the other) is fundamental. Certain social positions allow to voice certain contents with more or less possible negative consequences, and relations of submission and domination frame these possibilities (Gillespie, 2005).

This approach shows well how positioning movements in concrete, material and institutionalized settings allow the emergence of more discursive and imaginary positioning, and thus sustains the development of perspective taking, the understanding of the other’s point of view and the development of agency (Gillespie & Martin, 2014; Martin & Gillespie, 2010). It also points explicitly towards dynamics of power that shape and constrain the voices that can be expressed. However, its definition of positions, very anchored in social and institutional dynamics, becomes very close again to the “role” from which Harré and his colleagues tried to distanciate.

d. Critical voices

There are of course also critical voices regarding the notion of positioning or certain ways to theorize it. I will briefly address two of them. Firstly, one limit of the notion of positioning is that it might convey the idea of a well identified position or point of view on something. However, these positions are rarely

that clear. There is perpetual movement, and the necessity to give account for the dynamicity is in tension with the description of well-identified positions. Moreover, positions always relate to counter-positions (for these two first points, see Raggatt's words in Gülerce et al., 2014), and the identification and description is certainly not an easy task for the researcher as these counter-positions often are implicit. Finally, Baerveldt reminds us that:

“[for] Bakhtin (1986), an utterance is an embodied speech act embedded within a speech genre, expressing not so much a point of view, but an entire mode of being or axiological stance. Therefore, an utterance is always polysemic, ambiguous and incomplete, [...] What is juxtaposed in dialogical activity are not just spatial positions, but entire lives and bodies that vibrate and resonate and generate new significance in a way that will always remain somewhat equivocal” (Baerveldt's words in Gülerce et al., 2014, p. 2).

Secondly, researchers highlighted the similarities between the kind of selfhood presented as ideal in dialogical approaches – flexible, multivoiced, creative, open to change – and a neoliberal discourse promoting “the capacity to be open to change, yet not broken by this ceaseless movement (Gergen, 2000)” (Blackman, 2005, p. 189). This critic was elaborated against dialogical self theory, but I argue that it should also be considered more generally for dialogical approaches in psychology. Indeed, more globally these authors highlight that psychology is impregnated with the ideals of a “throw-away society” (to use Gottschalk's words, 2000, quoted by Blackman, 2005) and Blackman (2005) also highlights the participation of discursive psychology to this kind of discourse.

“Multivoicedness is viewed as desirable, adaptive and normative, naturalizing flexibility and the concepts which make it intelligible as key to the promotion and maintenance of psychological health. These concepts locate the capacity of individuals to function in creative, innovative and experimental relational modes in relation to their performance of particular dialogical skills. The emergence of this kind of selfhood is one which many cultural theorists have located within forms of sociality seen to characterize advanced liberal societies” (Blackman, 2005, p. 189).

According to Blackman (2005), dialogical self theory largely participates to the cultural production of selves that are adapted to and able to cope with the requirements of advanced liberal societies. However, this is not without new risks and burdens for individuals, as subjects are positioned in contradictory ways, which might be both injuring and humiliating. The feelings of anxiety, anger or depression that emerge from this situation are mainly expressed in silences and contradictions between the linguistic self-presentation and the body (Blackman, 2005). In order to survive to these contradictions, the selfhood must be “capable of dissociation and fragmentation, alongside the self-regulation needed to maintain desired and normative relations with both oneself and ‘others’.”

(Blackman, 2005, p. 199). However, Blackman does not envisage the return to a psychology that conceptualizes the self as a static entity. Rather, what she suggests is to study the ways the psychological, social and biological are produced and what these productions imply. This includes an awareness of the way the contradictions and ambiguities are embodied, and the necessity to overcome the repetition of an “anti-essentialist mantra” in order to “understanding why subjects invest in particular discourses and narratives rather than others in their dialogue with their own bodily experiences (which are never separate from and prior to the social)” (Blackman, 2005, p. 202). I consider these two critics as very relevant, and I will clarify my own positioning towards them in the next sub-section (among other points).

e. An inclusive model

Raggatt (in Gülerce et al., 2014) sums up the uses of the notion of positioning in the following way: “positioning can be all at once concrete, embodied, social-discursive and psychological” (p. 83). He argues for an inclusive model and for the use of a diversity of data. While all these dimensions are fundamental in human development, they cannot be assimilated in only one undifferentiated positioning. “Maintaining a distinction between the material and social environment on the one hand and the psychological domains of people is crucial” (Gillespie & Martin in Gülerce et al., 2014). For instance, moving in the embodied and social space does not necessarily imply semiotic movements such as a broadening of the mind as is sometimes presupposed about travelling (Gillespie, Kadianaki, & O’Sullivan-Lago, 2012; Pipitone, 2018). However, taking in account inter-psychological AND intra-psychological processes seems crucial for any account of psychological processes. This idea brings us back to Vygotsky’s (1930-35/1978) theory of human development and more specifically to the primacy of the social. More recently and concerning positioning, this point has been underlined both by Hermans (2001) in order to understand the self and by Raggatt (2015) in order to understand social situations.

Based on these works, my working definition in this thesis is the following: positioning designates the way the person relates to (socio-material and discursive) elements that constitute the world (notably objects, behaviours, institutions, persons – including him or herself, discourses). It implies that this element exists in the subjective landscape of the person. The relation notably takes the form of a recognition or denial of its importance and/or of its value. Each position also entails a certain perspective on the elements of the landscape, perspective designating here the relation between the person and the world or one element of it (Glăveanu, 2015a). Through this positioning, the person is also defining him or herself (“I think this is important”) and this is where the process participates to self-creation. This aspect might be more or less reflective (and in this case it becomes a positioning

towards oneself). This process is socially and materially mediated, however the others might be *in presentia*, *in absentia*, generalized and might not necessarily be human individuals or clearly identified entities. I will refer in particular to :

1. Socio-material positioning, used to refer to the embodied and concrete activities through which a person acts in the material landscape (for instance what he or she eats and how he or she prepares food). I draw on Benson's (2010) position in place-time but, inspired by Gillespie and Martin's (2014) work, with a more important focus on the person's activity.
2. Socio-discursive positioning (I borrow this term to Raggatt in Gülerce et al., 2014), through which I refer mainly to positioning mediated by language and other signs, including language addressed to oneself in the form of inner speech (for instance stating *I am vegan* or *I do not want to eat this*). This is the main object of study of Positioning Theory (Davies & Harré, 1990). The social power relations highlighted by Gillespie and Martin (2014) enter into play to a large extent in this form of positioning, notably through social roles.
3. Moral positioning, through which I refer to the (often implicit) way the person situates (and thus defines her or himself) in the landscape of statements or valuations about what is important, good or right (for instance *I consider that eating meat is bad* or *I estimate that what you buy matters*). This form of positioning has been highlighted in particular by Benson (2001).

I also consider that these different forms of positioning can happen simultaneously through a single activity (see also Benson, 2001) and that each of them can take place in a more or less interpersonal or intrapersonal way. A moral positioning such as *it is important to eat in a healthy way* might, for instance, be addressed to others as well as to myself, or even both at the same time (see also Raggatt, 2015).

Regarding now the two critics presented previously, both of them seem very relevant and they point to the theoretical validity but also to methodological and analytical dimensions. First of all, indeed positions are rarely clear. However, I argue that many psychological phenomena are unclear at a first glance without this being a sufficient reason not to study them, on the contrary. However, this critique invites us to be careful not to approach positions as clearly delimited entities that can be identified uncontroversally. Concretely, to me this means not approaching the data with a pre-established list of positionings (such as "I as vegetarian", "I as Swiss" and so on) and to carefully observe what are the positioning movements performed by the participants, what are the words they use and those they refuse, and most importantly what are also their ambiguities or the ways they escape to my attempts to grasp them. It is also important, thus, not to expect necessarily clearly defined and easy to identify positionings, and it is fundamental not to try to artificially fill or reduce positionings that are

“polysemic, ambiguous and incomplete” (Baerveldt’s words in Gülerce et al., 2014, p. 2) but rather to observe what participants do or simply what happens with this openness and infinitude (in the sense of not finite).

Secondly, regarding the dangers for psychology to reproduce a neoliberal discourse that finally promote an approach of human being which engenders suffering, for me this critique invites us to be careful not to *a priori* consider flexibility or multivoicedness as much more important than continuity and stability. On the theoretical level, I will also draw on the notions of trajectories, ruptures and transition (see next sub-section), where the articulation between continuity and change, stability and instability has been considered very seriously (Zittoun, 2006; Zittoun & Grossen, 2013). On the methodological and analytical level, I start from the participants subjective experience of what is difficult, pleasant, tiring, challenging, relaxing, nourishing and so on, and I notably observe how they experience change and handle (in)coherence and flexibility, rather than starting from the assumption that flexibility is always good.

B. Trajectory, rupture and transition

Positioning happens in time, and according to Benson (2001), narration is the mean through which the person constructs the continuity in the positioning and situates him or herself in the time scale. In his work, Benson refers mainly to Bruner’s approach, which highlighted the importance of stories and narration activities in the process of sense-making (Bruner, 2005). As a reaction to a cognitive psychology focused around information processing, Bruner placed meaning and sense at the core of psychology and identified the central role of narrations in the development and possibility of meaning-making. However, narrative approaches are focused on the way we as human beings give sense to present, past and possible future experiences while, in this work, I have a slightly different focus. Therefore, I will use another analytical tool in order to address the time dimension of positioning, namely trajectory. While narrative approaches focus on narration as a developmental tool and on the meaning-making of the changes from a certain point in time, the notion of trajectory aims at capturing the development of the person (for example the habits, the social role/condition or the political engagement) across time. In this study, it is this change over time that I am interested in, and this is the reason why I turn to the notion of trajectory. Martin’s (2013) Life Positioning Analysis would have been another very interesting way to address this change over time, however my preference went to the rupture/transition framework as it is slightly more focused on the processes of change, while Martin’s approach is more focused on the understanding of the way the current positioning developed.

The work considered as foundational in the theorization of trajectories is Strauss and Glaser's work (1970) on dying trajectories. This work examines the course of dying as the result of an organizational work, where the different people involved subjectively perceive the course of the illness and participate to the elaboration of this trajectory. They highlight that illness takes its own path, developing in a way which is escaping to the different protagonists who are involved (the dying person, the medical staff, the family...). "The term [trajectory] denotes a social process of disorder that takes possession of everyone and hurts everyone in a very intense and consequential manner" (Riemann & Schütze, 1991, p. 337). Moreover, the process presents inner and outer aspects or forces, and the characteristic of the trajectory studied by Strauss and Glaser is the development of the feeling that "one can only react to 'outer forces' that one does not understand anymore" (Riemann & Schütze, 1991, p. 337). Riemann and Schütze (1991) developed the notion further and, in particular, discussed it as a possible theoretical concept, while Strauss and Glaser (1970) used it without really defining it. They propose to focus more on the biographical dimensions of the trajectory and to broaden the notion to other contexts. Through the focus on biographical processes, they bring the personal experience of the individuals (the inner aspects of the trajectory), shaped in interactions, to the centre of the researcher's attention. Both in Strauss and Glaser's and in Riemann and Schütze's work, the trajectory is related to suffering and designates the development of a feeling of loss of control over the unfolding of events. Interestingly, Riemann and Schütze relate the trajectory (as the development of a feeling of loss of control) to a "breakdown of self-orientation" (Riemann & Schütze, 1991, p. 350). They note that, during peak crisis of the trajectory, a disability to perform even everyday activities as well as a feeling of strangeness towards the world and towards oneself appear. In relation to the positioning processes discussed above, this feeling of strangeness can be conceptualized as an inability to make meaning of the landscape and of one's position in it. As the means to recognize the landscape and to situate oneself in it are lacking, the navigation (understood here as a goal-oriented process) is hindered. The person is merely positioned by the events and the other people she or he meet, and his or her possibilities to actively position him or herself are substantially reduced.

The notion of trajectory was further developed in life course studies, with a broader definition. According to Green (2010/2017), "'trajectories' are long-term themed pathways, involving an interdependent series of events in different areas of life, such as trajectories of schooling, work, drug use, mental health, criminal behaviour and parenthood, and may include many transitions within them" (pp. 24-25). One other theme around which a trajectory might develop, I argue, is the foodway. In this work, I adopt this more inclusive definition that does not focus on a loss of control but might include it. However, I acknowledge the importance of paying attention to the feeling of control and lack of control during the unfolding of the trajectory, as they point towards different qualities of

experiencing the landscape and the navigation process. Indeed, in the case of change in foodway, it appears as important to take into account both the feeling of lack of control (for instance feeling weak when one tastes a piece of salami “just for pleasure”, or feeling helpless in front of the food industry) and the feeling of grow in control and in understanding (for instance knowing more about the impact of food on the organism or being proud to be able to resist the desire of eating meat). Moreover, I also focus on a specific area of life, which are food related activities. In this work, as my focus is on the evolution of the person’s foodway during the life trajectory, I propose to speak about trajectories of foodway.

a. Rupture/transition

As a descriptor for the trajectories, I use the hermeneutic couple *rupture/transition* proposed by Zittoun (Perret-Clermont & Zittoun, 2002; Zittoun, 2006). This couple allows distinguishing moments in the trajectories that are particularly interesting on a psychological plane because of the reorganisation they imply. Trajectories are constituted by several episodes, and the passing from one episode to the other is called a transition (de Saint-Georges & Filliettaz, 2008; see also Elder, 1998). Emler defines transitions as “*rapid, qualitative* changes intervening between longer periods of relative *stability*” (Emler, 2005, p. 198, italics in the original). Thus, the notion of transition allows us to capture the unfolding of the trajectory by focusing on moments of particularly intensive reorganisation, while the notion of rupture, proposed by Perret-Clermont and Zittoun (2002), brings the focus on the ending of the previous episode. Indeed, the rupture designates a moment when the taken-for-granted and the obvious are put at stake. “In situations of rupture, changes put at stake relatively taken-for-granted routines and definitions” (Zittoun, 2007, p. 4). Although changes happen all the time for any complex system such as a human being,

“a rupture signs the end of a mode of adjustment; after such an event, the routine changes are invalidated; [...] a rupture is a call for new ideas, new solutions, or new ways of acting or thinking. If life always requires regular change, as in transitive processes, a rupture calls for more, deeper, more substantive changes; in that sense a rupture is a *catalyst* for intransitive change” (Zittoun, 2009, p. 409, italics in the original).

Zittoun (2007) distinguishes three causes of ruptures: a change in the cultural context or the spheres of experience of the person, a change in the relationships between the person and others or objects, and a rupture coming from a change in the person herself. Moreover, different types of ruptures exist, and a particularly important distinction is made between the events socially identified as ruptures, as for instance entrance into school, and events subjectively experienced as ruptures. Both might overlap; a moment socially identified as a rupture might be subjectively experienced as such by a certain

person, but this is not necessarily the case. A person might go through a rupture without going through an event that is socially recognized as a rupture. Ruptures are psychologically relevant only if they are subjectively experienced as such (Zittoun, 2007). Therefore, for the kind of analyses conducted in this frame, the focus is on subjectively experienced ruptures, which mainly manifest themselves through the feeling of uncertainty. "*Uncertainty* can designate a person's experience of blurred personal reality, *relatively* to a previous state of apprehension of things" (Zittoun, 2007, p. 196, italics in the original). However, as this approach is anchored in a socio-cultural paradigm, it will of course also consider the social dynamics in which the subjectively experienced rupture unfolds, and researchers notably highlighted the role of cultural resources and of social recognition of their use in the transition that follows the rupture (Zittoun, 2008a). The fact that the rupture is socially recognized as such might of course play a fundamental role in the availability of resources and in their recognition.

b. Processes of transition

A rupture calls for a transition, a psychological work that includes three core processes: meaning-making, learning and transformation of identity. Those are of course highly interdependent, and their aim is to reach "a new sustainable fit between the person and her current environment" (Zittoun, 2009, p. 410). Meaning-making is a semiotically mediated process during which the person "elaborates, symbolically, what happens to her" (Zittoun, 2006, p. 15). It is the main process through which the person reduces uncertainty. Meaning-making is also a matter of maintaining a sense of consistency and continuity in time and between different spheres of experience. Moreover, it implies emotional and nonconscious dynamics, that must be integrated in order for the transition to be successful (Zittoun, 2006). Learning processes include the "construction of skills and knowledge, or their actualization in new settings" (Zittoun, 2006, p. 15). These processes are tidily related to the encounter with new people, situations or settings, or a transformation of previous relationships between the person and her environment. Finally, identity processes are related to the definition of oneself and to "questions of social and cultural belonging" (Zittoun, 2006, p. 14). They imply both the apprehension of the person by herself and through social mediation. In her work on youth's transitions, Zittoun traces identity processes back to relocation and repositioning issues in the "social and symbolic field" (Zittoun, 2006, p. 14). Thus, Zittoun already established a link between her work on transitions and Benson's work on positioning, and more specifically the identity processes of the transition.

"In terms of dynamics, transitions in the lifetime can be said to involve *three interdependent streams of processes* (Zittoun, 2004a). First, transitions involve changes in the social, material or symbolic spheres of experience of the person. Transitions imply processes of *repositioning, or*

relocation of the person in his/her social and symbolic fields (Benson, 2001; Duveen, 2001)” (Zittoun, 2007, p. 4, italics in the original).

The second and third stream of processes she mentions (in what follows this quotation) are learning and meaning-making, which makes it clear that she speaks in this extract about what she calls in other places the identity processes. Thus, in this case she uses repositioning as an equivalent to identity processes. However, a few lines later, Zittoun states that “repositioning implies *transformations of identities*” (2007, p. 4, italics in the original), a formulation that she also uses in Zittoun (2006), and which would imply that these are two different processes. For Benson (2001) positioning processes are the dynamics through which identity is constructed on the semiotic level. It is one important part of identity construction, but not the only one. This is the articulation I will retain here. I thus consider positioning movements as part of the process of identity construction, which relates to a relative stability and continuity. However, the understanding of positioning I rely on in this thesis partly overlaps with the notion of identity. Indeed, I consider that when positionings have a certain continuity and stability for a person, they become part of the person’s identity (and I still use the notion of positioning to designate these aspects of the person’s identity). For instance, when a person adopts a vegetarian positioning in a repeated and rather constant way and is consistently positioned by others in this way, we might speak about her developing a vegetarian identity. However, as my work focuses on positioning, I will more frequently use this term.

C. Responsibility

Through positioning and in particular through narratives, humans create their identity, a process that can be labelled self-creation, which is “an endless dialectic of fixed forms and uncertain improvisation” (Benson, 2001, p. 47). Self-creation is more particularly pointing to an active and future-oriented navigation of the landscape.

“‘Consciously shaping our characteristics’, observes Jonathan Glover, ‘is self-creation.’ (Glover, 1989, p.131) Conscious shaping of self involves forming an idea or image of the sort of person I want to be. This idea and my commitment to it influence the decisions I make about what I commit myself to, the activities on which I expend my energies” (Benson, 2001, p. 84).

This is related to what was discussed in the previous section regarding the feelings of control vs lack of control in the trajectory (see p. 42), self-creation participating to the feeling of control. Thus, we might wonder what allows self-creation? What does it rely on?

Benson identifies responsibility as playing a fundamental role in the process of self-creation. More precisely, he states that “[o]ne system of belief that enables the idea of self-creation is that which includes central beliefs about personal responsibility and personal powers to choose one’s own moral and intellectual path, subject of course to certain constraints” (Benson, 2001, p. 122). Thus, responsibility is considered here mainly as a system of beliefs. The belief of personal responsibility, together with beliefs about the possibility of choice, are a condition for self-creation (Benson, 2001). The relation between self-creation and personal responsibility might be understood as the development of a system of values that guides actions. Indeed, according to Zittoun, the exercise of responsibility at a personal level leads to the development of a system of orientation that is “a sort of internal compass that fixes values and classifies categories of action allowing the person to sort the possibilities offered to her”⁴ (Zittoun, 2008b, p. 176). This includes values that can be very general as well as more specific indications and categories, and there seems to be a psychological need for a certain degree of coherence between those levels and the concrete actions in which people engage. Values themselves can be defined as “motivational dispositions that are deeply rooted in individuals’ affective domains” (Branco & Valsiner, 2012, p. ix). I understand here the values as the content of these motivational dispositions (in other words: what is good or bad, what is valuable or not, what is important or unimportant) while the responsibility points toward the relational component of these questions (be it the relation to others or to oneself), as I will further develop in what follows.

Moreover, in the previously mentioned quote Benson highlights both personal responsibility and personal power to choose as playing a fundamental role in the possibility of self-creation. However, it is unclear how these two aspects articulate. According to Bergmann (1998), the “possibility of choice is the presupposition for the attribution of responsibility” (p.284), and this possibility of choice is attributed when it is recognized or stated that the person could have acted differently. Is this not slightly in contradiction with Zittoun’s statement (presented in the previous paragraph), that derives the choice from responsibility? This might not be the case. Indeed, Bergmann speaks about the attribution of responsibility, while Zittoun centers on its exercise. Moreover, Bergmann points to the possibility of choice, while Zittoun speaks about the system of orientation that guides the choice. Thus, both are not incompatible, and from the combination of both, the following picture emerges: the assumption that there is a possible choice is at the source of the attribution of responsibility, and if or when this responsibility is effectively exercised, the person develops the personal system of values that will guide these choices. In addition to that, there is a reciprocal attribution between fellow human

⁴ Original quotation in French : « une sorte de boussole interne qui fixe des valeurs et classe des catégories d’actions permettant à la personne de trier parmi les possibilités qui s’offrent à elle »

beings, however who and what exactly is included in this principle of reciprocity varies as it is culturally shaped. This (discursive) reciprocity appears in the etymological root of the word responsibility itself, as it derives from *response* (Bergmann, 1998). The interpersonal root of responsibility is also highlighted by Shotter for whom “as an individual personality, I can only be truly responsible for my own actions to the extent that I know how to respond to them as others do” (Shotter, 1974, p. 58). It is thus a fundamentally dialogical process and we can assume that responsibility is always oriented or addressed towards others.

a. Definition of responsibility

Beyond this etymological work, how can responsibility be defined? Benson distinguishes self-responsibility and other-responsibility, defining the former as “acknowledging and holding my-self accountable for the consequences of actions initiated by myself” (Benson, 2001, p. 132). There are several important aspects in this definition. Firstly, it implies an initiator of an action, in other words an agent or actor. Secondly, it implies an action, as well as a causal link between that action and something else that happens (in the world, to another person) which is the effect or consequence of that action. Thirdly, this causal link needs to be recognized (acknowledged) by the actor, and fourthly, the notion of accountability points toward a form of (often interpersonal, but we might broaden it) obligation, the *response*-ability underlined by Bergmann. I assume here that other-responsibility can be defined on the same basis as holding others accountable for the consequences of the actions they initiate. According to Frith (2014), this understanding of responsibility as defined to an important extent by the person’s agency is widely shared, and it notably underlies many legal systems. This conception has a rather long history, as the following quotation shows.

“Hellenistic philosophers, such as Epicurus, picked out two critical components. The first is the feeling of being an agent; it was I that caused the outcome (Τὴν ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ αἰ τίαν; the cause from me), rather than someone or something else (Bobzien, 2006). The second is the feeling that I could have chosen otherwise. This is also the basis for the experience of regret. ‘For it is on the grounds that it was possible for us also not to have chosen and not to have done this that we feel regret’ (On Fate: Alexander of Aphrodisias, see Bobzien, 1998)” (Frith, 2014, p. 138).

Self-responsibility has of course also a historical dimension, both on the individual and on the socio-historical plane. This is notably implied by what was discussed above regarding the articulation between power to choose and responsibility. Responsibility is attributed, negotiated and thus constructed in interactions, and the development of the beliefs about self-responsibility rely on the history of these interactions.

“Our disposition to assume responsibility for our actions and their consequences, to be self-responsible, develops from our own positioning as children. This in turn depends upon how our community constructs its version of ‘childhood’ and therefore on its own particular ‘make-a-person’ practices” (Benson, 2001, p. 136).

In this quotation, Benson highlights the social construction of responsibility, insisting in particular on the period of childhood. However, I assume that, as adults continue to position themselves and be positioned and more broadly continue to develop (Zittoun et al., 2013), the disposition to assume responsibility also continues to change. In addition to that, the development of responsibility also plays a role in the development of other dimensions of the individual, and Benson highlights in particular its importance for moral agency, the possibility to navigate and position oneself in the moral landscape. “Of particular importance for the development of self as a moral agent is how we come to think about ourselves as we acquire skills and habits of attributing responsibility to ourselves (‘self-responsibility’) or to other people (‘other-responsibility’)” (Benson, 2001, p. 131). The relation between responsibility and morality is also mentioned by Bergmann (1998), for whom the assignation of responsibility constitutes a proto-moral level of the dialogue, as well as by Shotter (1974), for whom placing responsibility at the center of psychology permits to address the moral dimension of the discipline. Indeed, this author places the feeling of responsibility at the core of his ontological and epistemological reflexion on psychology as a science that relies on a certain conceptualization of the world (and more particularly Shotter argues against a cartesian heritage) and at the same time produces understandings of the world and the human being that are related to these ontological and epistemological assumption. According to him,

“contingency and choice are central to the new psychology, it will make as much as discover the principles via which we can increase our personal powers of responsible action, and the task will be essentially a prospective one, for our powers will remain essentially incomplete” (Shotter, 1974, p. 68).

Following this, the moral issue for psychologists becomes their participation to shaping the understanding and thus the possibilities of development of human beings (see also Brinkmann, 2011), as “[c]ultural progress is surely still possible, and a science called psychology can surely assist in making the future transformations of man more responsible ones” (Shotter, 1974, p. 69).

b. Critical perspectives on responsibility

One important question regarding self-responsibility conceived as a system of beliefs about oneself is whether it might be a form of illusion about one’s agency. Benson discusses these issues in relation to torture (see chapter 10 in Benson, 2001). Anchored in a different tradition of research, Frith (2014) also

discussed these issues and his conclusions are quite interesting for socio-cultural psychology. Starting from a cognitive approach that focuses on the lowness of our awareness of the mechanisms that underlie our decisions and actions and thus assumes responsibility and agency are illusions, Frith (2014) highlights that instructions and discussion can affect subjective experience of volition and responsibility. More precisely, based on experiments and neurological observations, he assesses that “our awareness of our actions is very limited and very fragile. This fragility can lead to incorrect interpretations” (Frith, 2014, p. 141). This leads him to a quite negative prognostic on human responsibility and agency: if we are unable to be aware of the causes and mechanisms of our actions, our feeling of responsibility relies on weak bases. However, and as a counterweight to this negative statement, he then highlights that other experiments also show that interpersonal discussions might improve the awareness of actions and that changes in beliefs about free will affect the volitional behavior, which shows that development of the basis on which agency and responsibility rely is possible. What he concludes from this is the importance of the role of education and culture in the feeling of responsibility, confirming what Epicurus already assumed.

“Given the increasing evidence of how readily volitional behaviour and experience can be altered by instructions and beliefs, it would be surprising if there were no effects of upbringing and culture. Epicurus believed that we acquire the idea that we are causal agents through the observation that human beings, including ourselves, are praised and blamed for their actions (Bobzien, 2006). It is certainly the case that experiences of volition and responsibility arise rather slowly during the course of childhood” (Frith, 2014, p. 141).

In the light of socio-cultural approaches, this is not a surprise. Indeed, what Frith highlights through the experiments showing that beliefs about free will affect the volitional behavior is that the introduction of semiotic mediation in some psychological process is not a simple addition but implies the reorganization of the whole system, while all the components involved get articulated in new ways (Toomela, 2016). The observation that discussions allow more accurate perception (awareness) is also not surprising from the perspective of research on socio-cognitive conflict and research on argumentation, which showed how the decentration involved in certain social interactions involving divergence of points of view fosters cognitive development (Muller Mirza & Perret-Clermont, 2009; Perret-Clermont, 1979). Finally, with this recognition of the role of education and culture, we join here again Benson (2001), who also highlighted the way these dimensions shape the development of responsibility.

While Frith’s approach invites to be careful not to overvalue responsibility, but also underlines that its development is possible under certain conditions, he is not the only critical voice regarding the notion of responsibility. Some authors also worked on these issues in the field of consumption studies and

food studies, examining notably the conceptualizations of responsibility on which statements such as “vote with your fork” are constructed. While I will keep the discussion about food for the next chapter (see p. 116), the reflexion on responsibility these authors build on are already relevant here. In particular, an important distinction that is introduced is the one between the liability model and the social connection model. The most usual way to understand moral responsibility is what Iris Marion Young calls the liability model. This model has four core features:

“first, it involves isolating the responsible party from others, who are then absolved of any responsibility; second, it is backward looking and reactive because it focuses on assigning blame and punishment or praise and reward for wrongs already done; third, it classifies wrongs as deviations from what are presumed to be normal background conditions; and, fourth, by isolating the responsible party, it individualizes responsibility and identifies the rectificatory actions of, or the retributory response to, that person as the appropriate way of assuming or attributing responsibility” (Gilson, 2014, p. 120).

The linear conception of causality underlying these features makes this model inappropriate to analyze more systemic or structural injustices, such as those that affect what Gilson calls the food world, and that we understand here as an equivalent of foodscape. The social connection model constitutes an alternative to the liability model. While the liability model is legalistic, the social connection model is political, and has five features.

“First, the social connection model is premised on the recognition that injustice is often a product of ‘the participation of millions of people in institutions and practices that result in harms’ as well as of the failure of these people to act; thus, it does not seek to isolate particular individuals as wrongdoers. Second, it is forward looking and proactive in seeking to prevent future instances of injustice. Third, instead of presuming so-called ‘normal’ background conditions and imagining wrongs as departures from them, it calls upon us to question the ethical status of such background conditions and investigate to what extent they are preconditions for injustice. Fourth, responsibility is regarded as shared and thus ascribed to all those who are part of the structural processes and practices that lead to harm. Fifth, correspondingly, it holds that responsibility ‘can be discharged only by joining with others in collective action’” (Gilson, 2014, p. 121).

While this distinction is used by Gilson in order to address very broad dynamics that underlie and participate to shaping food related activities, responsibility, as highlighted in the previous pages, is negotiated in concrete daily interactions by individuals. In everyday life, people navigate with, together and against other human beings, take certain roles and participate to specific activities (Adams,

1990/2010; Lewin, 1943; McIntosh & Zey, 2004). They also interact with other dynamics, and McIntosh and Zey (2004) for instance show how gender issues participate in the negotiation of responsibility in the families. Therefore, I assume here that the discourses on responsibility notably discussed by Gilson (2014) are actualized and negotiated in everyday activities and interactions, where they also articulate with other dynamics such as gender roles⁵. All in all, both the psychological approach of responsibility and the debates regarding responsibility in the field of food consumption/production highlight (1) the importance of the idea of responsibility and the fact that it plays a fundamental role in human development as well as in potential social change, (2) the limits of this notions, and in particular the risk of an attribution of responsibility that relies on an illusion of agency as well as (3) the different conceptualizations that underlie it and that are more or less appropriate regarding the characteristics of the phenomenon.

To sum up, there are good reasons to handle this notion of responsibility carefully and to critically examine how, by whom and with which purpose it is used and how the current socio-cultural discourses on it evolve. However, Benson's work also highlights its importance in relation to other aspects of human development such as self-creation, and we also saw that the development of responsibility might be favored under certain conditions. I will close this section with the presentation of the way I will, based on what was introduced here, consider the notion of responsibility in this work: I understand responsibility as a system of beliefs concerning the relation between our actions as human beings and some event in the world. The relation is understood as causal, and thus the event as a consequence of one's action(s). In addition to that, we are accountable for these acts. Responsibility presupposes the possibility of choice as well as the conceptualization of oneself as an agent. As a system of belief concerning what "should" or "should not" be done, it is a form of moral positioning, however it points in particular to a relational (dialogical) aspect of the positioning, as it is the other (in all the diverse forms he can take) who convokes this positioning, as the etymology of "respons-ability" underlines it.

D. Creativity and affordances

In the previous subsection, I examined the notion of responsibility, and I highlighted in particular that responsibility relies on agency (see Benson, 2001). Responsibility is a notion that relates primarily to socio-discursive dynamics, as it implies issues such as the definition of who is responsible for what

⁵ I do not mean by that gender roles are independent of the discourses about responsibility, but this issue is beyond the subject of this thesis.

towards whom. As such, it is completely in the scope of what was primarily in the focus of Positioning Theory: the negotiation of rights and duties. Its relations with agency also imply to some extent socio-material practices; however, this is not the main focus of this notion. Thus, as a complement to the notion of responsibility, it seems necessary to turn towards a notion that will allow us to examine primarily the concrete everyday actions of the person in and on the material dimension of the world, and thus to study positioning in its concrete socio-material actualization and implications, and for this I propose here to use the notion of creativity, which implies the study of the “capacity to bring about the new” (Glăveanu, 2010a, p. 48). In addition to this focus on concrete actions, the notion of creativity also leads our attention towards a certain form of action in which the person is in an active position towards the world, an aspect to which I will come back later. Moreover, Benson (2001) often refers to creatively navigating the landscape, and also underlines the notion of self-creation, in particular as a social construction related to the emergence of agency and responsibility. In his work, creativity is mostly used to refer to the idea that the person is the author of her or himself (or of her or his positioning), that the person finds in her or his internal world the compass that will guide the navigation, which is labelled as self-creativity. However, he does not really propose a theorization of creativity, thus it seems particularly interesting to complete his approach and more generally the notion of positioning with a theory from the field of creativity studies, which should also notably allow me to move from a focus on self-creativity towards a conceptualization that gives more space to the transformation of the world. In what follows, my aim is not to provide an exhaustive discussion of this notion, but to present some of its aspects that are relevant in the frame of this thesis. I start with a few words on the conception of human beings that the socio-cultural theory on creativity presupposes. Then, I move towards the question of the articulation between creativity and positioning, after what I present in particular socio-material approaches on creativity. This will notably lead me to introduce the notion of affordances, integrated in Glăveanu’s model of creativity articulating normativity, intentionality and materiality.

I will in particular draw on a socio-cultural and socio-material understanding of creativity, which highlights in particular the social (Dafermos, 2018a; Glăveanu, 2019), cultural (Glăveanu, 2010a), perspectival (Glăveanu, 2015a, 2019) distributed (Glăveanu, 2013; Tanggaard, Laursen, & Szulevicz, 2016) and transformative (Daniels & Downes, 2014; Stetsenko, 2019) nature of creativity. The socio-cultural approach is historically rooted in Vygotsky’s work, who already highlighted the importance of imagination and creativity as the psychological processes related to the possibility to “become free of the immediate influence of external and internal stimuli” (Vygotsky, 1931/1991, p. 267) through the modification or creation of a situation. In this perspective, “creativity [is] a form of social, shared action” (Dafermos, 2018a, p. 216) rather than an individual characteristic. And creating is “an ongoing

process that generates innovation, rather than a thing” (Dafermos, 2018a, p. 218). The socio-cultural approach of creativity tries to address simultaneously the psychological, social and material dimensions of creativity, and approaches creativity as the mediated activity of “embodied beings who participate in a socio-material world” (Glăveanu et al., 2019, p. 2).

a. Being a creator: positioning, taking perspectives and transforming

That perspective taking and positioning play a fundamental role in creativity has been shown in the field of creativity studies (Gfeller, 2019; Glăveanu, 2019; Glăveanu & Gillespie, 2015). Notably, creativity has been defined as a process of repositioning and as emerging from a tension or gap between different perspectives. “To create means to reposition yourself in relation to the problem or issue at hand, develop new perspectives on it, and place these perspectives in a reflexive dialogue with each other (Glăveanu, 2015)” (Glăveanu, 2019, p. 165). This understanding places tensions and contradictions at the core of the dynamics of creativity (see also Dafermos, 2018a). Conversely, can the notion of creativity contribute to the understanding of positioning? If creativity can be conceptualized as a repositioning and a change of perspective, is any repositioning creative? I argue here that creativity points toward a particular dimension (and type) of positioning, if we conceptualize creativity in terms of a process of “negotiating difference and acting upon it in ways that either attempt to ‘close’ or ‘widen’ the multiple ‘gaps’ inscribed in our relation to the world” (Glăveanu & Gillespie, 2015, p. 13). In other words, creativity leads to focus on processes of positioning and perspective taking in which the person negotiates and acts upon the conflicts or tensions that emerge or exist between different positions or perspectives. Although in the previously quoted text, Glăveanu & Gillespie distanciate themselves from the criteria of novelty and usefulness, I consider here that it is still the case that these negotiations and actions will be more or less innovative and that their outcomes will be assessed in terms of value (by different others and/or the person him or herself). However, both value (or usefulness) and novelty (or innovation) cannot be defined in absolute and finite ways, but must be considered as socio-culturally and historically situated (Glăveanu, 2011).

This conceptualization of creativity in terms of positioning and perspective taking might evoke an abstract, merely mental process in which activity in the world is only secondary. This is definitely not the case according to socio-cultural psychologists, including those quoted in the previous paragraph but also originally in Vygotsky’s work (Vygotsky, 1931/1991, 1930/2004). The notion of creativity presupposes, from a socio-cultural perspective, a conception of the human being as an active and future-oriented person who is able, to some extent, to contribute in innovative and improvised ways to the shaping of the world or of some of its elements. “From a socio-cultural perspective, people are conscious creators of both history and their own life, societal change makers, rather than passive or

indifferent observers” (Dafermos, 2018a, p. 238). In that sense, creativity is first and foremost a “dynamic conception of all individuals as creators with the ability to modify, adjust, and change the environments in which they find themselves” (Tanggaard, 2013, p. 24). This understanding of creativity as a transformation of the world, a “continual process of ‘making the world’” (Tanggaard, 2013, p. 21) also meets the aim of this thesis to understand the individual’s positioning in the frame of ontogenesis and sociogenesis. This transformative stance also implies that creativity is “about dissent, that is, about resistance, discord, challenge, critique, and ultimately, about the acts of questioning and moving beyond what is given, a process that transcends (or deconstructs) the status quo and its entrenched structures, phenomena, and elements” (Stetsenko, 2019, p. 431).

However, this capacity or condition of creator is not a given fact. Researchers in creativity highlighted that although creativity is a very common, everyday characteristic of human action or behavior, under some conditions creative action does not unfold or not develop (Glăveanu, 2015; Winnicott, 1986). Similarly, research on agency or power to act show that in some circumstances, the people’s power to act is diminished to an extent that is pathogenic (Clot & Simonet, 2015). While agency and creativity are not equal notions, both highlight the suffering implied by a position of passivity, a position in which one’s behavior is experienced merely as a reaction or consequence of events that are beyond one’s control or influence⁶. On the opposite, these studies also equate the position of being able to act upon oneself and the surrounding world with health. Thus, the possibilities of creation described by Dafermos are indeed not exceptional and not reserved to a specific category of people (see also Daniels & Downes, 2014; Glăveanu, 2012a; Winnicott, 1986); however, it is not a given universal characteristic of human beings, but can be threatened, destroyed or prevented from developing in certain situations.

b. Creativity and socio-materiality

The world that is transformed in creative ways by people is also socio-material. “We create not as isolated minds but as embodied beings who participate in a socio-material world” (Glăveanu et al., 2019, p. 2). Some authors focused in particular and explicitly on the socio-material dimension as an essential component of the process of creativity.

“Sociomaterial creativity in everyday life implies an awareness of how different environments in everyday life do not merely form creativity and create conditions for it but also themselves represent a substantial component of creativity. [...] materiality and artefacts are to be seen as substantial components of creativity in itself” (Tanggaard, 2013, p. 20).

⁶ A similar process is highlighted by Strauss and Glaser regarding trajectories, see p. 41.

In this perspective, Tanggaard, Laursen and Szulevicz (2016) notably propose to combine the socio-cultural theoretical frame regarding creativity with Latour's ANT, drawing on Schraube's statement that "it is not only the subjects that do something with the things; the things also do something with the subjects" (Schraube, 2009, p. 300). In their study on handball, Tanggaard, Laursen and Szulevicz (2016) highlight that material components and entities (and notably, in their study, the ball) participate to shape the players' intentions, possibilities and moves and thus, their possibility to play creatively (both on individual and collective level). These socio-material elements are thus considered as actors in a Latourian sense.

Another author who aimed at integrating more fundamentally socio-materiality in creativity studies is Glăveanu. In order to do so, he associated creativity with Gibson's notion of affordance, which "eloquently captures the mutual dependence between our goals and actions, on the one hand, and what the environment can offer us to attain goals and facilitate action on the other" (Glăveanu, 2012b, p. 195). Affordances can be defined

"as a skilled agent's domain-relevant 'perceptibles' that bear task-strategic information and have some sort of demand characteristics somewhere on the gamut between (even physically) compelling, optional, so-so, unattractive, or simply informing of momentarily undesired, but perhaps later options. As we will show, affordances can be immediate, gradually emergent, or only usable given preparatory actions, clear or fuzzy, and either accurate or misleading" (Kimmel & Rogler, 2018, p. 4)

Thus, affordances are determined by the relation between an actor (with his skills and intentions) and an object in a specific environment (Glăveanu, 2016; Rasmussen, Østergaard, & Glăveanu, 2017) and allows to "turn [...] creativity from simple ideation into concrete, situated action" (Glăveanu, 2016, p. 12). Indeed, the notion of affordance is primarily linked to action, and more precisely to action potentials (Glăveanu, 2016). Drawing on this notion, Glăveanu proposes to redefine creativity as "the process of perceiving, exploiting, and "generating" novel affordances during socially and materially situated activities" (2012b, p. 196). More specifically, starting from a definition of "what is usually done" as the intersection of normativity ("what the person should do"), intentionality ("what the person would do") and affordances ("what the person could do"), he understands creativity as the extension of this area of what is done. This extension can happen in three directions: the direction of "uninvented affordances" (where the person creates new affordances and thus extends what she could do), the direction of "unexploited affordances" (where the person exploits affordances that are usually not used because they are outside of the realm of what she should do) and the direction of unperceived affordances (for these notions and a figure regrouping them, see Glăveanu, 2012b, p. 197).

In this thesis, my aim is to examine how a person creatively shapes his or her foodway in the concreteness of the everyday activity of preparing a meal. Following Glăveanu (2016), I consider creativity as the negotiation of tensions emerging at the dynamic intersections of normativity (should), intentionality (would) and materiality (could). In my framework, I relate normativity to positioning, especially in its moral dimensions and linked to the notion of responsibility; I relate intentionality to the notion of perspective, as the movement (semiotic and/or socio-material) of the person to the world (how she understands it and what she aims to do to it); and I relate materiality to affordances, which highlight what are the possibilities that are offered by the environment to the person (and perceived by him or her). Creativity implies a transformation of the world and, through this, the person is also transformed.

E. Overview of the theoretical framework

This project is elaborated with socio-cultural psychology as a general background. From this perspective, the interrelation and co-development between the individual subject and her or his socio-cultural environment are at the heart of the psychologist's interests. Moreover, socio-cultural psychology highlighted that human activity and psychological processes are mediated (by tools and artifacts – which relate more to the socio-material dimensions involved - as well as semiotically – which notably points towards dynamics of meaning-making), as well as historically situated and thus unfolding in the irreversible time. Socio-cultural psychology also highlighted the fundamental role of the social in human development. For this aspect, I refer in particular to dialogical approaches, which underlines the role of the other for (or in) the self and provides a frame for studying their interactions and interdependences. In order to avoid an approach that would be too abstract, detached from everyday concrete activities with their constraints and possibilities, I complete this general theoretical framework with approaches that stressed the role of socio-materiality in human development, which lead to pay attention to the role of objects, artefacts, settings as well as to the body. Finally, as a more epistemological background, pragmatism also participates to the shaping of this theoretical framework. Pragmatism brings the attention on acting, and more particularly on possibilities of acting as the indicator of the value of knowledge, while also reminding that acting and knowing are always related to specific interests. These four complementary and partly overlapping approaches meet in a conceptualization of human mind and activity in which dynamic relations of interdependency and co-construction, as well as the socio-cultural, material and historical nature of the processes are at the core.

In this general frame, I use a certain number of more specific conceptual tools. The most central one is the notion of positioning, which I use to describe the way the person relates to certain elements in the world. The positioning can be of different types, and I distinguish in particular socio-material, socio-discursive and moral positioning. With the notion of positioning comes also the notion of perspective, which is more focused on the relation to the element itself (what is this element for this person), and the notion of landscape, which designates the relevant environment in which the positioning takes place and which allows to situate it. Moreover, I combine the notion of positioning with several other concepts, in order to explore in more details some of the dimensions of the processes.

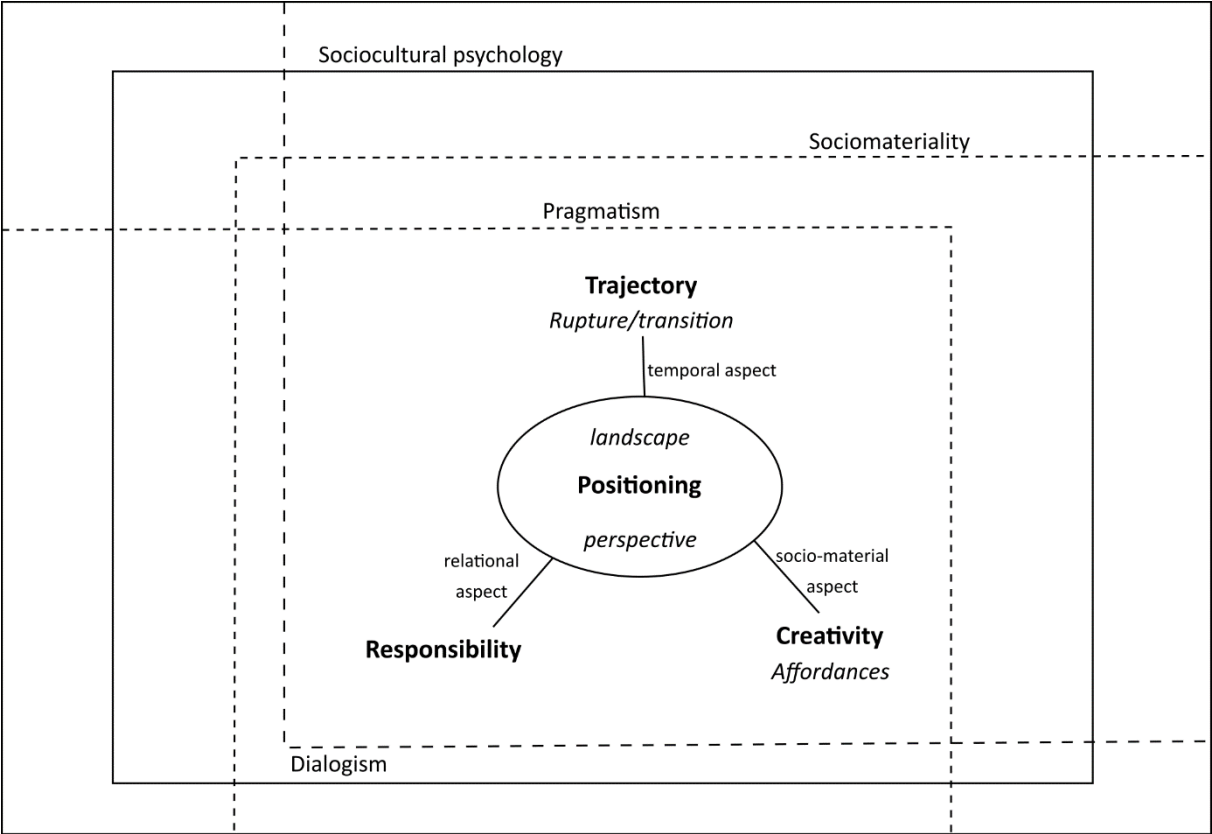


Figure 1 Overview of the theoretical frame

Firstly, I refer to the notion of trajectory, understood as a longterm pathway of interdependences between the person and the environment, in which the person can experience control and lake of control on the events. This notion brings the focus on the ontogenetic dynamics of positioning processes. In this frame, I also use the notions of rupture and transitions as analytical tools allowing to describe the trajectory. Secondly, I use the notion of responsibility, defined as a system of beliefs about the relations between one’s actions and the world, and the accountability for these relations. This brings the focus on more microgenetic dynamics, as well as issues related to values (and thus moral positioning, although the other forms of positioning are not absent). This notion also allows to better understand the way some ruptures and transitions are negotiated by the person. Finally, I use the

notion of creativity, which brings the focus even more on microgenetic dynamics, as well as on the socio-material dimensions of positioning processes. In order to stress in particular this aspect, I also refer to the notion of affordances. Figure 1 provides an overview of the theoretical frame.

CHAPTER THREE: FOOD, FOODWAYS AND FOOD RELATED ACTIVITIES

The aim of this chapter is to provide some clarifications about and around the consumption of food of animal origin. This clarification relies on three main reasons. Firstly, I argue that the issues, problems and debates presented below are important challenges on a societal level. In this sense, participating to studying them is both justifiable and needed if we consider (and I do so) that science can and should tackle such kind of societal challenges, participate to a better understanding of them and maybe the elaboration of solutions or alternatives (this being said, the contribution of this thesis stays modestly on the understanding level). Secondly, it should become clear in what follows to what extent the landscape of the consumption and production of food of animal origin is currently changing. These changes in the landscape prompt positioning and repositioning processes and thus provides an interesting context for a psychological study of these processes. While the first reason was rather ethical, this second one is more methodological. Thirdly, following the assumption that any psychological process is always historically, socially and culturally situated, and that this situatedness matters for the unfolding of the process, it is not only useful but necessary to have an understanding of the context in which the study takes place. This understanding is required in order to be able to grasp what the participants encounter in their everyday life and therefore what are the issues which possibly prompt them into positioning processes, what are the debates they are referring to and, in dialogical terms, what are the voices that appear in their discourses. But this framing might also help to grasp the power dynamics and the historical evolution that are beyond the participants' understanding but which nonetheless participate to shaping their perceptions and possibilities of action concerning these issues.

1. THE FOOD SYSTEM

In order to understand the way individuals situate and position themselves in the current landscape of food and foodways, the way they care about the provenance and impact of what is in their plate, some basic information about the food production system are required. The aim of this section is to provide a short overview of the current food system, with a focus on products of animal origin (PAO) and especially on meat, and to present its main stakes. This is a quite complex task, as food system includes "all the elements (environment, people, inputs, processes, infrastructures, institutions, etc.) and

activities that relate to the production, processing, distribution, preparation and consumption of food, and the outputs of these activities, including socio-economic and environmental outcomes” (High Level Panel of Experts on Food Security and Nutrition, 2014, p. 29). The aim of this section is thus not to exhaustively present this system, but to provide some basic information allowing the reader to get familiar with this world. In order to do so, I will in this section offer a review of (1) a few quantitative information about the recent evolution of farming, with a focus on Switzerland, (2) financial and economic interests of the different actors in the food system, (3) the working conditions, especially in meat industry, (4) the environmental issues involved in food production, (5) the field of animal ethics and (6) health and nutritional issues. However, before that and as a general introduction, in the present section I will address the question whether food is really a topic for a social scientists, and provide a few very basic and general information and definitions about the food system.

Far from being a merely technical question that concerns only “hard” sciences, the food production system is a network of interrelation constituted by a series of actors with diverse interests, intentions, possibilities and limitations which, as consequence, is certainly also an object for the human and social sciences. Social sciences, including psychology, are not only a nice complement to “hard” sciences, but are fundamental in order to understand this system (see Forney, 2013; Pretty et al., 2018; Ziegler, 2011). If this reasoning has been defended regarding agriculture and food production in general, it concerns *a fortiori* also livestock farming and animal industry. According to Mintz, “Food processing includes everything that must be done to foods between harvesting (or capture) and cooking - winnowing, grinding, sifting, washing, peeling, grating, straining, and so on. It also involves changing the composition of the food to make it edible or more appetizing” (Mintz, 1996, p. 42). This necessarily also implies dynamics of socialization, of knowledge and of power. When thinking about food production, it is obvious to think about farmers. Nevertheless, they are far from being the only actors, and the others might be more or less visible and known to the consumer. Some people such as the truck driver, the butcher or the salesperson are more or less directly in contact with the food, and some others such as the manager or the trader might never be really in contact with it. Moreover, in certain cases we might wonder if there is someone one could call a farmer. Some huge “farms” are directed by managers and the employees working there are underqualified (and underpaid) labor force (Porcher, 2011). On the other hand, food consumption, as we will see (notably in section 2 and 3 of this chapter), is also a highly cultural and social phenomenon (Anderson, 2005; Montanari, 2010). These interdependencies and all the activities implied in relation to food definitely make it an interesting object for social scientists.

A. Industrialisation of farming

As a starting point, let us remember that the current food system is historically situated and unique.

As Larue summarizes it:

"The XXth century sees the birth and the development in the western world of a completely unprecedented phenomenon in the history of humanity – the industrialization of animal rearing - , which allows almost unbelievable gains in productivity and modifies the daily diet of a large part of the population. The consumption of products of animal has never been so high" ⁷ (Larue, 2015, p. 219).

Furthermore, the system of production is also characterized by an increase in the distance between the consumer and the other parts of the system (production and transformation). In the current situation might be described as "a world in which, more and more, people do not consume what they produce and do not produce what they consume, even much of their food" (Mintz, 1996, p. 10). This distance notably implies issues of transparency. "Transparency in food production means that you can see the whole process from planting to eating, or, in the case of meat, from birth to death, and from butcher to food" (List, 2018, p. 173). Issues of knowledge and control are at stake, regarding notably the animals living conditions or the working conditions of the different people engaging with the animal, the carcass or the meat. Most basically, more transparency allows the consumer to make more informed choices (List, 2018), but this also involves dynamics of trust and distrust regarding food and raises the question of who is responsible to control, guarantee and regulate what (Levenstein, 2012, 2013).

Factory farming (or industrial farming – I use both as synonyms) and traditional farming are currently the two main ways through which we obtain meat. Bramble mentions a few others, that are sometimes considered as (more moral) alternatives, namely: hunting, scavenging, sampling (cutting parts of an animal without causing its death) and synthetizing (Belshaw, 2016). Sampling seems to be a hypothetical possibility rather than a practice that has been reported, and I suppose here that it has been proposed by the author as a thought-experiment. Synthetic meat in contrast is currently discussed and developed as an alternative to meat from an animal. Scavenging seems also quite anecdotic. It is a method that has probably been used in prehistory (Anderson, 2005). It starts

⁷ Original : Le XXe siècle voit naître et se développer en Occident un phénomène totalement inédit dans l'histoire de l'humanité - l'industrialisation de l'élevage -, qui permet des gains de productivité à peine croyables et modifie la diète quotidienne d'une grande partie de la population. Jamais, à aucun moment, on n'aura consommé autant de produits d'origine animale.

nowadays to be discussed and proposed as a possible complement to meat production (Bruckner, 2016), but stays very marginal and unknown. As a consequence, meat production also very often implies slaughtering which, since the beginning of the 19th century, in France, started to be done in slaughterhouses and was forbidden as a private practice. Slaughterhouses are situated at the periphery of towns, and it is not possible anymore for butchers to kill the animals in their shop, and therefore also for the people to see the slaughtering. The reasons that motivated the creation of slaughterhouses were health considerations as well as sensitivity and moralization of the population (Vialles, 1989). In the French speaking part of Switzerland, similar trends are reported. The creation of public slaughterhouses also goes back to the first half of the 19th century and is related to similar reasons (see Zaslowsky, 2016). This movement of slaughterhouses from inside to outside of the towns is only one aspect of the immense changes that animal farming underwent. The extent of these changes are sometimes difficult to grab, especially because most of us are not in direct contact with the farming world anymore (Droz & Forney, 2007) and marketing tends to present a picture that is not reflecting the current reality of farming. Statistics do not directly describe the conditions of life of animals and humans working with them; however, they allow to highlight the importance of the change, they provide some precious information about the current situation and they show that these issues are not merely situated in the past. Quite the opposite, these are contemporary challenges.

Worldwide, the numbers of animals currently killed in the frame of meat production is impressive. In 2000, Spencer (1993/2000) was writing about eleven billions fowls and four billion livestock slaughtered each year. However, there might be important differences between countries and regions (Steinfeld et al., 2006). What about the context of this study? It is actually easier to find information about France, were more studies are conducted. However, the trend is very similar in Switzerland (and in other WEIRD -western, educated, industrialized, rich and democratic – countries, see Henrich et al., 2010), thus I will start with a few numbers from France which are very informative about the situation. Pigs and chicken rearing are the areas that are the most radically touched by the industrialization process. Between 1970 et 2004, the number of pig farms decreased from 800 000 to 19 000 in France, which means that 97,63% of the farms disappeared. However, during this time, the average number of animals per farm went from 64 to 662. “The interval between delivery and servicing for sows has been reduced from 21 days in 1970 to 8 days in 2003 [almost 3 times less]. During the same period, time for weaning for piglets went from 52 to 25 days ; 20% of the piglets die in the maternity ward”⁸ (Garrouste & Mitralias, 2013, p. 261). In the area of chicken production, the acceleration appears also

⁸ Original : L'intervalle entre mise à bas et saillie pour les truies a été réduit de 21 jours en 1970 à 8 jours en 2003 [presque 3x moins]. Le temps de sevrage des porcelets est passé sur la même période de 52 à 25 jours ; 20% des porcelets nés meurent à la maternité.

clearly. They are raised in 40 days, which is four times less than in 1950. One square meter welcomes 22 animals in industrial standards, 9 animals in organic production (Garrouste & Mitralias, 2013).

In Switzerland too, the number of farms tends to decrease. In 20 years, between 1996 and 2016, it went from 79 000 to 52 300, while the surface per farm increased by 50% approximately during the same period. The big majority of farms in Switzerland is active in animal production. In 2016, there were 1560 bovines, 10 890 chicken, 1450 pigs, 80 goats, 340 sheep and 60 horses in Switzerland (only production animals are taken into account here). Between 2006 and 2016, the livestock diminished by 11%, and the number of horses increased by 29%. The number of pigs stayed more or less similar, while 60% of the companies stopped their activities. You can imagine what this means as an increase of numbers of animals per farm (Meyre, 2017). Switzerland produce 60% of the needs of its population in food (in kilocalories). In 2014, it imported for 10 800 millions of Swiss francs of food and exported for 8600 million (Meyre, 2017). In 2016, Switzerland produced 483 005 tonnes of meat (slaughter weight) and imported 521 497 tonnes of feed. Since 2008, the imported feed does not contain any GMOs (OFAG, 2017).

B. Financial and economic interests

The huge amounts of meat produced and sold of course also generated important movements of money. As all other transactions, the financial exchanges are part of a capitalist neoliberal market that conditions the relations between the actors and the evolution of the production system. Ziegler (2011) shows in a detailed way how this financial logic, embedded in big companies who aim at controlling the market, enters into conflict with the fundamental right to food. Indeed, the ability to produce, to transform and to prepare food are deeply inhabited with issues of power (Mintz, 1996), and the transformations of agriculture mentioned in the previous section also imply important changes in those who control certain parts of the system.

“Since the mid-twentieth century, farming has transitioned from family-owned, diversified, and independent farms that raise a variety of crops and a few animals to farm factories that produce one crop or animal in intensive, confined space and are owned by a few corporations rather than families” (Grauerholz & Owens, 2015, p. 566).

Indeed, the current situation of the food market is characterized by multinational corporations accumulating power, while local populations and especially farmers see their power reduced (Budolfson, 2018). Paradoxically, "the hungriest people are often those who feed the rest of us" (Anderson, 2005, p. 214).

While in the context of this study, food supply is largely sufficient when not excessive⁹ (see also Rozin, 2015), the Food and Agriculture Organization (from the United Nations) reminds us that “hundreds of millions of pastoralists and smallholders depend on livestock for their daily survival and extra income and food” (Gerber et al., 2013, p. 1) and that those are “under increasing pressure resulting from competition over land and water resources” (Gerber et al., 2013, p. 1). However, the statement claiming that the current food production is not sufficient for the growing world population is invalidated by Ziegler (2011), United Nations special rapporteur for the right to food between 2000 and 2008¹⁰. He highlights the use of starvation as a political and military weapon, the lack of appropriated infrastructure that would allow to stock and transport harvest, the interests of private transcontinental companies (interests that are in contradiction with the right to food) and which are however notably defended by the World Trade Organization, the World Bank and the United States. “For the United States and their mercenary organizations – The World Trade Organization (WTO), the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank – right to food is an aberration. For them, human rights are only political and civil rights”¹¹ (Ziegler, 2011, p.155). Basically, what Ziegler denounces is a conception of food as a product on a market (which must be bought), as this conception is in contradiction with the idea of food as a basic right (see also Gilson, 2014).

Situations of starvation and these huge international institutions might seem miles away from the context of this study. However, regarding farming and food, Switzerland has a neoliberal approach that completely corresponds to the logic that Ziegler (2011) denounces. Moreover, let us not forget that the participants of this study live in a highly connected and interdependent world, and that the food they eat also partly comes from many different countries. For instance, the fact that WEIRD countries as well as China buy large portions of land in Africa has a disastrous effect on local farmers there (Ziegler, 2011). Another example is the perverse effect of the subvention to agriculture by the European Union. These subventions allow European countries such as France to produce and export chicken for incredibly low prices notably to West Africa, where the local farmers are unable to compete

⁹This relates to the problem of food waste. « Some of [the food] gets eaten. A lot of it does not. [...] up to 30% of rice produced fails to reach consumers. Up to 50% of fresh produce fails to do so. Nearly 40% of food in the United States produces is wasted” (Barnhill, Budolfson, & Doggett, 2018, p. 1-2). According to the website foodwaste.ch, in Switzerland one third of the food is wasted (= never eaten), which represents 2 millions of tonnes of food every year (<http://foodwaste.ch/que-signifie-le-food-waste/?lang=fr>, 27.05.2019).

¹⁰ See also Anderson (2005) on the sufficiency of current food production.

¹¹ Original quotation in French: « Pour les Etats-Unis et leurs organisations mercenaires – l’Organisation mondiale du commerce (OMC), le Fonds monétaire international (FMI) et la Banque mondiale -, le droit à l’alimentation est une aberration. Pour eux, il n’est de droits de l’homme que civils et politiques. »

with these highly industrialized conditions of production and finally stop to produce (Orliange, 2013). This example illustrates how strongly the whole question of food production is taken in political and economic dynamics. In a similar way, Caron and his colleagues underline that the worldwide food crisis in 2008 was not due to insufficient food production, but to inequalities in purchase power, volatility of the market and lack of regulation and planning (Caron et al., 2018). These dynamics are anchored in neoliberalism, which is defined as a

“movement in politico-economic thought and practice to reduce the role of the state and government, and shift the provision of services to the corporate sector and burden of responsibility to individuals as private actors. [...] Neoliberal theory holds that the market is best left to regulate itself and, further, that other spheres of human life are best modeled after the economic sphere, understood and regulated in terms of economic rationality” (Gilson, 2014, p. 123).

It furthers trade liberalization and deregulation of industry, and submits all other sectors (such as education, health, social relation...) to the economic logic of cost-benefits analysis (Gilson, 2014). According to Garrouste and Mitralias (2013), one of the fundamental problems in the current agri-food system is that it tries to apply to the living an industrialist vision that goes against the living, that exhausts and destructs it. Therefore, change is impossible without questioning property, and notably the property of big agri-food and distribution companies.

In terms of socio-economic dynamic, the argument that the rich people's cattle eats the poor people's cereals points toward a specificity of meat regarding the inequalities between groups of human beings. Indeed, in order to produce meat, land and feed is necessary, and this argument highlights that if the resources used for raising animals were used in order to produce vegetal food, more calories could be produced and thus more people could be nourished with these resources. This is what leads Lesire-Ogrel to state that “meat symbolizes the overconsumption of western societies” ¹² (1993, p. 30). Moreover, the FAO highlights an increase in the use of feed produced especially for animals (vs feed produced locally and constituted mainly by resources that had no value as food) related the development of industrial farming. “In 2002, a total of 670 million tonnes of cereals were fed to livestock, representing roughly one-third of the global cereal harvest” (Steinfeld et al., 2006, p. 12). While meat is an important part of the food system that generates immense profits, there are of course also financial interests associated to development of veg*an options, notably with the development of false meat or false eggs (Larue, 2015). In 2017, a popular financial news magazine in Switzerland ran

¹² « La viande symbolise la surconsommation des sociétés occidentales. »

the headline: “La viande n’a plus la cote. Pourquoi le veggie cartonne”¹³. This could be translated in the following way: “Meat is not popular anymore. Why veggie succeeds”. However, the vocabulary used (“avoir la cote”) can also refer to the trade value.

C. Working conditions

Farmers are the professional group with the highest suicide rate. Indeed, the neoliberal logic and the power relations between the different actors I highlighted in the previous point do not only have consequences on what food is available for whom, but also on the working conditions in the agri-food system. I develop a little bit this point for two reasons. The first one is to go a bit further in the explanations of the complexities of the food system to which my participants are confronted, and notably to show that it is not only about institutions and abstract ideological debates, but that it has concrete socio-material implications. The second reason is that some of my participants refer to working conditions in the food sector in the data, thus it is important to understand what they are talking about. I will start with some general considerations about the farmers’ working conditions on a global level, before focusing on some more specific case studies from France which allow to go deeper in the processes at play for the farmers and other workers in the agricultural sector, and I will finally focus on the situation in Switzerland. Considering other countries than Switzerland is based on different reasons. First of all, the neoliberal model is affecting the world globally (Ziegler, 2011) and I assume that despite of local and regional specificities in the form it takes, its consequences and logic are to some extent similar. Secondly, consumers in Switzerland do buy foods produced in other countries (40% of the foods are imported, see Meyre, 2017). Although some parts of the food production system might (partly) escape to its logic, I assume here that most of the foods that are available on the Swiss market are produced and exchanged in contexts affected by or submitted to a neoliberal logic. The participants to this study might notably encounter the issue of the working conditions in distant countries through medias¹⁴.

Worldwide, working conditions of farmers and peasants deteriorate.

¹³ Bilan, février 2017, numéro 202.

¹⁴ See for instance the articles about strawberries cultivated in Spain and sold in Swiss supermarkets (article from 2012: <https://www.lematin.ch/suisse/La-fraise-en-hiver-absurde/story/29955728>; article from 2018: <https://www.tdg.ch/monde/europe/saisonnières-violettes-revelent-face-sombre-fraises-espagnoles/story/30165067>) and about cacao from Côte d’Ivoire transformed by a Swiss company (article and report from 2019: <https://www.rts.ch/info/suisse/10151991-du-cacao-illegal-dans-le-chocolat-suisse.html>).

“The agricultural work of peasants and workers is overexploited and alienated. If this is the case since the beginning of capitalism, the last decades were marked by a qualitative jump. The increase in suicides, in India as well as in France, is a manifest sign of this” ¹⁵ (Garrouste & Mitralias, 2013, p. 258).

Garrouste and Mitralias (2013) also demonstrate, through the example of France, that the gains in productivity in agriculture over the last decades were beneficial to upstream industry (seeds, pesticides,...) and downstream industries (transformation and distribution), but not to the workers in the agricultural sector itself. They also present a few numbers highlighting the evolution of the sector in France, which is characterized by the “reduction of the number of farms, increase in the average surface, collapse of agricultural employment, growth of the income gap, transformation of the legal and capitalistic situation of an important part of the farms” ¹⁶ (Garrouste & Mitralias, 2013, p. 260). These transformations have an influence on the working conditions, including in the sector of animal farming :

“loss of autonomy – sometimes radical, upheaval of the relation between the farmer and the animals he raises, deterioration of the psychological and physical working conditions, deterioration of the life and working conditions of animals, overexposure to dangerous products, starting with pesticides” ¹⁷ (Garrouste & Mitralias, 2013, p. 261).

The working conditions in industrial animal farming tends to be understudied in comparison to the attention given to animals through the studies about animal welfare and the labelling processes around it. A study conducted in France shows that workers from the domain of pig farming share the feeling that their work is not recognized by their bosses, by other professionals such as technical staff or veterinarians, and more globally that it is socially stigmatized. Moreover, the current social concern for animal well-being is perceived as a threat for their own work. The workers see these regulations as obstacles to their activities and the progress in the sector. In addition to that, they have the feeling that their own well-being is less important than the one of the pigs. Nevertheless, the pleasure to be

¹⁵ Original quotation in French : « Le travail agricole paysan et ouvrier est surexploité et aliéné. S’il en est ainsi depuis l’aube du capitalisme, les dernières décennies ont marqué un saut qualitatif. La recrudescence des suicides, en Inde comme en France, en est un signe manifeste. »

¹⁶ Original quotation in French: « réduction du nombre d’exploitations, augmentation de la surface moyenne, effondrement de l’emploi agricole, accroissement des écarts de revenus, transformation de la situation juridique et capitalistique d’une grande part des exploitations. »

¹⁷ Original quotation in French: « perte d’autonomie parfois radicale, bouleversement du lien entre le paysan et les animaux qu’il élève, détérioration des conditions de travail psychiques et physiques, détérioration des conditions de vie et de travail des animaux, surexposition aux produits dangereux, à commencer par les pesticides. »

performant is also evoked by these people. The authors also highlight the physical strenuousness of the work and the risks for health, which are understated in the workers discourses. Among these factors, the smell, the noise, inhalation of gases and contact with chemicals are underlined (Molinier & Porcher, 2015). Difficult working conditions are also reported for people working in slaughterhouses, and notably the physical difficulties and dangers for health (smell, noise, tools, risk to be hurt by an animal; see Rémy, 2009), lack of recognition, increasing pace of work and reduction of spaces for communication (Porcher, 2003). Rémy (2009) also underlines the use of humor and jokes as a way to cope with the omnipresence of death and the act of killing, the tension between those who are initiated to the world of the slaughterhouse and those who are not, as well as the construction of a strong distinction among the workers between those who kill and those who do not.

Porcher is one of the figures currently denouncing, also in the media, the industrialization of animal farming, regarding the animals' living conditions as well as the farmers' living conditions. According to her, both of them are losing the possibility to express "free behaviors". The farmers are losing "the meaning of their occupation, and very often their dignity" ¹⁸ (Porcher, 2004, p. 248-249). However, human beings have a few additional possible means of defense in comparison to animals, which are cynicism, compassion and productionist ideology. In her ethnography of a slaughterhouse, Rémy (2009) also highlights the use of humor as well as the recourse to a representation of the animal as dangerous as strategies of the workers regarding their activity.

While it is quite difficult to find similar studies regarding the situation in Switzerland and even more difficult to get a general picture of Swiss agriculture from the point of view of social sciences (Forney, 2013), I assume here that the situation is similar, although maybe less strong, in Switzerland, as the country took the same path of industrialization (Meyre, 2017) as its neighbor. Moreover, at least since the 90's, the political strategy regarding agriculture in Switzerland clearly took a neoliberal orientation (Droz & Forney, 2007) that corresponds to the dynamics highlighted by Garroust and Mitralias (see above). Droz and Forney's (2007) study also highlights similar consequences on peasants, as illustrated in the following quotation :

"The evolution of the swiss farming politic importantly weakend the situation of farmers, be it on the political, technocratic, banking, industrial, media, economic or legal level. Today, the agricultural world is uncertain, the elements that are constitutive of the farming universe are all

¹⁸ Original quotations in French : « Comportements libres » ; « le sens de leur métier, et bien souvent leur dignité »

precarious, for one reason or for another. On the farms, this can only lead [...] to a situation where uncertainty prevails, with its psychological and social consequences”¹⁹ (p. 56).

In addition to that, there are also some evidences that the difficulties for the slaughterhouses to recruit also exists in Switzerland²⁰.

D. Environmental impact

From the impact of the current animal production system on workers, let us move now to an issue that concerns each one of us and that became more and more a topic during the time that this project lasted, namely the environmental crisis we currently face. Agriculture is considered as one of the most important contributors to climate change, and has also an important impact on land degradation, biodiversity loss and water pollution. The livestock-sector is particularly in the scope of current debates in this area, for three main reasons. Firstly, it is less efficient to produce animal proteins than the same amount of plant protein. Secondly, livestock farming is often located in areas where weak institutions allow deforestation and important soil degradation. Thirdly, the environment in which this farming is located doesn't often allow sufficient recycling of waste coming from livestock (Gerber et al., 2013). In 2013, according to estimations of the FAO, livestock represented 14.5% of the anthropogenic greenhouse gases (Gerber et al., 2013, p. 15). Among the livestock sector, (beef and dairy) cattle represent 65% of the emission, while pigs, small ruminants, poultry and buffalos contribute (for each of them) at the height of 7 to 10%. Nevertheless, the same report also underlines that for each category of animals, the emissions vary importantly according to “different agro-ecological conditions, farming practices and supply chain management” (Gerber et al., 2013, p. 17). The environmental effects of animals in food systems can be distinguished in two main categories. First of all, the animals need feed, which comes mainly from industrial agriculture, thus implying fossil fuel, fertilizers and pesticides, sometimes deforestation (Barnhill, Budolfson, & Doggett, 2018; Steinfeld et al., 2006). On the other hand, they produce waste. While a small amount of the feces can be used to fertilize, the large amounts produced currently are polluting water and soil and produce greenhouse gases (Barnhill et al., 2018; Grauerholz & Owens, 2015).

¹⁹ Original quotation in French : « L'évolution de la politique agricole suisse a fortement fragilisé la situation des agriculteurs, que ce soit sur le plan politique, technocratique, baccalariats, industriel, médiatique, économique ou juridique. On se trouve aujourd'hui dans un monde agricole incertain où les éléments qui constituent l'univers paysan sont tous précaires, à un titre ou à un autre. Au sein des exploitations agricoles, cela ne peut donc conduire, comme nous le verrons plus loin, qu'à une situation où l'incertitude prévaut, avec ses conséquences psychologiques et sociales. »

²⁰ See the newspaper article Rotili, Dupont, Di Roma, & Müller (2018).

Estimating that milk and meat production will double (worldwide) between 1999 and 2050, the FAO argues that it is necessary to cut by half the environmental impact of each unit produced. This would nevertheless only stabilize the damages, and not reduce them (Steinfeld et al., 2006). Doing so, the FAO argues for a technical response oriented towards the means of production. On the other hand, some authors argue that changes in the production are not sufficient, they must be combined with changes in the modes of consumption.

“[Sustainable intensification] is a necessary but not sufficient component of transformation in the wider food system. Changes in consumption behaviors (for example, in animal products), as well as reductions in food waste, may make greater contributions to the overall sustainability of food and agriculture systems, as well as helping to address the challenge of over-consumption of calorie-dense food, which has become a global threat to health. System level changes will be necessary from production to consumption, and eating better is now a priority for affluent countries” (Pretty et al., 2018, p. 442).

According to Garrouste and Mitralias (2013), the two main stakes for the agri-food system today are the question of nutrition (eliminating starvation and malnutrition) and the environmental crisis. “To satisfy human needs in an ecological manner appears as an unavoidable step on the way to emancipation. At the heart of this challenge, we find the agricultural question in its triple dimension : social, ecological and democratic” ²¹ (Garrouste & Mitralias, 2013, p. 258). While the large majority currently recognizes the environmental limits and challenges of the agri-food system, the analysis of the problem as well as the considered solutions diverge. For instance, it is not very common to question the capitalist economy as Garrouste and Mitralias (2013) do it.

While vegetarianism and veganism are often presented as better foodways in terms of environmental impact, this argument is however contested, in particular by people pointing towards intensive industrial production (of PAO and vegetables) as the central problem, rather than PAO in themselves (Budolfson, 2018). Among those advocating for sustainable agriculture, opinions diverge on whether animal farming is fundamentally unsustainable, can be sustainable in some conditions or even must be part of a sustainable system (Wolf, 2018). What should be taken in account when establishing such comparisons is complex and controversial. For instance,

“vegan staples generally have a worse animal harm footprint than some specific animal products such as mussels [...] because many vegan staples have substantial land and water footprints, which

²¹ Original quotation in French : « Satisfaire les besoins humains de manière écologique apparaît comme une étape incontournable sur le chemin de l’émancipation. Au cœur de ce défi se trouve la question agricole dans sa triple dimension, sociale, écologique et démocratique. »

means that they take away land and water from wildlife, which harms those animals” (Budolfson, 2018, p. 91).

Conversely, one might argue that the choice of mussels is opportunistic, as they are far from being one of the most consumed animals. However, this is still a discourse contrasting with the presentation of veganism as necessarily better than diets including PAO. Moreover, one could probably replace mussels by insects in this argument, and entomophagy is currently presented as an ecologically friendly alternative to meat consumption. In general, it is recognized that environmental impact is a weak pro-vegetarian or pro-vegan argument (McPherson, 2018). It seems that there is a level of animal agriculture that would be optimal regarding environmental consequences, but that we are far above. Thus, arguing for a reduction of PAO is more common than arguing for complete vegetarianism or veganism (see, for instance, Springmann et al., 2018). It is also sometimes argued that farms working in an environmental friendly way should be supported, notably through the consumption of their products, including PAO (McPherson, 2018).

E. Animal ethics

The sub-sections on industrialization of farming and on working conditions already provided a glimpse into the issue of the treatment of animals, on which I will focus more specifically now. I will go slightly more into details than for the previous points, as animal ethics also constitutes an important issue for the participants of this study. One of the major critics towards the current system of production is that animals are treated in an unethical way, and there are many attempts to improve the animal’s well-being (Larue, 2015; Molinier & Porcher, 2015). Historically, there is a trend of objectification of the animal, that allows to consider it as a material that should be treated as efficiently as possible (Porcher, 2011; Rémy, 2009). The reflections on the human–animal relation, as well as on animals’ rights and status, are constitutive of a field of philosophy labelled “animal ethics”. This field partly overlaps with food ethics, a vast multidisciplinary field aiming at studying ethical and normative dimensions of food (Barnhill et al., 2018). Animal ethics are defined by Jeangène Vilmer (2011) as

“the study of the moral status of animals, or of moral responsibility of men towards animals taken individually. It asks classical questions, which became real societal topics: do animals have rights? Do we have obligations towards them? If yes, what are they? If no, why? And what are their practical consequences? Is animal exploitation in order to produce food and clothes, contribute to scientific research, entertain and keep us company justified?

Animal ethics is the domain of research in which these questions are asked. It is not, in contrary to a widespread prejudice, an ensemble of unequivocal responses, a consensual charter, a compilation of ideal rules on what it is “moral” to do to animals” ²² (p. 3-4).

As this is the definition by a researcher working in that field, it does not reflect the way it is used in everyday life (and by the participants in this study), a use that Jeangène Vilmer calls the “widespread prejudice”. Rather than a field of questions and debates, this use of the word animal ethics refers to a set of rules or ideas about what is morally acceptable or not. According to Le Goff, while animals are absent from classical philosophical debates,

“animal ethics struggles [...] to justify the belonging of animals to the moral sphere and to establish the norms of behavior that we should respect regarding them. It first developed in two main directions, and the alternative conception of *care* was proposed in opposition to them” ²³ (Le Goff, 2012, pp. 33-34).

The two directions to which Le Goff is referring to are utilitarianism, mainly represented by P. Singer, and the Kantian deontology, of which the most famous author is T. Reagan. The care approach belongs to a tradition of animal ethics building on compassion. Utilitarianism and deontology on the other side are part of the approach through justice, a rationalistic approach that aims at avoiding referring to feelings of humans towards other animals in order to escape to the often formulated critic that people defending animals are too sentimental (Jeangène Vilmer, 2011, chap. IV).

²² Original quotation in French: « l'étude du statut moral des animaux, ou de la responsabilité morale des hommes à l'égard des animaux pris individuellement. Elle pose des questions classiques, qui sont devenues de véritables sujets de société : les animaux ont-ils des droits ? Avons-nous des devoirs envers eux ? Si oui, lesquels ? Si non, pourquoi ? et quelles en sont les conséquences pratiques ? L'exploitation des animaux pour produire de la nourriture et des vêtements, contribuer à la recherche scientifique, nous divertir et nous tenir compagnie est-elle justifiée ?

L'éthique animale est le domaine de recherche dans lequel se posent ces questions. Elle n'est pas, contrairement à un préjugé répandu, un ensemble de réponses univoques, une charte consensuelle, une compilation de règles idéales sur ce qu'il est « moral » de faire aux animaux. » (Jeangène Vilmer, 2011, p. 3-4)

²³ Original quotation in French : « l'éthique animale s'efforce [...] de justifier l'appartenance des animaux à la sphère morale et d'établir des normes de comportement que nous devrions respecter à leur égard. Elle s'est d'abord développée selon deux voix majeures, et c'est en opposition à elles qu'a été proposée une conception alternative du *care*. »

a. Violence, death and life

One of the central issues raised by animal ethics is the question of violence and death, and its management by society. Drawing on Norbert Elias's work on the process of civilization, Larue (2015) states that:

“The more one assists to violent situations, the more one is the witness of others' distress, the less one feels empathy – and vice versa. The hiding of the killing of animals behind the walls of slaughterhouses allowed first of all to calm the conscious of city dwellers. Then, the industry of meat took advantage of this invisibility, as the consumers did not feel responsible for a violence they did not see. But, by staying at distance from the animals' suffering, they became enough sensitive not to bear anymore the idea that they were mistreated and killed”²⁴ (Larue, 2015, p. 277).

Elias postulates that, during the process of civilization, the human tends to repress everything that he or she perceives in him or herself as animal. At the level of food, this process manifests by the development of practices that make invisible the animal origin of the consumed food (Elias, 1977). Regarding the issue of violence towards animals, several questions can be distinguished (Belshaw, 2016) :

- 1) Are we (humans) permitted to kill animals? This might possibly lead to elaborate different responses for different categories of animals, and notably to distinguish them based on the degree of development of their psychic capacities;
- 2) Are we permitted or even required to eat a dead animal? This might seem trivial at first sight, however there are many animals we would not eat although they are dead. An extreme example is the specific disgust caused by cannibalism. It illustrates that what we eat or not, beyond the physiological issue and beyond the question how and why it is dead, is a moral issue.

²⁴ Original quotation in French : « Plus on assiste à des scènes violentes, plus on est témoin de la détresse des autres, moins on ressent pour eux d'empathie - et réciproquement. La dissimulation de la mise à mort des bêtes derrière les murs des abattoirs permet d'abord d'apaiser les consciences des citoyens. L'industrie de la viande tire ensuite profit de cette invisibilité, les consommateurs ne se jugeant guère responsables d'une violence qu'ils ne voyaient pas. Mais à force de se tenir à distance de la souffrance des bêtes, ils sont devenus suffisamment sensibles pour ne plus supporter l'idée qu'on les maltraite et qu'on les tue. »

- 3) Are we permitted to bring to life animals with the goal of eating them thereafter? This also questions the legitimacy to eliminate species and races through the decision of not raising them anymore.

These three points reveal that life, death and killing are a core issue in animal ethic (see also Rémy, 2009). Meat consumption obviously implies killing (except for the consumption of animals who died naturally, which is nevertheless extremely rare), but dairy products and eggs also largely rely on killing. Currently, and in the context studied here, this activity is taking place in buildings that are often not even publicly labelled as slaughterhouses, by people who are far from being at ease with what they do and who underline the usually negative reactions when they mention their work with other people (Porcher, 2003; Rémy, 2009). However, questions about death also inevitably bring back to the question of life, and more exactly what is a life worth living, and therefore of living conditions. Bramble, discussing the “goodness of death”, argues that

“death can be good, or at least better than life, for an animal. First, and uncontroversially, it is good, or better, when the alternative is only endless agony, [...] Second, even if the agony will end, and the animal will live again a good life, it can be better that it dies than that the agony for now persists” (Belshaw, 2016, p. 16).

b. Current debates: Animal liberation, anti-speciesism

One might think that these are very abstract philosophical questions. Nevertheless, they are tidily related to practical issues that are notably stabilized in forms of rules and laws. Moreover, they are political groups actively engaged into promoting animal liberation, animal welfare, targeting both individual consumers, political actors and people working in PAO industry. Therefore, it seems necessary to say a few words more about the current debates in this area. Donaldson and Kymlicka (2011) distinguish welfarist, ecological and animal rights approaches. Welfarist refers to a “view that accepts that animal welfare matters, morally speaking, but which subordinates animal welfare to the interests of human beings” (p. 3). Ecological approaches are characterized by the consideration of animals as an essential part of an ecosystem. The attention to animals follows their place in the ecosystem rather than a consideration of their individual fate. These two approaches maintain a clear hierarchy between animals and humans, they state the primacy of human interests and are not opposed to animal exploitation. On the opposite, the animal right theory asserts a fundamental equality between human beings and animals. It promotes the idea that animals too have “basic moral rights to life and liberty” (p. 4). While the animal right theory is quite popular nowadays in the academic field, it remains marginal on the political level.

Animal rights are notably defended by the anti-speciesist²⁵ movement, also sometimes called animal liberation. This movement appeared and developed recently and has currently a certain visibility in medias and in the public space. As its name appears more and more frequently in debates, but is still quite new and unknown, I will devote one paragraph to this movement. This name was invented in 1970 by R. D. Ryders, and then promoted notably by Singer. The word is constructed in opposition to what is identified as the ideology of speciesism and considered as a logical continuity of antiracism and antisexism. Speciesism is defined as a discrimination based on species, and therefore anti-speciesism is the denunciation of this discrimination and the refusal to consider that the fact to belong to different species justifies a different moral status (Jeangène Vilmer, 2011). According to Dubreuil, activists engaged in this movement

“want to invent a world without pain and without domination for all, human beings and animals. The antispeciesist movement for animal liberation fights for an identical treatment for human beings and animals, by virtue of their common capacity to want to live and to be able to suffer”²⁶ (Dubreuil, 2009, p. 117).

In the Anglo-Saxon world, although the word is less used than in French, the antispeciesist position is dominant and most of the authors consider that one cannot defend animal liberation from a speciesist approach. In the French community, antispeciesism is much more considered as an extreme position, and several authors argue that it is not necessary to be against speciesism in order to defend animal liberation (Jeangène Vilmer, 2011). While this movement was still almost unknown in Switzerland when I collected my data (although one of the participants mentions it), since then the word appeared more and more frequently in different medias. For instance, a group of people claiming their affiliation to this movement had to appear before the judge for the theft of kids in a slaughterhouse, which was reported in newspapers²⁷. This kind of actions raises the issue of the means to reach a change. Indeed,

²⁵ In French: anti-spécisme / anti-spéciste

²⁶ Original quotation in French: « Ils veulent inventer un monde sans souffrance et sans domination pour tous, humains et animaux. Le combat que mène le mouvement antispéciste de libération animale revendique un traitement identique pour les hommes et pour les animaux, en vertu de leur capacité commune à vouloir vivre et à pouvoir souffrir. »

²⁷ The name of the organization is 269Life Liberation Animale Suisse. See the newspaper article : Laurent, J. (2018, décembre 19). *Les antispécistes devant la justice. Deux militantes risquent une peine pécuniaire pour avoir volé 18 cabris dans l'abattoir de Rolle*. Le Courrier, p. 4.

although the association PEA (pour l'égalité animale) also militates for antispeciesism²⁸, they took position against an attack of a slaughterhouse, precisely because of the means of action.

Animal welfare is the other important approach regarding animal ethics. This notion is very present in the studied context, and seems to be the object of a largely shared agreement around the opinion that animals should benefit from certain life conditions that respect their well-being (see notably Balsiger, 2016). However, this notion was also debated and criticized from different angles. As highlighted before, supporter of the fundamental rights approach reproach to this perspective its lack of deepness (Kymlicka & Donaldson, 2011), and see it as a way to ease our conscience and make animal exploitation socially acceptable without addressing the fundamental problem. Interestingly, critics are also emerging from another angle, with an alternative view on how to improve the animals living and dying conditions. "Animal welfare leads [...] to normalize, standardize and bio-technologize work in industrial and intensified systems, and therefore to make it durable by making it socially acceptable"²⁹ (Porcher, 2005, p. 6). According to Porcher, the problem is that animal welfare does not overcome the dichotomic choice between industrial animal farming (legitimized by animal well-being) and animal liberation (the end of this industry - no animal exploitation at all). She criticizes the current field of research on animal ethics, because it became a field of study exclusively focused on the animal as an organism. In addition to that, the research is merely oriented towards the possibilities to better adapt animals (and sometimes humans) to the industrial production system, as it is completely submitted to the ideal of productivity (Molinier & Porcher, 2015; Porcher, 2005, 2011). Finally, Porcher also underlines some methodological and epistemological problems. The field relies mainly on studies that isolate the animal from its environment (Porcher, 2011), and is populated mainly by biologists (Porcher, 2005).

"Research on 'animal welfare' is done without farm animals and without farmers, even *against* them. However, a farm animal is an animal with a farmer. There is no farm animal by itself and the pigs and cows used in experimentations are laboratory animals"³⁰ (Porcher, 2011, p. 112).

²⁸ On their webpage, they present themselves in the following way: « The association PEA – [For animal equity] has as its objective the end of specism and the advent of an egalitarian society for all animals [including humans] / L'association PEA - Pour l'Égalité Animale a pour objectif la fin du spécisme et l'avènement d'une société égalitaire pour tous les animaux." <https://www.asso-pea.ch/fr/>, consulted 07.01.2019.

²⁹ Original quotation : « Le bien-être animal conduit donc à normaliser, à standardiser et à bio-technologiser le travail dans les systèmes industriels et intensifiés, et ainsi à le pérenniser en le rendant socialement acceptable. »

³⁰ Original quotation in French : « La recherche sur le « bien-être animal » se fait sans les animaux d'élevage et sans les éleveurs, voire *contre* eux. Or, un animal d'élevage est un animal avec un éleveur.

What Porcher proposes is a different unit of analyzes, in which the relation between the animal and the farmer would be central, and a distinction between on one hand livestock industry that places productivity at the center, and on the other hand livestock farming, in which the relation between the farmer and the animals is central.

In short, there is currently a consensus around the denunciation of animals' living conditions in the food industry, which are perceived as problematic or even unacceptable (see notably Bramble & Fischer, 2016). However, the points of view regarding the nature of the problem, what can or should be done and how are very diverse and provoke intense debates.

F. Health and nutrition

In the International Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioural Sciences, Rozin states at the beginning of his chapter "Psychology and physiology of food preferences" that in the activity of eating, "survival is at stake" (Rozin, 2015, p. 296). Through this statement, he reminds us of the strong biological dimensions involved. Indeed, the health issue is central in food, which is for instance illustrated by the fact that for the Federal Statistical Office of Switzerland, information on food habits is part of "StatSanté", statistics about health (Tschannen & Calmonte, 2005). An immense literature in medicine and biology on the effects of certain foods exists (Scopus finds 388,728 results for the keyword « Nutrition* » on the 22nd of May 2018), and this is the case from the beginning of the history of medicine (Hippocrates already spoke about food as a medicine, see Comelles, 2013). I won't enter into the details of this field here, as it is not the object of this thesis, however, in relation to this project it is important to be aware that some of these researches had a wide echo in the public debate, as it was the case for example with the so called China study (Campbell & Campbell, 2008). Some researchers underlined that the messages regarding healthy food habits are heterogeneous and even contradictory (Garnier, Marinacci, & Quesnel, 2007). Thus, one aim of this point is to clarify what are the current issues and debates regarding health and nutrition, in particular regarding PAO consumption. The second aim is to have some basis in order to take seriously into account nutrition as one of the dimensions of socio-materiality of food related activities, with the challenge however not to fall into a reductionist perspective essentially focused on health.

While eating is essential for surviving, food is also a potential vector for disease and death. As a consequence, food is related to fundamental fears that evolve notably in relation with conditions of

Il n'y a pas d'animal d'élevage en soi et les cochons ou les vaches utilisés en expérimentation sont des animaux expérimentaux. »

production and evolution of knowledge. Historically, it seems that these fears worsen with the evolution of science. When they theorize nutritional balance in terms of carbohydrates, lipids and proteins (end of the 19th century), scientists appropriate the knowledge about eating healthy, a knowledge that was previously based on taste. Pasteur's theory about the microbial origin of diseases reinforces this trend. While people discover that milk can be fatal, flies can transport disease, and more recently, that preservatives might be toxic, "everything becomes suspect"³¹ (Levenstein, 2013, p. 212). The way media communicate these information, often exaggerating the danger, obviously also plays a role in the construction and evolution of fears (Levenstein, 2013). In the context of the United States, Levenstein (2013) highlights an increasing distance between consumer and producer (related to industrialization, urbanization and development of transport means, see Levenstein, 2012), an increased suspicion towards the government, considered as submitted to agri-food lobbies, and as a consequence of these changes, an individualization of responsibility (which also reflects a neoliberal ideology). These three dimensions are presented as key elements allowing to understand current fears as well as the privileged solutions.

"Thus, I suggest that the historical evolution tending to force individuals to navigate alone on this wild ocean of food scares, it is not surprising to see that allergies and intolerances, to lactose, gluten and other habitual components of food, become the new deciding factors for food choices. Finally, this tendency towards individual solutions only accentuated over more than fifty years. The current state of mind is such that individuals do not trust collective, federal or other solutions anymore, and they can only flee in their own plate"³² (Levenstein, 2013, p. 221).

The issue of food scares is also discussed in popularization works such as Denoux (2014), who focuses on the phenomena of functional foods and of orthorexia. According to this author, vegetarianism and veganism might be some forms of orthorexia, and thus be qualified as pathologies. Nevertheless, regarding food scares, it is important to recontextualize Levenstein's analysis in the frame of the United States. It is not certain that in the context of this study, people experience a similar loneliness and a similar relation to state regulations.

³¹ Original quotation in French : « tout devient suspect »

³² Original quotation in French : « Je suggère donc que cette évolution historique tendant à forcer les individus à naviguer seuls sur cet océan déchaîné des peurs alimentaires, il n'est pas surprenant de constater que les allergies et les intolérances, au lactose, gluten et autres composants courants dans l'alimentation, deviennent de nouveaux déterminants des choix alimentaires. Finalement, cette tendance aux solutions individuelles ne fait que s'accroître depuis plus de cinquante ans. L'état d'esprit qui règne aujourd'hui est tel que les individus n'ont aucune confiance dans les solutions collectives, fédérales ou autres, et qu'ils ne peuvent se réfugier que dans leur propre assiette. »

What is certain is that discourses about nutrition and health are also constitutive of the context of this study (and this will be developed a little bit in the next sub-section), and nutrition is also learned. In a study realized in France, Bertola and Munari (1996) highlight that, in children from 5 to 12, the definition of “good” food evolves from a definition based on taste to a broader definition implying the whole body (tasty and healthy). In young people and adults, the health dimension is predominant in the definition of “good”, however, it also presents a variation from a definition based on energy (15-20 years), to a definition related to quality of life (30-50 years) and, finally, to a definition linked with psycho-physical well-being. In opposition to Levenstein (2013) who present individual health responsibility as a navigation on a wild ocean, Bertola and Munari (1996) present it rather as the development, through education, of the power of the individual on his well-being.

a. Critical views on nutrition and healthism

They are however critical voices regarding the place taken by nutrition and health in society and in the individual’s life. Indeed, beyond the biological necessity and the risks and fears that are associated with it, “healthy eating” is the object of social discourses that can be read as a social form of control over bodies. "Diet, ascetism and regimen are obviously forms of control exercised over bodies with the aim of establishing a discipline" (Turner, 1991b, p. 159). Food occupies an interesting place in the development of capitalism. Indeed, healthy, athletic and sober bodies are useful or even necessary to the system of production. Religion and medicine are useful supports for this perspective, as well as the idea of individual responsibility regarding illness, an idea called moral sanitarianism (Turner, 1991b). Upstream from capitalism, Christian religion also plays an important role, associating the idea of excess (of food among others) to sin, which constitutes a moralization of excess (Comelles, 2013). Less European-centered is Douglas’ (1966) ethnographic study on rituals in which foods are present, a well-known reference in food studies. This leads her to state that it is hygiene, rather than fear, that is the key factor to understand religion. The order established between pure and polluted foods is not founded on fear but is a reaction to disorder, a way to organize the world. Thus, she does not deny the link between health and food, but she rejects approaches aiming at explaining food taboo essentially through medical factors.

The army also sometimes plays an important role in the shaping of food habits, insofar as healthy men are necessary in order to be able to fight. Turner (1991b) even considers the army as the most important actor in the development of a science of the body and of the intervention of state in the

health question³³. For instance, at the end of the Edo period in Japan, drawing on the hypothesis of a causal link between the very low consumption of meat and milk and the relative physical weakness of Japanese people compared to other populations, "the [Japanese] government initiated a campaign stating that the consumption of meat and milk was one of the qualities of modern and civilised populations" ³⁴ (Ishige, 2007, p. 91). This quotation shows that the question of healthy food is deeply related to cultural norms and to the representation of what civilization is.

This centrality of health and nutrition might also lead to neglect other dimensions of food. Brady and Ventresca (2014) notably show how, after the announcement by a professional Texan football player that he opted for a vegan diet, the whole discussion crystallized around health issues, eclipsing all other possible debates on masculinity, racism or social class inequalities. They discuss this phenomenon with the help of the concepts of healthism and nutritionism.

"Crawford defined healthism as 'the preoccupation with personal health as a primary - often the primary focus for the definition and achievement of well-being; a goal which is to be attained primarily through the modification of life styles... healthism treats individual behavior, attitudes, and emotions as the relevant symptoms needing attention' (Crawford 368). Closely related to healthism is 'nutritionism,' a concept that Scrinis devised to describe the 'reductive approach to food' whereby the value of food is surmised through the quantification of its nutrient composition and eating food is primarily understood as a health promoting endeavour ('On the Ideology of Nutritionism' p. 39). Like healthism, nutritionism stresses individuals' responsibility to eat in line with the advice disseminated by health and nutrition experts" (Brady & Ventresca, 2014, p. 310-311).

Thus, several authors highlight that "healthy" is not a neutral or objective category, but comes along with a whole moral discourse, hides other possible discourses, is related to neoliberal ideology and the redistribution of responsibilities. Commenting on an intervention of the chief cook Jamie Oliver in a deprived area, Mentinis comments that it "is about the politics of health and class, promoting self-monitoring, personal responsibility and empowerment as personal qualities which intersect with neoliberal principals of public health" (Mentinis, 2018, p. 17). Finally, in a study published in 1993, Lesire-Ogrel (1993) describes how the press (newspapers and magazines) participate to the circulation of discourses on healthiness in eating that are often contradictory.

³³ However, this point of view is emitted in the context of North America, moreover during the Gulf war. It is highly probable that the impact of the army varies depending on the context.

³⁴Original quotation in French : « le gouvernement [japonais] initia une campagne affirmant que la consommation de viande et de lait était l'une des qualités des populations modernes et civilisées »

b. Meat and products of animal origin

Meat occupies a particular place in health issues. Because it is biologically very close to our own biological constitution, it is at the same time a very nutritive and a quite dangerous food. Indeed, the microorganisms it can host often find an adequate environment for their survival in our bodies (Rozin, 2007). This partly explains that the strongest and most important taboos in food concern meat and other PAO. The FAO also highlights this double-edged dimension of meat, pointing not to risks of infection but to health problem related to overconsumption. "Livestock products provide one-third of humanity's protein intake, and are a contributing cause of obesity and a potential remedy for undernourishment" (Steinfeld et al., 2006, p. xx) Indeed, on one side studies point to the link between consumption of PAO and different diseases (see Steinfeld et al., 2006). On the other side, its nutritional values are highlighted, as for example in Gerber et al. (2013), who underline, as already mentioned, that many human lives on this planet depend directly from the possibility to raise animals. The industrial conditions of production renew this problem, as "the stress on the animals weakens their immune system. Their proximity with each other makes the passage of viruses easy. The anti-biotics they take wipe out some bacteria but, in doing so, clear the field for the 'fittest' bacteria" (Barnhill et al., 2018, p. 8). This leads to periodical crisis such as the BSE or swine fever, that constitute real health issues for WEIRD world societies. "It has been estimated that at least 10'000 Britons suffer from food poisoning each week, 100 people die from it each year and more than 95% of the cases are meat- or poultry-related" (Spencer, 1993/2000, p. 310).

Regarding meat consumption, Cazes-Valette (2007) underlines the link between perceived health risks and consumption of certain species. However, she adds, the perceived risk might be quite distant from the real risk. For instance, the risk of an infection by E. Coli when eating beef is higher than the risk to be contaminated by bovine spongiform encephalopathy (BSE), however BSE had a much higher impact on beef consumption, even in the countries where no cases were declared (see also Levenstein, 2012). Moreover, this link between perceived risk and consumption of certain species is also nuanced by the perceived proximity with the animal (Cazes-Valette, 2007).

Meat can also be a threat for health not directly through its consumption, but because of its mode of production. According to Grauerholz and Owens (2015), the manure produced by concentrated animal feeding operations currently represents the most critical health issue related to meat consumption. It contains hundreds of pathogens that can be transmitted to humans and affects ground, water and air quality, and this becomes highly problematic when it is not appropriately treated, which is often the case. Moreover, industrial farming is a good nest for viruses and antibiotic-resistant bacteria, that might spread among the population (Barnhill et al., 2018). Although the two references presented here

(Grauerholz and Owens, and Barnhill et al.) come from the USA where intensification of farming is very strong, the issue also starts to be discussed in France (Porcher, 2011), and it is worth remembering that Switzerland took a similar direction than these two countries, with an orientation towards intensification of production.

While meat is at the same time highly valued and presenting many dangers, we can expect that on the veg* side, it is also not completely black or white. The discussion is not new, and for example in France, there was a wave of discourses claiming that meat is dangerous for health (and/or bad for beauty) more or less between 1977 and 1990 (see Lesire-Ogrel, 1993). Currently,

“the Academy of Nutrition and Dietetics, the world’s largest organization of nutrition and food professionals, states that vegetarian diets have a wide range of health benefits including reduced risk of heart disease, cholesterol levels, blood pressure, hypertension, diabetes, obesity, and cancer” (Grauerholz & Owens, 2015, p. 568).

Overall, currently researchers agree that for the majority of people, a balanced vegetarian diet provides health benefits (Marsh, Zeuschner, & Saunders, 2012), because although a vegetarian or vegan diet is not necessarily healthy or more healthy than a meat-inclusive omnivorous diet, “many of the most problematic foods in the North American diet are ruled out by veganism” (McPherson, 2018, p. 213). This however does not imply that a good diet including some meat would be unhealthy (Fischer, 2018).

I hope that it became clear through this point that the health dimension is at the same time fundamental in eating related activities, but also that eating cannot be reduced to it, and that it is tidily interrelated with other dimensions. The place given to this aspect itself and the understanding we have of it are historically and culturally situated. I opened that point quoting Rozin’s statement “survival is at stake” (2015, p. 296). Interestingly, towards the end of his chapter, he also affirms that

“in the nonhuman animal world, and among traditional humans, food is basically a source of pleasure. Even in the developed world, cost and availability aside, the principal factor influencing food choice is taste, that is to say, pleasure, although convenience, health, and processing history of a food are also important determinants” (2015, p. 299).

With this statement, Rozin goes against a healthist view on food by replacing at the center the subjective human experience. This will notably be a part of the next section, in which I present an overview of social sciences literature on eating and food(ways).

2. EATING AND FOOD: OBJECTS FOR SOCIAL SCIENCES

In this section, I will move away from information about the general situation of meat production and consumption, in order to examine more closely what social sciences and in particular psychology tell us about the different dimensions of the daily activities related to eating and food. According to Rozin, “the study of food (except for obesity, eating disorders, and the regulation of intake) is almost absent from psychology” (Rozin, 2007, p. 391). He argues that the reason of this situation lies in the fact that the field of psychology is organized based on basic processes (such as perception, cognition or emotions) rather than on domains of life and practices (as it is the case in anthropology and ethnography). Anthropology is probably the social science that produced the most literature on food and eating. However, at least at the beginning, researchers were focused on shocking and surprising practices such as religious uses of food, sacrifices or cannibalism. Moreover, food was studied mainly as a mean to understand other dimensions of the society (such as religion), but not that much for itself. One hypothesis concerning the reasons of this lack of interest is gender: anthropologists were mainly men, and the (daily) cooking was done mainly by women (see introduction in Mintz, 1996). A similar hypothesis is proposed by Montanari (2010) concerning the place of eating in historical studies: it is a rather understudied phenomena because it is a daily activity carried out by women.

As I already argued in the first part of this chapter, it is widely accepted and defended that eating and food are topics for the social sciences, and not merely biological and chemical issues. Despite of this, the idea of a hierarchy between basic physiological needs and higher social, psychological or even spiritual needs seems to be predominant. One obvious illustration of this hierarchy is Maslow’s well-known pyramid of needs (Maslow, 1943). Research on behavior in extreme conditions (i.e., concentration camp) vividly contradicts this point of view, showing how both physiological needs and the necessity to keep a sense of dignity were playing an essential role for survival and even that

“paradoxically those who subordinated themselves and were prepared to do anything only to get a piece of bread, had an even smaller chance of survival than those who could voluntarily deprive themselves a part of or an entire meal, because the latter did not sacrifice their human dignity. [...] It turned out that the symbolic function of food surpassed its nutritional value” (Jezernik, 1999, p. 27).

This disruption of the usual order “*primum vivere, deinde philosophari*” highlights the importance of research from the social sciences on these issues and of considering human beings as a whole and not as “body + mind/spirit” (Jezernik, 1999).

In a quite similar reflection about the articulation between body and mind or spirit, Rozin (2007) discusses the relations between biology and culture (his terms) through a series of small case studies: sugar, chocolate, chili pepper, milk and meat. He shows that far from a simple relation of biology constraining or orienting the culture(s) of eating, these two dimensions interact in highly complex and unique ways in these different cases. In the case of chili pepper, one of the most consumed spice in the world, individuals, through social mediation, learn to appreciate the initially aversive irritant property of the ingredient. Concerning milk, Rozin explains that mammals are genetically programmed to cease to produce lactate, the enzyme necessary to the digestion of the lactose present in milk, at the time of weaning. This was true for all humans in preagricultural societies. The development of agriculture made milk more available, also for adults. But how to consume it and at the same time avoid the negative consequences of the absence of lactate? Two phenomena allowed this. One is the externalization of the breaking-down of lactose, prior to its indigestion, through the elaboration of products such as cheese and yogurt. The second one is a single genetic mutation that occurred in some groups, mainly in Northern Europe but also in Africa (Rozin, 2007). Thus, while Rozin also goes beyond an opposition or sequentiality between body/nutrition and symbolic/culture, he also points to the historical development of foodways. In addition to that, Mentinis (2018) underlines the political and economic dimension of this development. Indeed, this author shows that the current alimentary culture, although it is often presented in a dehistoricized and naturalized way, is a specific configuration that emerged in the frame of neoliberalism. "Eating and cooking practices are related to the production of and configuration of the psyche within a constantly changing neoliberal symbolic and material assemblage" (Mentinis, 2018, p. 2). Through these practices, the future is constantly "re-negotiated and re-invented" (Mentinis, 2018, p. 2).

In this thesis, I will try to stay aware of these underlining conceptions of relations between biology, individual and culture. I should add here that if Rozin highlights the dynamic interactions between biology and culture understood as a shared set of practices and representations (or that is at least how I understood it), I shall introduce in that dynamic the individual as a unique reflective and emotional being, who tries to make sense of the constrains and possibilities of the biological in a specific socio-cultural-material context. In what follows, I will go through a series of issues that were discussed in food and foodway studies, with the aim of highlighting what is at stake in food related activities (this time with an important focus on the consumption side rather than the production system) from the point of view of social sciences. I will start with the notion of identity, which is one of the most used notions when it comes to the study of food related activities (Farquhar, 2006). Then, I will present briefly the notion of commensality and the discussions about individualization of foodways. I will then move on towards the morale dimension of food, which is an important aspect also in relation to the

theoretical frame I will use in this thesis (see chapter two) and, finally, I will conclude this part with the notion of pleasure, of which the importance was already highlighted at the end of the previous section.

A. Identity

"'Tell me what you eat, I will tell you what you are'. When Jean-Anthelme Brillat-Savarin wrote these words (in 1826), it was mainly from a psychological and behavioral point of view: the way of eating reveals the personality and the character"³⁵ (Montanari, 2010, p. 89).

Montanari (2010) adds that a social and historical reading is also possible. The notion of identity can hardly be avoided when studying food, as there is a strong tradition of research showing that our foodways are part of our identity. I identified several layers of identity, articulated in the definition of who we are/who I am, and, in the following, I move across these different layers.

a. Humanity/animality

Eating is often discussed in terms of humanity/animality. The following quotation for instance takes this activity as one in which we actualize our belonging to the animal kingdom – an identity statement that *we are animals*:

"Underlying the rich symbolic universe that food and eating always represent, however, there is the animal reality of our living existence. It is not separated from our humanity but is an integral part of it. Only because most of us eat plentifully and frequently and have not known intense hunger may we sometimes too easily forget the astonishing, at times even terrifying, importance of food and eating" (Mintz, 1996, p. 4).

Considering the issues of group membership in terms of food, the animal kingdom is I think the biggest group I found mentioned in the literature. One could imagine of course even a bigger group, the one of the living beings (which would also include plants and other organisms), characterized by the necessity to get nutrition and eliminate waste in order to maintain the biological processes of life. The consumption of food of animal origin can be seen as a way to reactivate the belonging to the animal kingdom, as illustrated by Lestel (2011), for whom eating meat is an ethical imperative. "To believe that we can live and occupy a position of innocence is a pure fantasy. On the opposite, eating meat

³⁵ Original quotation in French : « "Dis-moi ce que tu manges, je te dirai ce que tu es". Quand Jean-Anthelme Brillat-Savarin écrivit ces mots (en 1826), c'était surtout s'un point de vue psychologique et comportemental: la manière de manger révèle la personnalité et le caractère. »

must be seen as a way to reaffirm one's animality"³⁶ (Lestel, 2011, p. 16). For Lestel, the consumption of meat and the acceptance of death it implies are ways to consider oneself as part of a circle of life, in a kind of position of humility. It is an acceptance of the idea that life without death is not possible, and therefore that we need to assume our position of not being completely innocent. Another way to conceptualize the implications of food for our position of human beings in relations to animality is through the work on the idea that "we are what we eat". Although the absorption of some of the food's properties when eating it (such as becoming as strong as a bear when eating its meat, becoming a vegetable when eating a vegan diet or in the case of cannibalism taking in the opponents' strength) equals to a form of magic thinking, let's remember that, on a biological level, we are indeed constituted by what we eat. In Rozin's words, "eating involves taking matter from outside the self and putting it inside the self. This is a very intimate act. It is not surprising that people feel strongly about what they eat" (Rozin, 2015, p. 296). Although I think the use of the term "self" is not appropriate here, and would replace it by "body", it stays true that there is a physical movement of internalization of a substance, which implies making the external element a part of one-self (at least for a certain time). This quotation also underlines the centrality of the material dimension, as well as the strong feelings that are part of the eating activity.

Nevertheless, there is also a strong movement of differentiation with animals, and this leads me to the next level: *we as human beings*. The link between food and civilization is often underlined (Elias, 1977; Mennell, 1991; Moulin, 1995). Montanari (2010), for instance, points to the fact that unlike animals³⁷, humans do not merely satisfy themselves with what they find in the environment but produce it by themselves. And indeed, the beginnings of agriculture and domestication are considered as major changes in human phylogenetic development. Moreover, humans do not only produce food, but also transform it and prepare it in very elaborated manners. In other words, they cook, and this is also related to a fundamental turn in human history (even older than agriculture and domestication), namely the use of fire (Anderson, 2005). However, here the word "cook" has a slightly broader meaning than putting foods on the fire. "Globally, cooking can be defined as an ensemble of technics aiming at preparing foods"³⁸ (Montanari, 2010, p. 43). Another often mentioned specificity of human food behavior, in contrast to other animals, is the symbolic dimension. "No other fundamental aspect

³⁶ Original quotation in French: « Croire que l'on peut vivre et occuper une position d'innocence est un pur fantasme. Manger de la viande doit être vu au contraire comme une façon de réaffirmer son animalité. »

³⁷ I personally would say « other animals », but I choose to maintain Montanari's formulation.

³⁸ Original quotation in French : « De manière générale, la cuisine peut être définie comme un ensemble de techniques visant à la préparation des aliments »

of our behavior as a species except sexuality is so encumbered by *ideas* as eating" (Mintz, 1996, p. 8). In that sense, foods of animal origin certainly were part of the ways in which humans differentiated from animals, as they require sophisticated social and technical skills. Montanari (2010) cites technics of slaughtering as an example, and hunting technics are also often referred to as tidily linked to development of communication and of tools (Anderson, 2005).

b. Group and individual identity

The next level would be the group level, where what is considered as proper food but also proper eating habits is used in order to perform boundaries and to reinforce group belonging. Montanari (1995) for instance shows how food played a role in the construction of boundaries between Romans and Barbarians, the first having a mainly vegetarian basis with bread playing a central role, while for the second group pork was very important. In both directions, the others' food system was used to assess that they were less civilized. According to Bevilacqua, "one of the most 'efficient' and universal manners to negatively differentiate the other's identity consists, as many anthropologists demonstrated it, into assigning to the Other a culinary taste that is despised or judged as despicable"³⁹ (2012, p. 38). "Cuisines" are frequently compared to languages as they have a similar function of shared reference for the group (Margarito, 2008; Montanari, 2010). Often, they are related to nations (as for instance French, Italian or Mexican cuisine), but the construction can also take place at other levels (for instance the specificity of Afro-American cuisine in the USA – see Jones, 2015). These constructions not only involve people but also institutions such as for instance the UNESCO which declared cuisine as an intangible cultural heritage. They also imply economic interests, and oscillate between closing and opening (Di Giovine & Brulotte, 2014). Indeed, while it can be used to define borders and present others as less civilized, strange or dangerous, food can also be used as a mean of exchange, as a way to present one's "culture" to others, or to discover another "culture" (Montanari, 2010).

"As it is the case for spoken language, the food system contains and transports the culture of those who practice it; it is the depositary of traditions and group identity. As a consequence, it constitutes an extraordinary vehicle for self-representation and cultural exchange : it is an identity instrument but also the first way to get in contact with different cultures, as eating the

³⁹ Original quotation in French : « Une des manières les plus « efficaces », et universelles, démarquer négativement l'identité d'autrui consiste, comme l'ont démontré de nombreux anthropologues, à assigner à l'Autre un goût culinaire honni ou jugé abject »

others' food is easier – at least to all appearances – than to decipher the language" ⁴⁰(Montanari, 2010, p. 129).

However, it is worth being cautious, as someone can appreciate a certain cuisine (for instance Lebanese cuisine) without learning much about other aspects of that country and without being necessarily open to it (Di Giovine & Brulotte, 2014). In addition to national and ethnic group construction, the socio-economic group and gender are unsurprisingly two other important dimensions along which group identity and food encounter (Anderson, 2005; Cavazza, Guidetti, & Butera, 2017; Counihan & Kaplan, 1998/2004; Mennell, 1991).

One smaller group that plays a relatively important role in food socialization is family. It might be extended to any other group with whom one regularly shares meals (school canteen, at work, etc.). At this level, the "meaning of the eating situation" (Lewin, 1943, p. 44) and in particular the feeling of belonging that is associated to it are important dynamics. According to Lewin, "one can say that every eating group has a specific eating culture" (Lewin, 1943, p. 44). While the family is usually an important place for socializing to food and eating, as shown notably by Ochs, Pontecorvo and Fasulo (1996), Rozin (2015) mentions the existence of a "family paradox", which refers to the fact that correlation between parents and children food preferences are surprisingly low. Thus, while the family is an important group, its influence should not be overestimated.

Finally, food might also be a tool to construct one's individual identity, and as we know the person's identity is related in a complex way with groups identities. Studies on migrants in particular showed that food can become an important resource for the person to negotiate the transition; "it is clear that food might play a crucial role to negotiate and construct migrants' identities" (Greco Morasso & Zittoun, 2014, p. 29). At this level, however, some authors are critical towards the focus on identity, because it focuses the scope on a question of being, while the issue of doing – the activity – is understudied. The proposed alternative is the notion of agency, which also leads to problematize the power of the (human and non-human) agents involved (Farquhar, 2006). According to Puisais (interviewed by de Beaurepaire, 1989), developing one's knowledge about tastes allows to have pleasure and to become an agent.

⁴⁰ Original quotation in French : « Comme la langue parlée, le système alimentaire contient et transporte la culture de ceux qui le pratiquent; il est dépositaire des traditions et de l'identité de groupe. Il constitue par conséquent un extraordinaire véhicule d'autoreprésentation et d'échange culturel: c'est un instrument d'identité mais aussi la première manière d'entrer en contact avec des cultures différentes, vu que manger la nourriture d'autrui est plus facile - du moins en apparence - qu'en décoder la langue »

“If you do not have this culture of taste, you cannot play. Then, the question is to know whether people want to be passive or active regarding their diet. If they are passive, they are exploited; if they are active, they lead their life and have fun. Pleasure is at this price”⁴¹ (p.31).

This quote brings together a wide range of elements, and that is its richness. This author presents knowledge as a condition for being active in relation to one’s foodway, and this raises issues of power but also the possibility of pleasure through playfulness.

c. Commensality and individualization

The fact that food and eating are so closely related to group identity is notably actualized in the sharing of meals, which is called commensality, which literally means eating together (Fischler, 2011). Montanari (2010) reminds us that during the moments of eating and drinking, nutritional values and social values come together, and that both might not necessarily overlap, as for instance during the coffee break (which has socially a relaxing connotation while nutritionally coffee works as stimulant). Moreover, eating together does not necessarily mean liking each other. It is also the place where hierarchies and social roles are marked and reproduced, for example by who sits where, who does what and who gets the best piece of the animal (Montanari, 2010). Finally,

“Eating is also – and I would say first of all – a social ritual which insures the continuity and density of human contacts. Drinking is the convivial ritual par excellence, the friend [co-pain] is the one with whom we are happy to share the bread [pain]; companion [compagne – same root than co-pain] is the one with whom you share much more than bread [pain]. To drink or to eat alone is one of the saddest solitary occupations”⁴² (Moulin, 1995, p. 75).

Whether commensality and more specifically family meals are on the way of disappearing is debated. Some authors highlight trends going in that direction, such as more solo-eating and less structured mealtimes, and link it to industrial changes (Fischler, 2011). Fischler (2013) underlines "a growing claim and affirmation of the autonomy of the individual regarding social and cultural rules carried by

⁴¹ Original quotation in French : « si on n’a pas cette culture du goût, on ne peut pas jouer. Alors la question est de savoir si les gens veulent être des passifs ou des actifs face à leur alimentation. S’ils sont passifs, ils sont exploités ; s’ils sont actifs, ils mènent leur vie et s’amusent. Le plaisir est à ce prix. »

⁴² Original quotation in French : « Manger est aussi – et je dirais avant tout - un rite social qui assure la continuité et la densité des contacts humains. Boire est le rite convivial par excellence, le “copain” est celui avec qui on est heureux de partager son pain ; « compagne », celle avec qui vous partagez plus et mieux encore que le pain. Boire, manger seul, est la plus triste des occupations solitaires. »

institutions (family, profession, religion) and the community”⁴³ (p. 17) Personal well-being and fulfilment are more and more considered as imperatives, as well as freedom and choice (which are at the same time a constraint). The process of individualization is notably constructed around the body, health, and thus food. Historically, less time is dedicated to food preparation, which provides more freedom but also involves new questions and anxieties (Fischler, 2013). This brings us back to the issues of food scares and of healthism. However, this diagnosis that commensality is disappearing is highly debated. It seems a particular difficult issue as they are “strong cultural variability in attitudes about food, eating, health and commensality between countries usually categorized as ‘Western’ and ‘modern’” (Fischler, 2011, p. 530), but also “the deepest issues at stake are of essential social significance and carry fundamentally moral undertones. After all, the sharing of food involves the very structure of social organization, no less than the division and allocation of resources.” (Fischler, 2011, p. 530).

B. Food and morality

I already discussed above the ethical dimension around the farming and killing of animal, mainly drawing on works conducted in philosophy and political sciences. Interestingly, social scientists interested in eating and food highlighted what they called the moral dimension of food, without restricting it to the consumption of food of animal origin. At the beginning of the point “eating and food”, I mentioned Jezernik (1999) for his discussion of the hierarchy of needs. I did not mention that the title of his article is “Food and morals in extremis”, which clearly places morality at the heart of his discussion about human needs. Analysing the discourses around food in media, Lesire-Ogrel (1993) notes that “these overabundant meals make us feel ashamed. We tirelessly compare them to the meagre diet of third-world populations. [...] Westerners, if they are not wary of it, will pay a very high price for these excesses”⁴⁴ (p. 31). The vocabulary used and especially the occurrence of the word “ashamed” as well as the idea of a price to pay for this indecent misbalance clearly refers to a moral component. Quoting the words of a doctor in one magazine (“Don’t smoke, don’t drink alcohol, eat

⁴³ Original quotation in French : « Une revendication et une affirmation croissantes de l'autonomie de l'individu au regard des règles sociales et culturelles portées par les institutions (famille, profession, religion) et la collectivité. »

⁴⁴ Original quotation in French : « [Ces repas pléthoriques] nous font honte. Nous les comparons inlassablement au chiche régime des populations du tiers-monde [...]. Les Occidentaux, s'ils n'y prennent garde, paieront très cher ces excès. »

better, watch your weight”⁴⁵), she qualifies the approach as a “collective dressage” (Lesire-Ogrel, 1993, p. 32) and observes that foods are separated between good and bad (meaning here unhealthy or which make put weight on). A moralization of health and especially overweight is also observed by Comelles (2013), for whom the current medical discourse on excess relies on a Christian conception of sin. A shift can be observed at the end of the seventies towards individual responsibility. “The collective fault is everyone’s responsibility”⁴⁶ (Lesire-Ogrel, 1993, p. 32). At the same time, there is also a movement from a discourse of self-control based on guiltiness towards a discourse of self-control as “being naturally and without efforts in conformity with the rigorist norm conveyed by media”⁴⁷ (Lesire-Ogrel, 1993, p. 33).

Examining the relations between food and morality in a study of sugar, Mintz (1996) states that

“Perhaps moral conviction commonly attaches to this sphere of human activity because it is not only frequently practiced, regular, and necessary, but also because it is a sphere in which *some* choice is usually perceived as possible. For each individual eating is a basis for linking the world of things with the world of ideas through one's acts, and thus also a basis for relating oneself to the rest of the world. Food goes into every human being. Though it is not easy to explain or describe clearly, the intuition that one is somehow substantiated - incarnated - out of the food one ingests can be said to carry some kind of moral charge” (p. 70).

Interestingly, Mintz does not place the relation at an abstract, ideational level, but anchors it in the very material act of bringing an external substance in oneself. He also distinguishes different manners in which morality comes into play. Historically, the Caribbean was an important producer of sugar, where slaves were used for its production. Abolitionists, after failing to fight slavery at the legal level, developed the discourse that individual consumers are responsible for supporting enslavement. “Each user of Caribbean products was directly and personally responsible for the existing state of affairs” (Lowell J. Ragatz, 1928, p. 261, quoted by Mintz, 1996, p. 72). In this case, the problem comes from the system of production more than from the substance itself, and this is similar to the discourse stating that meat should be avoided because of the harm that the system of production inflicts (to the animals, to other people or to the planet). This is different from conceptions that would consider the substance itself as problematic, because it is related to pleasure, luxury, sin. Finally, it might also be the case that

⁴⁵ Original quotation in French : « Ne fumez pas, ne buvez pas d’alcool, mangez mieux, surveillez vote poids »

⁴⁶ Original quotation in French : « La faute collective relève de la responsabilité de chacun. »

⁴⁷ Original quotation in French : « Être naturellement et sans effort en conformité avec la norme rigoriste véhiculée par les médias. »

the substance is considered as morally blameworthy because it is associated with a specific group. Mintz (1996) gives the example of ice-cream that in some countries was associated with Italian immigrants. Currently animal protection discourse is also sometimes associated with islamophobic position. The Islamic prescription that the animal should be conscious when one cuts its throat is seen as cruel and is used to develop the argument that Islam is incompatible with the “civilised” Western world (Bergeaud-Blackler, 2008)⁴⁸.

Concerning the current situation, Mintz (1996) proposes a quite different analysis. He draws mainly on Friedman in order to conceptualize the individual’s choice and the moral issues underlying it essentially in terms of self-discipline, of health and of beauty.

"The link between morality and sugar in the modern world must be described against the background of an army of consumers prepared to consume messages about health, love, and beauty on the one hand; and, on the other, to repudiate large quantities of sucrose (...) To those who reject sucrose, the only immediate visible moral principle in this picture is that of self-discipline" (Mintz, 1996, p. 80).

He frames this link in the triangle consumerism – individualism – romanticism and sees no other issue than an opening towards the consumption of other products. In addition to that, the food change is a redefinition of individuality that presupposes a group, however, “such a ‘group’ consists not of one’s family or health club or alumni association, but of an abstraction from the pages of certain magazines and from television, generated by the best salespersons in the world history” (Mintz, 1996, p. 83). Through this analysis, Mintz depicts an individual who is completely subjected to the consumer logic and to the messages from media and salespersons, a perspective that is questionable (see notably Farquhar, 2006).

Finally, Rozin, together with different colleagues (Rozin, 2007; Rozin, Haidt, & McCauley, 2008; Rozin, Lowery, Imada, & Haidt, 1999), is also well-known for his work on food and on morality. He linked both domains, showing how the three morality systems depicted by the cultural psychologist Shweder were related to three emotions, which are elicited when the moral codes are violated (Rozin et al., 1999). One of these is disgust, an emotion on which Rozin and his colleagues worked extensively. He identifies different types of disgusts, namely core disgust, that directly concerns food rejection; animal-nature disgust, that concerns what we feel as threatening our body in general (and not only through oral

⁴⁸ This is of course a very reductionist perception of Islam, and it is worth noticing the existence of associations such as “Animals in Islam”, engaged in animal protection, condemning the animals’ living conditions in meat industry and promoting vegetarianism. <https://www.animalsinislam.com/> (visited on 11.01.2019).

incorporation); interpersonal disgust specifically concerns contact with people or sharing objects with them; and finally moral disgust elicited when a moral order is violated (Rozin et al., 2008). However, while Rozin and his colleagues show that disgust is anchored in food and in (dis)taste (Rozin et al., 2008, 1999), they do not speak about morality when they speak about disgust as a factor of food rejection. For my purpose here, their work is very rich and useful to understand disgust in relation to food and eating but does not give us much information about the moral dimensions of food related activities.

C. Pleasure

The notion of pleasure was already mentioned a few times in this work. For Rozin (2015), it is absolutely central in food choices. Puisais (interviewed by de Beaurepaire, 1989) mentions it in relation to agency and opposed to passivity, and Mintz (1996) highlights that some foods are morally blamable as they are related to pleasure. Thus, pleasure seems to be a very important part of food related activity, and I will now dive a bit deeper into that topic. Rozin (2015) distinguishes three categories of reasons for rejecting or accepting a food: sensory affective, anticipated consequences, and ideational. The first category is characterized as “feelings (pleasure or displeasure)”, the second as “the expected consequences [...] of eating a food” and the third one as “what is known about a food (e.g. where it comes from, what the nature of it is)”⁴⁹(p. 297). Through this formulation, he points to the pleasure arising from the sense. What is included in this category? My own interpretation is that this points notably to the taste and/or sensation of the food while eating, maybe the smell and view of the food before and during eating, and even the noise produced (for example, when eating crisps or biting into an apple).

However, this distinction might lead to overlook that what is (and what is not) a source of pleasure is the result of a socialization, it is learned (Moulin, 1995). The only often cited exception to that is an innate taste for sweet savors (Mintz, 1996; Moulin, 1995; Rozin, 2015)⁵⁰. Otherwise, there are thousands of examples of foods and meals that are delicious for some, and aversive for others, such as, for instance, donkey meat that is appreciated by inhabitants of Sardinia but that an Irish person would probably find disgusting (Moulin, 1995). Interestingly, all the examples through which Moulin (1995) starts his chapter on pleasure to illustrate these differences are foods of animal origin (except

⁴⁹ While one could certainly discuss the distinction between the second and third category, I won't discuss this issue here.

⁵⁰ And one could probably argue that although it is innate, it also evolves and can be transformed through the interactions with the environment.

jellies that can be made with pectin, but is often prepared with gelatin), which brings us back to the idea that these are very ambivalent foods (and not only on a nutritional level). Moreover, the assimilation between pleasure and senses in Rozin's classification would exclude pleasure taking its source in other dimensions of eating, such as sharing a meal with friends (see the sub-section on commensality, p. 89), eating a meal prepared by a loved one or the excitement of tasting a local traditional food during holidays. Pleasure cannot be reduced to a matter of taste (even a socialized one). Sharing the meal, drinking together is also a fundamental dimension of pleasure (Moulin, 1995), and it is not by chance that food is part of important social moments such as marriages.

Of course, not all societies and social groups have the same relation to pleasure, and this will also impact the way of eating and the kind of food that is favored. The impact of a puritan ideology on eating habits is certainly important. However, the relation between pleasure and food is not suppressed, but it is experienced and represented in a different way. Moulin (1995), in a slightly provocative way, affirms that "the Puritan, tormented by the knowledge of the sin he could perpetrate if he would take pleasure in eating, is delighted to eat badly" ⁵¹ (Moulin, 1995, p. 76). Pleasure is also not necessarily opposed to health. "The pleasure-health relation, notions that the contemporary imagination often tends to perceive as conflictual, was thought in premodern cultures as an indivisible link, in which the two elements (pleasure and health) mutually reinforce themselves" ⁵² (Montanari, 2010, p. 63).

3. VEGETARIAN, VEGAN, CARNIST

While the previous sections of this chapter were about the food production system and on the activities with and around food (with more or less focus on animals) with few insights about the diverse socio-cultural and psychological issues at play, in this section I will turn to the issue of the categorization of diets (and by extension labelling of people who adopt a certain diet) around foods of animal origin. Concretely, the aim of this section is to provide some clarifications about such words as vegetarianism, veganism, carnism and other related terms. The appearance of these categories is certainly not only relying on chance. Indeed, according to Anderson, "virtually all cultures differentiate

⁵¹ Original quotation in French : « le puritain, tenaillé par la connaissance du péché qu'il pourrait commettre en prenant quelque plaisir à table, se réjouit de manger mal »

⁵² Original quotation in French : « La relation plaisir-santé, termes que l'imaginaire contemporain tend souvent à percevoir comme conflictuels, était pensée dans les cultures prémodernes comme un lien insécable, dans lequel les deux éléments (le plaisir et la santé) se renforcent mutuellement. »

between animal and vegetable foods. Probably all differentiate fish from land flesh. Most distinguish leaves from root foods. Beyond these obvious distinctions, classification and terminology can be confusing" (2005, p. 118). The pervasiveness of the animal vs vegetable food distinction indicates that there is a deep difference for humans between these two categories. Lévi-Strauss points toward one dimension that might participate to an explanation. "It is not surprising that killing living beings in order to eat them causes to humans, be they conscious of it or not, a philosophical problem that every society tried to resolve" ⁵³ (1996/2001, p. 2). With this statement, Lévi-Strauss places the philosophical problem of killing in order to eat as a universal philosophical problem, and it true that this philosophical issue is often mentioned in relation to meat consumption (see for instance Benkheira, 2007; Bramble & Fischer, 2016; Cazes-Valette, 2007; Mouret, 2012). However, it is interesting to underline here that "living beings" are here implicitly supposed to be animals, while biologically plants and mushrooms also belong to that category (see Barnhill et al., 2018). Moreover, this explanation works only for meat and not for all PAO such as milk for instance. I must admit that I could not solve these questions, nevertheless this is not the scope of this thesis. However, it indicates that – maybe on a similar level than the leaves / root distinction in the vegetable food – the first important distinction in animal foods is between meat and other PAO. This distinction is reflected in the differentiation between vegetarian and vegan.

Before entering the details of terminology and the variety of practices deployed, it might be useful to recall that although it is a very contemporary debate, the issue of avoiding PAO and meat in particular is far from being new. During the first part of this chapter, I insisted a lot on the current situation of the food system and of PAO and its specificities notably in relation to industrialization and capitalism. However, debates about meat consumption, its impact and its implications, and by extension all PAO, are much older than capitalism and industrialization. Indeed, the three main arguments currently used against meat and PAO consumption, namely animal ethics, environmental impact and health questions can be traced back until Antiquity.

As Spencer puts it:

"Like many others I thought that the vegetarian movement was a very contemporary phenomenon. I had no idea that the issues which agitate so many today - a hatred of unnecessary slaughter, the concept of animal welfare, our own physical health, the earth's

⁵³ Original quotation in French : « Il n'est pas surprenant que tuer des êtres vivants pour s'en nourrir pose aux humains, qu'ils en soient conscients ou non, un problème philosophique que toutes les sociétés ont tenté de résoudre. »

balance and hence its ecology - would have been perfectly understood in the ancient world, certainly as early as 600 BC" (1993/2000, p. x).

Regarding for instance animal ethics, Le Goff's statement (see p. 72) about the absence of animals in classical moral theories might be misleading. Indeed, although there is a revival in the field of animal ethics since 1970 (in particular in the Anglo-Saxon world), questions related to animal ethics can be traced back until Antiquity. At that time, one of the reasons for which some people refused the consumption of meat was pity towards animals, while other reasons were the refusal of pain and ascetism (Larue, 2015). The issue of vegetarianism (although this word did not exist yet) was closely related to religions, as it questioned their rituals, in particular the sacrifice of animals. During the following centuries, religions will continue to participate importantly to the debates related to animal ethics. According to Larue (2015) "Without any doubt, the Talmud and the rabbinic literature lay the ground of what must be called animal ethics" ⁵⁴ (p. 88). Thus, "several authors maintain that vegetarianism and veganism are not only compatible with Judaism, but are requested by it" ⁵⁵ (p. 90). The notion of "animal ethics" nevertheless appeared only during the nineteenth century (Jeangène Vilmer, 2011), and was defined in 1894 by Ignaz Bregenzer as the "study of the moral and legal relations between humans and animals" ⁵⁶ (Jeangène Vilmer, 2011, p. 3).

It is not my aim here to provide a complete history of veg*ism (for this, see Larue, 2015; Spencer, 1993/2000), however with these few words I hope it became clear that the debates and the arguments have a long history. Moreover, this history is not necessarily a quiet and peaceful one. In Europe, it is "a history [...] of dissidence and revolt which often led to persecution and death, punishments which are only understandable once we comprehend the central and unifying role of meat within society" (Spencer, 1993/2000, p. xiii). The aim of these pages is to provide some minimal background in order for the reader to get familiar with vegetarianism and its variations. I will start with a few background information about the study of veg* in social sciences. After this, I will provide some information about what vegetarianism is, what are its variation and who are the vegetarians. In the third and fourth sub-section, I will dive a little bit deeper in two aspects that play an important role regarding veg*ism, respectively social interactions in the third sub-section and the issue of the relation to animals and to

⁵⁴ Original quotation in French : « Le Talmud et la littérature rabbinique jettent ainsi sans conteste les bases de ce qu'il faut bien appeler une éthique animale. »

⁵⁵ Original quotation in French : « Plusieurs auteurs soutiennent que le végétarisme et le végétalisme sont non seulement compatibles avec le judaïsme, mais encore exigés par lui »

⁵⁶ Original quotation in French: « l'étude des rapports moraux et juridiques entre les hommes et les animaux »

meat in the fourth sub-section. Finally, I will conclude this part with a few more information about the specific context in which this study was conducted.

A. Vegetarianism and veganism: state of the literature

In order to get an overview of the state of research on vegetarianism and veganism, I used on one side the search engine *Explore* of the Swiss French-speaking network of libraries (which includes the libraries of the universities) and, on the other side, the database Scopus. Other references were discovered during conferences, through colleagues' advices and via the references of other texts. In what follows, I start with a few numbers on the evolution of work around veg*ism and meat consumption, before presenting the field in a more qualitative way.

With the entry "vegetar*" in Title-abstract-keywords, 7'453 references appear in Scopus⁵⁷, among which more than 5'000 are from the domain of medicine. Thus, it directly appears that it is a highly medicalized field of research, while only 377 publications are associated to social sciences, and 192 to psychology. The years of publications indicate an increase in referenced publications since the beginning of the millennium. All disciplines taken together, there are, without any exception, less than 100 publications a year until 1991. Since then, the number of publications get back under 100 only in 1993. It reached the 200 for the first time in 2003, and the 300 publications in 2013. There are less than 10 publications a year in psychology until 2010, and since then there are between 10 and 20 per year. For the entry "vegan*", Scopus finds 1'569 publications all disciplines taken together, among which 955 are in medicine, 128 in social sciences and on 55 in psychology. There is also an evolution in the number of publications, with less than 50 references (all disciplines taken together) per year until 2008 (included). The threshold of 100 publications was passed for the first time in 2014. Since then, the number of publications increases steadily. In the field of psychology, the first publication is found in 1993. The number of publications per year stays under 7, except for 2017 where 15 publications are referenced. Finally, for the entry "meat", I found 119'428 references, among which 3'941 in social sciences and 704 in psychology. There is also a more or less steady increase of publications, and the threshold of 100 publications/year was passed for the first time in 1907, the threshold of 1000 in 1990 and of 4000 in 2008. However, these numbers must be considered in the frame of a global increase in scientific publications and in the limits of such a database. What can be kept from this is that the study of vegetarianism and veganism appears to be a rather recent and unexplored fields of research, in which social sciences and psychology are a clear minority.

⁵⁷ All the numbers presented here are from March (vegetar* and vegan*) and April (meat) 2018.

But we might wonder, beyond these numbers, about what has been said and by whom on these issues. I will concentrate here on social sciences and humanities. In the next paragraphs, I will simply provide a short overview. I will then go deeper into some aspects of veg*ism in the following sub-section. First of all, the history of vegetarianism received some attention, notably by Spencer (1993/2000) who wrote a very complete book on this topic, while Larue (2015) wrote the first book on history of vegetarianism in French, at the crossroad of moral philosophy and history. I mentioned above that food is a privileged topic for anthropologists and ethnographers, thus it is not surprising that they also get interested in veg*ism. Ossipow (1986, 1994, 1997) notably conducted an ethnographic study about vegetarianism and macrobiotic foodway in Switzerland almost 30 years ago. She highlights in particular the largely shared distinction made by vegetarians between dead and alive food⁵⁸, as well as the fact that more than a diet, vegetarianism is a lifestyle. Besides that, many anthropologists get interested in the use of meat and in taboos around meat, without focusing however on vegetarianism (see notably Douglas, 1966; Lévi-Strauss, 1996/2001). This issue of meat consumption and, more generally, the collaboration with or exploitation of animals (depending on the points of view) also raised philosophers' interests. Abbate (forthcoming), for instance, discusses veganism drawing on the concept of nonmaleficence, Bramble and Fischer (Bramble & Fischer, 2016) edited a book entitled "the moral complexities of eating meat", in which both pro- and anti- veg* develop their perspectives, and Lestel (2011) as a reaction against veg* discourse wrote an "Apology of the carnivore"⁵⁹.

Vegetarianism also received some attention from sociologists, as for instance Twigg (1979) who analyses vegetarianism in terms of purity and thus shows that food is also a thought provoking issue in (what she calls) advanced societies (and thus an object for sociologists) and not only in so-called primitive societies (and thus an object for anthropologists)⁶⁰. More recently, in relation to religion, Beardsworth and Keil (1992) examined the "varieties, conversions, motives and careers" (title of the article) in vegetarianism and Boyle (2011) analyzed "the eating patterns and accounts of newly practicing vegetarians" (title of the article). Donna Maurer's (1961/2002) book examining vegetarianism as a social movement is still a reference and has notably been reedited in 2014 as an e-book. Adam (1990/2010) wrote a provocative study on meat and vegetarianism from the perspective of gender studies, taking an engaged pro-vegetarian and feminist stance. In France, one group of

⁵⁸ « aliments morts et aliments vivants »

⁵⁹ « Apologie du carnivore »

⁶⁰ I decided to keep her terminology (advanced and primitive) although the distinction is quite problematic. The article was written in 1979 and debates about these notions went a long way since then.

researchers⁶¹ also worked quite extensively on habits and representations related to meat and other PAO. Some of them notably conceptualized vegetarianism as a specific form of individualization of foodways (Fischler & Pardo, 2013), a point of view that goes against many other approaches cited above that rather consider vegetarians as a group and vegetarianism as something shared and into which new people are socialized (see for instance Maurer, 1961/2002). In relation to the growing discussion on the environmental impact of meat, there is also an increasing interest in the reduction of meat consumption (see, for instance, Austgulen, 2014; Austgulen, Skuland, Schjøll, & Alfnes, 2015; Siegrist, Visschers, & Hartmann, 2015), mainly in the field of consumer behavior studies.

Finally, and to get closer to my own theoretical background, a few social psychologists also studied vegetarianism. Hussar and Harris (2009) notably get interested in children's reasons to become vegetarian, an issue that they approached from the tradition of research on moral reasoning. Minson and Monin (2012), also approaching the issue from the angle of moral psychology but with a more important focus on social interactions, studied the way meat-eaters react to vegetarians. Carmichael (2002) drew on a discursive-rhetorical approach in order to study the elaboration of a vegetarian identity. From this overview, it appears clearly that this topic stays largely unexplored by psychologists and in particular by socio-cultural psychologists. However, before moving further into the data and analysis, I will exploit a bit more the existing literature and provide a few more information about veg*ism, veg*ans and meat-eaters. In order to do so, I will start with a few terminological clarifications.

B. Who are they?

The word vegetarian was invented between 1830 and 1840 in England. The Vegetarian Society was founded in 1847 around a few principles, among which the first one was "the real humanity forbids to brutalise, to hurt or to kill any being able to feel pain"⁶² (reported by Larue, 2015, p. 192). Vegetarian diets were of course much older than that, but at this period for the first time people gathered around this idea for itself, and it was not considered primarily as a sub-issue or implication of a broader a philosophical or religious trend. The declared mission of this society is to "promote abstinence from meat"⁶³ (Larue, 2015, p. 192) and initially, participants were mainly Reformers close to utopian socialism and Christians at the fringes of the Anglican church. Ten years later, half of the members came from the working-class or from farming. In Switzerland, a similar society was founded in 1880

⁶¹ Observatoire CNIEL des habitudes alimentaires, <http://www.lemangeur-ocha.com/> (29.05.2019)

⁶² Original quotation : « la véritable humanité interdit que l'on maltraite, blesse ou tue tout être susceptible de ressentir la douleur »

⁶³ Original quotation : « promouvoir l'abstinence de viande »

(Larue, 2015). Although authors generally recognize the heterogeneity of the definitions of vegetarianism and opt for their one working definition, there is an agreement that vegetarianism is the refusal to consume meat (Ossipow, 1989). Whether this implies also fish is debated, and some also would tolerate the consumption of poultry. However, those who define vegetarianism as the avoidance of any product that requires the death of the animal strongly disagree with these “exceptions”. Moreover, researchers sometimes specify that their use of the word only concern those people who have the opportunity to eat these products but decide for some reasons not to do it (Carmichael, 2002; Lestel, 2011; Spencer, 1993/2000). Currently, many authors argue that more than a diet, vegetarianism is a lifestyle or an ideology (Maurer, 1961/2002; Ossipow, 1997; Spencer, 1993/2000). Indeed, more than a set of recipes, "it is a set of ideas and values that people and organizations can draw from and combine in different ways" (Maurer, 1961/2002, p. 70). In this context, ideology is defined as "a symbolic system that people construct and manipulate, a set of interrelated meanings that may make sense to one group of people but not another" (Maurer, 1961/2002, p. 70).

The 1940's were a period of crises and debates for vegetarianism and following notably the refusal of a vegetarian journal to publish a more radical article, the term vegan was proposed by Donald Watson. According to its founder, vegan is literally the beginning and the end of vegetarian. It's aim is not only to promote meatless nutrition, but more generally to boycott any firm using animals as a mean (Larue, 2015). Currently it is defined as “a pattern of living: to be vegan is to avoid eating or otherwise using products made from and by animals” (McPherson, 2018, p. 209). In French, there is a distinction between “végétalien”, which refers only to food habits, and “végane”, which refers to all products and activities implying the exploitation of animals. This distinction seems not to exist in English. According to Larue (2015), the number of vegans raised regularly since the invention of the term, especially since the 1990's. In our cultural context, becoming vegan is mostly the result of a personal reflexion (McPherson, 2018).

Some more specific words were proposed in order to clarify “who eats/avoids what”. It is unclear when and where they appeared. The most recent one seems to be flexitarian, a word that stays largely unknown. In the following figure (Figure 2), I summarized the main terms I encountered during my research, providing the most common definitions⁶⁴.

⁶⁴ “Pescetarian” is also very often considered as a “full” vegetarian. The choice of including it in the “semi-vegetarian” category is based on the definition of vegetarian as someone who avoids any product providing from a dead animal.

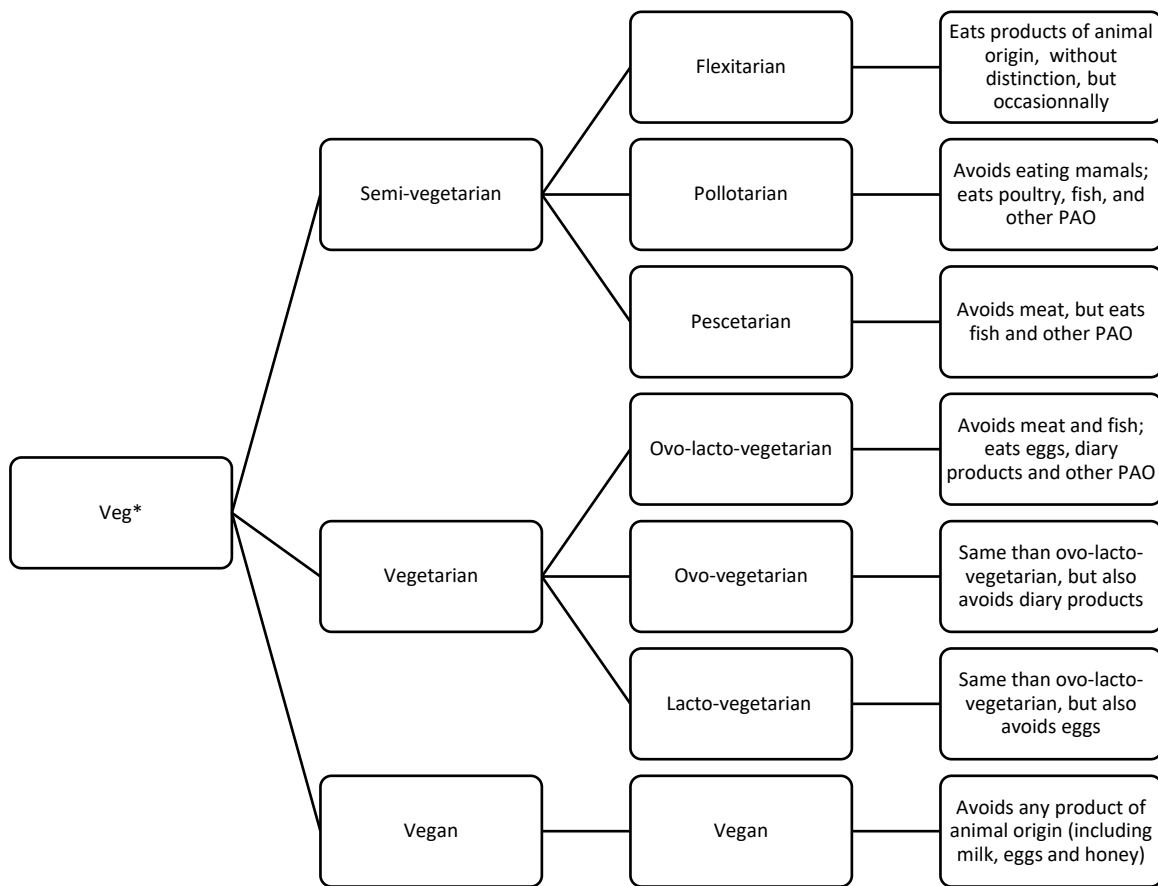


Figure 2 Terminology around vegetarianism and veganism

Historically, the word vegetarian seems to be a category that encompasses ovo-, ovo-lact, ovo-lacto-vegetarian and vegan. In contrast, nowadays it is used mostly as an equivalent of ovo-lacto-vegetarian and excludes vegan (Maurer, 1961/2002). As the story of the creation of the word vegan illustrates it, the relations between vegetarians and vegans are far from being a peaceful cohabitation, and they might attack each other with various arguments. For instance, in relation to environmental impact, vegans might argue that milk cows produce 80% of the greenhouse effect gases generated by livestock farming. Therefore, a vegetarian who consumes a lot of milk is more harmful for the environment than someone who eats meat from time to time, but uses less milk (Larue, 2015 see p. 267). On the other hand, I also found some debates in media about the word flexitarian, with vegetarians arguing that flexitarians are just meat-eaters (or carnists, see below) and that the word flexitarian only serves to assuage the conscience of people unable to stop eating meat.

The fact of rejecting some “foods” that are available (be it individually or collectively) is not specific to vegetarianism or veganism. Foods is into brackets here because precisely, these elements are not considered as food (or their status as food is contested), although they are potential nutriments for humans. On the opposite, this seems to be a common feature of human food culture (Anderson, 2005). This is also why some people refuse to oppose the notion of vegetarian to the notion of omnivore,

arguing that vegetarians (and vegans) are omnivores – they can potentially eat a wide range of foods, and they actually do so, while as any other (omnivore) human being they do not eat everything that is available and edible (Anderson, 2005; Lewin, 1943). Rozin (2015, p. 297) identifies four categories of rejection: distaste (“negative sensory affective properties”), danger (“believed to be harmful” and related to fear), inappropriate (“things that the culture labels as inedible”) and disgust (similar to inappropriate, but in addition “there is a strong believe that disgusts taste bad and are harmful”).

In order to name the diets in which meat are consumed, and differentiate them from vegetarian diets, two notions (except omnivore – that I already discussed above) I found were “meat-eater” and “carnist”. The notion of carnism was proposed initially by Melanie Joy. Larue (2015) defines carnism as the establishment, on arbitrary bases, of distinctions between species that can be eaten and others that cannot be eaten. In that sense, it seems very close to speciesism as it is defined by anti-speciesists, with the difference however that the focus is here on the edible dimension. Moreover, Larue (2015) adds that carnism ignores, negates or underestimates the suffering of slaughter animals as well as the environmental consequences. He identifies three types of justification: 1) eating meat is normal (everyone does it), 2) it is necessary (nutritional argument) and 3) it is natural (a characteristic of human beings). Fischer (2018), listing the justifications of “the man on the street” (p. 241) for meat consumption, adds a gustatory argument to these three, namely that it is nice. These justifications are sometimes labelled the 4Ns: eating meat is necessary, normal, natural and nice (Piazza et al., 2015). The fact that researchers from social sciences have studied the classification of animals as edible vs non-edible might lead to question the arbitrariness of the categorization, and I will come back to that point later (sub-section “animals”). Globally, these studies highlight that “we navigate a carninormative world” (Bramble & Fischer, 2016, p. 2) in which meat consumption is the norm rather than the exception (again, this is valid for the context of this study).

Beyond the naming of the practice, the choice to eat or not to eat PAO, the level of flexibility in it and the conditions and contexts that might frame these practical choices are highly diverse. The heterogeneity of vegetarianism is often underlined (Lestel, 2011; Ossipow, 1989). One of the points on which this is manifest is the reason declared as the trigger for the change: "personal health, concern about the treatment of farm animals (which often includes belief in animal rights), environmental issues, world hunger concerns, and disgust at the thought of consuming the flesh of a dead animal" (Maurer, 1961/2002, p. 3) seems to be a reasonable overview. As Maurer highlights it, these reasons are often grouped into health reasons vs moral/ethical reasons (in which case environmental issues are part of moral/ethical reasons). Regarding more particularly veganism, Larue (2015) identifies three main arguments currently, namely nutritional dimensions, the respect of animals and ecological reasons.

A majority of vegetarians are women. In 2002 and for the USA, Maurer (1961/2002) speaks about 70%. This is often explained by the shared representation that meat, and especially red meat, is related to masculinity (Cavazza et al., 2017; Rozin, Hormes, Faith, & Wansink, 2012). "The myth remains: men are strong, men need to be strong, thus men need meat" (Adams, 1990/2010, p. 57). Moreover, women seem also more prone to opt for a veg* diet for health reasons. As a correlate, there seems to be a threat, for men, to lose one's masculinity if becoming vegetarian (Brady & Ventresca, 2014; Maurer, 1961/2002). While it is also often argued that more women are vegetarian because traditionally food and nutrition are their domain or because they are more attentive about health issues and especially their weight, it might also be the case that being married prevents them from becoming vegetarian (Maurer, 1961/2002).

Regarding practices, the diversity goes certainly beyond a simple opposition between those who are consistent in their choices (strict vegetarians or vegans) and those who are not consistent (flexitarians, flexible vegans). While McPherson, by the use of the term "weak-willed" (2018, p. 210), presents the issue in terms of volition, the following (fictional) example illustrates that these different positions can relate to different understandings of the situation, of the impact one has in it and of what has to be prioritized. Jeangène Vilmer proposes to imagine that Singer, who defines himself as a flexible vegan, and Francione, an intransigent vegan, go to the restaurant.

"Let's imagine that both of them order a vegan dish but that it arrives after all dusted with parmesan, for instance. An intransigent vegan such as Francione would send the dish back to the kitchen (the principle of interpretative charity forbids us to write that he would kick up a fuss). A flexible vegan such as Singer would consider the consequences - the waste that it would provoke (the parmesan is already used be it consumed or not) and the negative image of veganism that this would provoke in the mind of the spectators of the scene, and who could afterwards close themselves to the possibility to be convinced even by a rational argumentation – to conclude that it is better to eat it." ⁶⁵ (Jeangène Vilmer, 2011, p. 50)

What Jeangène Vilmer points to is the impact of the behaviour, in particular on other (non veg*) people. For Singer (in this example), this reason is more important than the wish not to ingest products

⁶⁵ Original quotation in French : « Imaginons qu'ils commandent tous les deux un plat végétalien mais que celui-ci arrive malgré tout saupoudré de parmesan, par exemple. Un végétalien intransigeant à la Francione renverrait le plat à la cuisine (le principe de charité interprétative nous interdit d'écrire qu'il ferait un scandale). Un végétalien flexible à la Singer considérerait les conséquences – le gâchis que cela causerait (le parmesan est déjà utilisé qu'il soit ou non consommé) et l'image négative que cela donnerait du végétalisme dans l'esprit des spectateurs de la scène, qui pourraient ensuite se fermer à la possibilité d'être convaincus par une argumentation rationnelle – pour conclure qu'il vaut mieux le manger. »

of animal origin at all (although it is not completely clear why). In short, the reasons and the goals a person has for being veg* will affect the strictness of her diet, but also her engagement, and this is also highlighted by Maurer (1961/2002) who states that vegetarians for health reasons are more susceptible to make exceptions, to be vegetarians only for a short time, and they are less likely to engage in vegetarian organisations.

C. Veg* in social interactions

I ended the previous sub-section with Jeangène Vilmer's (fictional) example of a situation in a restaurant, highlighting notably the importance of the context and of the other people who are present in the protagonists' food choices in this particular moment. Indeed, food choices are not made in a social vacuum or only in relations to more or less happy animals, a planet about which we receive more bad news than good ones, distant farmers and abstract investors. People are obviously interacting, whatever their position on food of animal origin is, and the sub-section on commensality (p. 89) already highlights the importance of the social situation in relation to eating. Meat consumption, animal ethics and vegetarianism are some of the topics people might discuss, especially when sharing a meal. What happens during these interactions has also attracted researchers' attention, and one of the phenomena that is regularly pointed at is that the presence of a vegetarian seems to disturb the taken-for-granted nature of meat consumption.

"In order for us to continue to eat meat and fish without any feeling of guiltiness, we need to know that all the other members of our group act in the same way. In a way, the unanimity of violence keeps personal responsibility away; it prevents us from thinking too much about it. The only presence of a vegetarian generally disrupts this unconscious and tacit agreement. (...) Until then, it was neither good or bad to eat meat, and carnism was out of the field of morale. In front of a vegetarian or a vegan, the carnivore person must notice that there is an alternative and that he might henceforth choose to kill or to spare animals, to destroy or to preserve nature" ⁶⁶ (Larue, 2015, p. 255-256).

⁶⁶ Original quotation in French : « Pour que nous puissions continuer à manger de la viande ou du poisson sans éprouver de culpabilité, nous avons besoin de savoir que tous les autres membres de notre groupe agissent de la même manière. L'unanimité de la violence éloigne en quelque sorte la responsabilité individuelle; elle évite que nous y pensions trop. La seule présence d'un végétarienrompt généralement cet accord inconscient et tacite. (...) Jusque-là, il n'était ni bien ni mal de manger de la viande, et le carnisme se trouvait hors du champ de la morale. Face à un végétarien ou un végane, le carnivore doit bien constater qu'une alternative existe et qu'il peut désormais choisir de tuer ou d'épargner les animaux, de détruire ou de préserver la nature. »

This reaction of meat-eaters to vegetarian is what Minson and Monin (2012) study under the angle of social psychology. They provide evidence for the “backlash” experienced by vegetarians as a moral minority, drawing on studies that highlighted that overt moral behaviour tends to arouse negative reactions rather than admiration or inspiration. The originality of their study is to show that there is no need for an overt moral behaviour (a behaviour presented as moral or more moral by the person who performs it), but that anticipating the possibility of a moral reproach or statement of moral superiority is enough to trigger the negative reaction.

We saw in the second part of this chapter the importance of the importance of group identity and of commensality. In relation to vegetarianism, this of course might raise issues, especially with those with whom you eat the most often, or for whom you prepare meal. Thus, marriage seems to be one place where social interactions around vegetarianism might trigger particularly difficult situations. "Some [women] have faced spousal disapproval, rejection, and even violence" (Maurer, 1961/2002, p. 11). Thus, while Lewin (1943) and Mead (1943) stated that women have a certain power over what is eaten in the family as they are responsible for food (do not forget that their work was conducted in 1943), this assumption was questioned by McIntosh and Zey (2004) who highlighted that having the responsibility for food in the household does not necessarily mean having the control.

The pervasiveness of social interactions also brings to the foreground the question of the individual vs collective. Should veg* be a strictly personal choice that everyone is free to make or not? What can be debated and explained around a table, especially when there is meat on it? What pictures can be showed, should slaughterhouses be opened for visits? Should we forbid to produce foie gras? Lestel (2011) states that, from a personal choice, vegetarianism became a categorical imperative. However, Greek philosophers were already advocating for animals' lives in the public debate during the Antiquity, and the declared aim of the Vegetarian Society at its foundation was explicitly the *promotion* of abstinence from meat (Larue, 2015). So the “from private to public” movement as presented by Lestel seems a bit dubious. What is possible and probable, however, is that for different reasons (presented in the first part of this chapter), we are at a moment of intensification and high visibility of these debates. Moreover, the articulation between the individual and the collective certainly also has its socio-historical specificities (Ferry & Renaut, 1987). Moreover, this discussion is also tidily related to the issue of personal, collective and institutional responsibility. Indeed, regarding PAO, who bears responsibility for what is fundamental in the argumentation for and against different types of foodways as well as the establishment of regulations (Austgulen, 2014; Driver, 2016; Gilson, 2014). This responsibility is also negotiated in social relations, and Minson and Monin's study (2012) as well as Larue's statement (see the beginning of this sub-section) are indeed examples of these kind of negotiations.

Thus, interactions are a crucial moment for those who would like to promote vegetarianism, as the interaction with a vegetarian is a common point for many people during their transition towards vegetarianism (Maurer, 1961/2002; Ossipow, 1997). According to that, it seems logical that the arguments used might vary depending on time and situation. Moreover, there seems also to be an evolution in the experience with pro-vegetarian arguments, and Boyle (Boyle, 2011) highlights that recent vegetarians use mainly monothematic argumentation in order to justify their change, which he interprets a first step before the complexification of the argument. Beyond strictly interpersonal social interactions, other often mentioned resources are books and films (Maurer, 1961/2002; Ossipow, 1997), and we might wonder what is the role played nowadays by internet, and in particular, social medias.

D. Relations between humans and animals

One dimension of vegetarianism and meat consumption that triggered a lot of work in social sciences is the question of what (what rituals and representations) allows humans to consume certain animals or parts of animals and not others. Indeed, scholars noticed that the relation with animal food was highly complex and ritualized, and it seems that there is a necessity for certain steps in order to transform a dead animal into meat – a process in which material and symbolic level are tidily interrelated (Kjaernes & Lavik, 2007). Given the importance of this issue in literature and for the understanding of vegetarianism, in this sub-section I will briefly elaborate on this question.

First of all, the fact that animals are not a homogeneous category is largely recognized, as well as the fact that these categorisations are socio-culturally specific (Digard, 2007). Digard (2007) proposes to distinguish between pets⁶⁷, of which the only function is to keep company to their master; farm animals that are raised essentially for the food they will produce; and wild animals that are supposed to be unscathed by relations with humans. Lévi-Strauss (1996/2001) proposes a slightly different categorization, based on the one proposed by Auguste Comte, which distinguishes 1) animals that are dangerous for humans, 2) species that were raised, protected and transformed by men and 3) sociable species that are affective companions to humans. Lévi-Strauss adds that 1) these are currently in danger of extinction, 2) these were massively objectified and are merely laboratories of food while 3) these were also recognized for other abilities and assist humans in more and more tasks. Moreover, the fact that some animals are considered as closer to human beings than others, and that this plays a fundamental role in the possibility to consider them as edible, is also underlined (Bonte, 2007). For

⁶⁷ « animaux de compagnie »

animals to become potential food, they must be considered as neither too close to human beings, and neither too far away (strange) (Cazes-Valette, 2007; Rozin et al., 2008), but again, what is considered as close or far is socio-culturally and historically situated (Cazes-Valette, 2007).

In addition to this classificatory dimension, Cazes-Valette (2007) identifies different strategies that make meat consumption acceptable, also starting from the assumption that the killing implied by meat is not psychologically so easy to handle. These strategies are collective ways of doing and of saying rather than individual characteristics (in contrast with what will be presented about the meat-paradox below). She identifies three main strategies, which are 1) euphemisation of language – the fact that very often the word for the animal and the word for the meat are different (for instance a cow vs beef), 2) delegation to professionals and removal – the fact that places where animals are raised, killed and transformed into meat are more and more invisible in the society, and 3) and “sarcophagy”⁶⁸ – a neologism that designate

“the operation [that] consists into eating meat that is presented in a way that the animal from which it comes cannot be recognized anymore (and the eater is thus a “flesh-eater”), in contrast with zoophagy where the “animal-eaters” assume their carnivorous condition and can serenely see on the table a piece of meat whose origin is identifiable”⁶⁹ (Cazes-Valette, 2007, p. 160).

While these works on classification and processes rendering meat edible were mainly produced by anthropologists and sociologists, a few psychologists also got interested in the relations between humans and animals, trying to study the representations we have of animals, their abilities and their suffering. However, in psychology “there is strikingly little about how we think about animals and specifically what determines our moral evaluations of them” (Kasperbauer, 2018, p. 1). This relative absence is also highlighted by Hussar and Harris (2009), who get interested in vegetarianism under the angle of moral decision making in children. They interpret the references to animal ethics by vegetarian children as an extension of the definition of moral transgression focusing “on the harm and suffering of the victim (Smetana, 2006; Turiel, 2006)” (Hussar & Harris, 2009, p. 633). According to them, “children who make choices based on animal welfare have simply ‘expanded the circle’ (Singer, 1981) within which such consideration apply” (Hussar & Harris, 2009, p. 633). The how and why of this expansion are not further developed. Another way through which the relations between humans and

⁶⁸ In French : « sarcophagie »

⁶⁹ Original quotation in French : « L’opération consiste à manger des viandes présentées de telle sorte qu’on ne puisse plus reconnaître l’animal dont elles sont issues (on est donc « mangeur de chair »), à la différence de la zoophagie où les « mangeurs d’animaux » assument leur condition de carnivores et peuvent sereinement voir figurer sur leur table une viande dont l’origine est identifiable. »

animals/meat received attention recently was through studies of the so-called “meat-paradox”. This paradox is defined in the following way: “Most people care about animals and do not want to see them harmed but engage in a diet that requires them to be killed and, usually, to suffer” (Loughnan, Bastian, & Haslam, 2014, p. 104). The authors add that this paradox is not necessarily experienced as a conflict and that some forms of meat consumption (such as meat from road-killed animals) escape to that definition. These authors read the paradox as a form of cognitive dissonance. Vegetarians escape to the dissonance by changing their behaviour, while meat eaters tend to adapt their beliefs about animal suffering. They also highlight a series of “psychological characteristics” associated with meat consumption, in particular authoritarianism and social dominance orientation, as well as an identity factor related to masculinity. These characteristics are related to a lower concern for the moral dimension of animal killing. As these studies provide statistical correlations, little is said on the kind of relations between these dimensions and on the dynamics underlying the construction and deconstruction of these “characteristics” and the moral positioning towards meat. Moreover, the assumption of the cognitive dissonance theory stating that humans aim at reducing inconsistency has also been questioned (Panagiotou & Kadianaki, 2019).

Loughnan, Bastian and Haslam (2014) provide an overview of psychological studies analysing representations of animals by humans with the aim of better understanding the role played by these representations in the possibility to eat meat. What comes out is that both the attributions of feelings (does the animal suffer) and of mind (does it think) come into play to a certain extent. However, the two questions “can the animal be eaten” and “is it worth of moral consideration” are a bit blurred in this article. The authors come to the conclusion that “attributing animals lesser minds and reducing their perceived capacity to suffer is a powerful means of resolving the meat paradox” (Loughnan et al., 2014, p. 106). But less than what? The point of comparison stays unclear: less intelligent/sensitive than what the animal is according to biology and ethology? Less than for a vegetarian? Or less than other animals? This remains unclear in this article. It seems that our representations are built to a large extent according to a contrasting principle; animals allow us to construct an identity of human beings as different from them. The process of infrahumanization, leading “people to treat an entity as inferior to human beings without thoroughly treating the entity as worthless” (Kasperbauer, 2018, p. 4), is the mechanism that, according to Kasperbauer (2018), allows humans to maintain a sufficient distance with non-human animals and thus to manage the threat that they could represent for human beings. The first way in which this threat may appear is related to the need to maintain our place as human beings on the ontological scale. If animals become too close to humans on this scale, they become a threat for this world order. The second way is related to spatial organization. When animals enter houses or rooms planned for human beings, they breach the human – animal boundary on the physical

level and therefore become threatening on a symbolical level. The reaction observed notably in the case of pigs is to “put an extra stigma [...] to reaffirm, with language and taboos, that they are separate from us” (Kasperbauer, 2018, p. 6). Thirdly, Kasperbauer (2018) mentions mortality salience, which stipulates that animals remind us our mortality as living beings. Indeed, this mortality salience seems confirmed by Rozin, Haidt and McCauley’s (2008) study. They identify a series of characteristics that provoke disgust, among which the resemblance with some body products, the fact of being “commonly in contact with rotting animal flesh, feces, or other human wastes” (p. 760), all aspects that reminds the body and the fact that this body is submitted to the law of time (see also Larue, 2015).

E. Situation in the context of this study

“Often vegetarian creed has been one of dissidence, comprising rebels and outsiders, individuals and groups who find society they live in to lack moral worth” (Spencer, 1993/2000, p. xiii). In the context of our study, namely a region in the north-west of Switzerland, it is clearly the case that veg* are a minority, and to that extent they question some taken-for-granted assumptions of the majority. It is not easy to find statistics about vegetarians, notably because of the heterogeneity of the definitions and the lack of agreement “from when on” someone counts as a veg*an. Should a person who eats meat once a year be counted among vegetarians? And a person eating meat once a month? Twice a month? Once a week? Do pescatarian count as vegetarian? Different studies are not always clear about the definitions they use, and this might partly explain the differences in findings.

The Federal Statistics Office, in its statistic for 2002, indicates that 0.9% of the population in Switzerland is ovo-lacto-vegetarian or lacto-vegetarian, and 0.1% is ovo-vegetarian or vegan (Tschannen & Calmonte, 2005). For 2017, they report 1.9% of men and 5.5% of women eating meat less than once a week, and among them 1.3% of men and 3.9% of women who never eat meat. This shows that there is indeed a difference between genders in meat consumption, a difference that is also reported by Proviande (2017). Does it mean that the veg* population in Switzerland is increasing? This cannot be stated as in 2017, fish was not taken into consideration and thus these numbers also include the pescatarians, who were excluded in 2002 (Meyre, 2017). Another source reports 6.5% of women and 2.5% of men are vegetarian or vegan in a survey conducted in 2014-15 (Office fédéral de la sécurité alimentaire et des affaires vétérinaires, 2017), while Proviande (2017) mentions 3.9% of the population indicating that they never eat meat. A study ordered by the organization SwissVeg provides a quite different image, reporting that in Switzerland 3% of the population is vegan, 11% vegetarian and 17% flexitarian. However, among them only 1.5% are strictly vegan and 6.8% are strictly vegetarian (Pichler & Raschle, 2017).

Between 2007 and 2014, the average consumption of meat and fish decreased slightly, with a difference of 1.1 kg per person per year (Meyre, 2017). In 2016, 2670 tonnes of PAO were consumed in Switzerland, which means in average 315 kg of PAO per person in 2016, among which 49 kg of meat and 8 kg of fish (still per person) (Office fédéral de la statistique, 2018). Thus, the 1.1 kg decrease over 7 year is quite anecdotal. However, another source reports a decrease of 5.2% (from 53.6 to 50.98 kg/person/year) between 1996 and 2016 (Proviande, 2017), and this goes in the same direction of a small but steady decrease. In average, the consumption of meat is three time as high as recommended by nutritionists (Office fédéral de la sécurité alimentaire et des affaires vétérinaires, 2017). It seems also that there are differences between the regions, with the French speaking region having the highest consumption in average (119g/person/day), followed by the Italian speaking part (116g/person/day). The Swiss German speaking part has the lowest average consumption (107g/person/day) (Office fédéral de la sécurité alimentaire et des affaires vétérinaires, 2017). This difference between the Swiss German speaking part and the French speaking part is also reported by Proviande (2017) as well as by Swissveg (Pichler & Raschle, 2017) who reports 5% of vegetarians in the French speaking part against 12% in the Swiss German speaking part.

Beyond the divergences regarding the exact number of vegetarians and vegans, it is undeniable that vegetarians and vegans (strict or not) are a minority in Switzerland, and an even smaller minority in the French speaking part, where I conducted my study. The gender difference reported elsewhere (Adams, 1990/2010; Maurer, 1961/2002) also appears in our context, with more women than men among vegetarians.

4. A PSYCHOLOGICAL STUDY AROUND VEG*ISM

As a conclusion to this chapter, I will very shortly sum up the main points presented above, come back on the articulation between the theoretical frame and the object of study and finally add a few words about the way this thesis should contribute to the existing literature. I started this chapter with a presentation of the current food system and particularly aimed at highlighting its complexities and the interconnection between a multiplicity of actors and dimensions, such as notably the socio-economic, political, ethical, environmental and health dimensions. I stressed that this food system is characterized by its high level of industrialization as well as by the dominance of a capitalist neoliberal conception. In the second part of the chapter, I provided an overview of some of the most important aspects of food and eating according to the social sciences. One of the central notions in the study of food is identity, which is constructed on several levels simultaneously. I also underlined the important

moral dimensions of food related activities, as well as the centrality of pleasure. Thus, this part allowed to stress the symbolic and subjective dimensions of food, in contrast with the first part that was more technically oriented (although both cannot be strictly separated). In both the first and the second part, I regularly highlighted that PAO and, in particular, meat constitute a category that for different reasons is often at the heart of debates and raises particularly strong dynamics. Finally, in the third part I concentrated on vegetarianism and its variations and went also a little bit further in the particularities and issues of meat consumption. I started with a short overview of the state of the literature on these topics, and then brought some clarifications about these notions, their history, their variations and what they designate. Then, I developed a bit more what I found to be two significant issues regarding veg*ism, namely what happens in social interactions and what processes make animals edible. Finally, I gave some information about the situation of veg* in the context of this study.

A. A socio-cultural approach of veg*ism

While the aim of this thesis is to better understand the individual's positioning regarding the issues around PAO, the socio-cultural approach also participates to shaping the understanding of the more global dynamics around this phenomenon and the aim of this sub-section is to go slightly further in the reflection about the way this particular theoretical perspective (see chapter two) contributes to a certain understanding of the phenomena presented in the present chapter. To some extent, this represents also an elaboration, with a focus on psychology, of the argument that food related issues are a topic for social sciences. In order to do so, I will come back in this sub-section on the main assumptions presented in the general framework and briefly examine their meaning for what was presented in this chapter.

Firstly, I highlighted that mediation is at the core of the socio-cultural understanding of human activities and psychological processes. The mediation might imply artefacts, in which case it is merely oriented toward the material world, and signs, in which case it is oriented towards psychological processes. In the case of food, the awareness of the process of mediation leads to understand food production, preparation and consumption as a mediated activity through which humans transform their environment in order to make some of it edible and finally affect their own body in order to keep it alive. Semiotic mediation is also central at every step of the process, as it allows to exchange information about products and techniques (for example when is the best moment to plant strawberries, how to prepare a gratin or that raw potatoes are indigestible), it permits to coordinate actions (for example deciding who will cook, what will be prepared, who will be present) and it is the process underlying the meaning-making processes around food, which - as we saw in this chapter -

are very important. Hence, mediation leads to understand that what is at stake in a possible change towards veg* is both about what is materially possible (for the body and depending on the environment) and about the available knowledge and what is meaningful, but also about the artefacts and signs through which people can act on and make sense of themselves and the world. Moreover, mediation aims at acting on something, it is oriented towards a transformation, and this aspect can also be related to the pragmatist approach which gives a central place to action. Thus, this theoretical orientation leads to understand food related activities as “doing”. In this sense, eating is doing something to one’s body and to one’s mind, and possibly to others who share the meal with me. It is also doing something to the food (cutting it, chewing it...). Through the choice of the products or the meal, it might also be perceived as doing something to the environment or to an animal, and before that, the production of food is definitely about action and about transformation. Again, semiotic dimensions can be very important, and presenting oneself as vegetarian might also be understood as doing something to others.

Secondly, the temporal dimension is another aspect considered as central in socio-cultural psychology. It invites, in order to understand what “are” foodways such as veg*, to pay attention to their emergence, to the processes of construction and to the articulation between what changes and what stays stable. The socio-cultural approach also invites to consider how different temporalities articulate, and thus to go beyond the temporality of the person in order to consider the socio-cultural temporality or historical change. In particular, in the case of food, this leads to consider the current situation as the result of a long and complex history, marked notably by industrialization, technological development, different ideologies (for instance regarding the conceptualization of animals and of economy), political choices and so on. In other words, it stresses also human activities as a central component in the way the present situation came into being, in contrast with other approaches that might frame it as a necessity. In addition to that, the socio-cultural approach is not merely turned towards the past but also highlights the future-orientedness of human beings, a future that is considered, at least to some extent, as undefined and “in-the-making” in the present. I suggest here (in line with Shotter, 1974) that it also implies to consider the future as partly undefined or “to-be-constructed” at a collective level and on a larger time scale. Regarding the food related issues discussed here, this is central because discussing a possible contribution of psychology (or any other science) to these challenges is pointless if the future is not, to some extent, still to be constructed.

Together with what we could call the temporal situatedness of human activities comes also the socio-cultural situatedness: these activities and the processes underlying them are unfolding in a specific place, within social groups and within a socio-material environment. Indeed, socio-cultural psychology highlights the fundamental importance of the social dimension in human development and it also gives

importance to materiality. The notion of socio-materiality aims at highlighting the extent to which both are intertwined. The notion of “social” is very broad and can thus point toward many different levels. In the case of food, it might first of all lead to recognize the importance of social interactions in the shaping of a foodway, and more broadly of the different discourses and practices that exist in a specific socio-cultural context, as well as to pay attention to the way foodways participate to shape our identities as member of different groups. The principles at the core of dialogism are also of relevance to understand some social relations. Regarding the food system for instance, it leads to understand its functioning as a highly complex system of interactions and interdependances in which each actor produces meanings and objects addressed to others, simultaneously answering some demand and anticipating some answers. The same principles also shed a particular light on the relations between vegetarians and carnists. The study (Minson & Monin, 2012) highlighting an anticipation, among carnists, of moral judgement by vegetarians (see p. 105) is a beautiful illustration of dialogicity. Finally, the socio-cultural environment will also play a decisive role regarding the tools and signs available to the person, and thus orient and frame what is possible to her or him.

B. The relevance of the conceptual tools for studying veg*ism

While in the previous sub-section, I concentrated on some fundamental assumptions of socio-cultural psychology and the way these shape the understanding of food and foodways, I will turn now towards the more specific conceptual tools used in this study and examine how these resonate with some aspects of the phenomenon under study. In order to do so, I will follow the same order of presentation than I used for these conceptual tools in chapter two, namely positioning, rupture/transition, responsibility and creativity.

a. Positioning and veg*

Through the abductive process of research, I found that some characteristics of food related activities fit particularly well with some aspects of positioning as presented in chapter two. Obviously, this is partly because getting familiar with this notion led me to perceive in particular some of the dimensions of the phenomenon. I identified four main points on which this is the case. Firstly, the notion of positioning is inclusive enough to consider both practices and discourses. This is important as the both are constitutive of foodways. This allows to take into consideration the articulation between, for example, a self-identifying as flexitarian, arguing for vegetarianism, reflecting about the role of the consumer regarding industrial meat production, buying meat only once a year. Secondly, positioning refers both to interactional acts (from the discursive tradition, but also to some types of dialogical approaches) and to intraindividual processes (as conceptualized by some dialogical approaches,

notably dialogical self theory). Regarding this study, this is important as food related activities are often shared or taking place in socially shared places and are an important topic of conversation, but at the same time eating, chewing and taking the food inside one's body are finally very personal acts, and more globally a person can possibly develop her own foodway that is not a simple copy of the foodway of the group. In the case of veg*ism in particular, this possibility of a personal path that is not the one taken by the majority must be considered. Thirdly, given that positionings are conceptualized as relational (to others and/or to a landscape), they allow to take seriously into account (1) the social dimension of eating (which, we saw in this chapter, is very important) and also, more globally, (2) the fact that food related activities are complex relations to the environment as the place in which humans produce what they will eat, as well as (3) the debates that are constitutive of the discursive environment of the person (as for example debates about animal ethics). Fourthly, I mentioned in this chapter the importance of pleasure in food related activities, in particular in relation to taste and to commensality. Thus, it is important to have a theoretical approach that is not merely rationalistic, and Benson (2001) indeed underlines the fundamental role of emotions in the positioning process.

b. Ruptures/transitions and consumption of PAO

We might wonder whether the concepts of rupture and transition also resonate with some dimensions discussed in the present chapter. As a reminder, I choose this couple of notions because they allow to address the temporal dimension, and thus the process of change in its possible developmental aspects. On the other side, several authors in the field of food studies argue that there is a need for research exactly on the processes of change in foodway (Anderson, 2005; Farquhar, 2006). It seems plausible



Figure 3 Advertisement by a supermarket for vegetarian and vegan products, bus station in the region where the study took place, August 2017. Translation: « We promise: 30% more products for vegetarians and vegans » (in the frame of a campaign announcing changes

that a change in foodway represents a questioning of what was taken-for-granted as well as a reorganization of the person's habits and representations that asks for a renegotiation of identity, meaning-making and knowledge construction (see notably Carmichael, 2002; Ossipow, 1997). This would correspond quite exactly to Zittoun's definition of the rupture/transition process.

In addition to that, the three causes of ruptures described by Zittoun (2007), namely a change in the cultural context, a change in the relationships, and a change in the person herself (see p. 43) might also be related to what we know about veg*ism. Indeed, it is possible to imagine all these types of causes provoking ruptures in the people's foodways. Regarding the first type of causes, the importance of the debates around PAO in the context of the study, the increasing availability of veg*an labelled food or the emergence of tags denouncing animal exploitation (see also Figure 3 as an example of the way veg*ism is promoted in the public space) might play this role, as all of them are examples of change in the cultural context of the person. An illustration of the second type of cause might be that a close friend becomes vegetarian, or that meat starts to be considered as a part of a dead animal, an idea that might transform it from a desirable to a disgusting object. As examples of the last type, we can think about events such as pregnancy or injuries. Nevertheless, these distinctions might sometimes appear as a bit blurred. If we take the example of a person who stops to eat meat because of the disgust that he or she feels regarding meat, we can assess that this disgust is situated at a very personal level – and thus the rupture would be identified as coming from the person. However, this disgust is related to meat, therefore to an external object which status obviously changed for the person, and this points rather to the second type of cause. Moreover, the discourses that circulate about meat production certainly also have an impact in this change, and this is the first type of cause. The current situation in the frame of this thesis can certainly be described as a change in the cultural context of the participants. I argued elsewhere that the meat production system is currently undergoing a crisis (Gfeller, accepted). This might favour ruptures in the sense defined above, but does not necessarily imply them as Zittoun (2007) highlights it. It is also not certain that a change in foodway is always experienced as a rupture (with the feeling of uncertainty that this implies). This question must be examined base by case (this will be the object of chapter seven). Through these distinctions and definitions, the rupture/transition couple leads notably to pay attention to the way a situation or issue is experienced on the personal level vs how it is framed socially. It also invites to consider carefully moments of change and reorganization in the foodway. Finally, the definition of different types of ruptures invites to examine what is experienced as a mismatch in the relation of the person to him or herself, to other or objects and to the cultural environment.

c. Responsibility and food consumption

While I highlighted in chapter two the relevance of responsibility in order to understand positioning and more precisely self-creativity, this notion is also very relevant in the field of food studies. I underlined in chapter two the controversies and debates around this notion, and I will now come back on these debates in relation to food. The complex network of actors which is constitutive of the foodscape, the diversity of activities implied and the challenges that the food system faces raises the question of responsibility. Who can be held responsible for the environmental impact of PAO, for the working conditions of peasants, for the way animals are treated in food industry? How is the responsibility of producing meat (notably of killing an animal) distributed? Responsibility seems to shift more and more to the individual level (notably concerning health issues, see Turner, 1991a; but also to be an ethical consumer), in accordance with a neoliberal and individualistic perspective (Gilson, 2014). This is also true in the case of meat (Austgulen, 2014). However, this issue is controversial. The idea that the consumer is responsible for her or his choices and plays a central role in the market by defining the demand is largely shared (Austgulen, 2014; Gilson, 2014), for instance as a background assumption in consumer studies, as in the following quotation: “Consumers play an important role in promoting sustainable foods. They drive demand for produced foods and choose from market-available products (Johnston et al., 2014)” (Lazzarini, Visschers, & Siegrist, 2018, p. 564).

Nevertheless, we saw that the consequences of one’s actions lie at the core of the definition of responsibility (see Benson, 2001), and it is largely recognized that becoming vegetarian at the individual level does not have any noteworthy impact on animal welfare or on environment (McPherson, 2018; Nefsky, 2018). Acting as an ethical consumer and “voting with one’s fork” might indeed be a piece of the change, however it is not sufficient for changing anything in the food system. It might also just be a way to be in peace with one’s consciousness. “Feeling good about our food choices, whether purchased or hunted, is never enough, even if it is the beginning of civic responsibility” (List, 2018, p. 181). List (2018) analyses this in the case of new hunters who argue for local food and for being able to assume the death of the animal, but who do not care about the social and political dimensions that will guarantee the possibilities to hunt. Thus, the debates in the field of food studies send us back to the importance of the socio-cultural environment for the shaping of the possibilities at the individual level.

In addition to that, I presented in chapter two the distinction between the liability model and social connection model (see p. 48) as one theoretical tool used by researchers in order to discuss responsibility in food systems. Drawing on this distinction and on the diagnostic that the problems in our food system are of systemic and structural nature, Gilson (2014) analyses the conceptions of

responsibility that underlie the “vote with your fork/dollars” motto, an exhortation that is largely shared, often perceived as an expression of citizenship and the equivalent of the political act of voting. Firstly, voting with one’s fork refers to an individual conception of responsibility, rather than shared. This implies, secondly, that the taking of responsibility is voluntary, it is a personal choice. Thirdly, this model of acting is not adapted to address urgent injustices. And finally, it does not address the structural relations of the food system, neither the underlying ideological assumptions, such as “the view of food as a commodity rather than basic need and right” (Gilson, 2014, p. 123). She adds that these problems come from the neoliberalist approach that underlies these conceptions of responsibility and of food, which again brings us back to the importance of the socio-cultural and historical frame in which individuals elaborate their positioning. In sum, considering the construction of responsibility leads to pay attention to the way responsibility is negotiated in the socio-cultural context. Moreover, and this is less present in food studies, socio-cultural psychology invites to consider the way the individual possibly participates in these negotiations in an active and reflexive way.

d. Creativity and food related activities

Winnicott (1986) used cooking sausages as an example of everyday activity in which a person could be creative. This idea that creative action can be found even in the most trivial, everyday activities and is not reserved to specific areas such as art, science or entrepreneurship, neither to a few people labelled as genius, is also at the core of socio-cultural approaches (Glăveanu, 2010b, 2012a). To that extent, food is a really interesting candidate as an activity in which creativity can be studied. Indeed, as everyone has to eat on an everyday basis (or almost), the data possibly available is simply enormous. In addition to that, as the current food system raises many challenges for which there are no easy and already available solutions, it asks for innovative, creative solutions (see also Gfeller, 2019).

While these two points underline why food related activities are a good candidate for a theoretical approach based on creativity, on the other side it is also the knowledge of this approach that leads to see in particular these aspects of food. It attracts the attention on the novelty and change even in the smallest scale, for instance the exploration by a person of different ways to prepare tofu as an alternative to the habitual sausage. The fact that what is recognized as creative is socially constructed and situated (Glăveanu, 2011) sheds a specific light on the current changes regarding veg* options, which are more and more perceived as valuable and diverse alternatives to dishes with meat. Moreover, the accent that socio-cultural researchers put on action and thus on the person as an agent, a creator (Dafermos, 2018a; Glăveanu, 2013) is certainly also important here. Indeed, especially in the beginning of the chapter, I insisted on broad dynamics that might lead to oversee individual possibilities of action. The socio-cultural creativity framework allows to balance this perception and to

consider that although creativity is always taken in dynamics that are beyond the person and is constrained by the specific socio-historico-cultural context, the person has some possibilities of creatively participating to these dynamics and to some extent to resist to certain trends. Researchers in food studies indeed also highlight that individuals buy, cook and eat and through these activities, reinforce or possibly resist to the broader tendencies (Anderson, 2005; Farquhar, 2006). From the perspective of socio-cultural psychology, I would add that they possibly also criticize, communicate and maybe engage in politics, which are also potentially creative activities through which people engage with the food system.

Moreover, researchers also highlighted that this possibility to be an actor rather than to be passively subjected to the world is not only something interesting in the light of possible social change, but it is quite fundamental for a healthy life. This points to the danger of feeling helpless in front of the complexities of the food system, which, however, can be fully understood only in relation to the transformative dimension of creativity (Stetsenko, 2019). Based on this, what is possibly at stake for a person becoming veg*an is not only being able to creatively develop a veg*an foodway through which he or she can avoid swallowing (some) PAO, but it is also about how he or she participates to the complex dynamics of the food system and possibly transforms it. Finally, the recent interest in socio-material dimensions of creativity also leads to pay attention to food related activities as complex interactions between human beings and foods, ingredients, ecological systems, plants or animals. The notion of affordance in particular highlights the situated and specific possibilities and constraints of different elements of the material environment, and the extent to which these are related to human intentions, meaning-making and knowledge. A piece of meat for instance affords to be eaten for a carnist person while it might not be the case for a veg*an.

C. Contributions and perspectives of this thesis regarding the understanding of veg*ism

I hope it became clear through the first part of this chapter that the current food system faces many fundamental challenges that have important consequences for life possibilities on this planet. Following the argument that social sciences are an essential contributor to the understanding of the current system and the elaboration of future possibilities (Forney, 2013; Ziegler, 2011, 2014), one of the main goals of this thesis is to bring a small contribution to these debates. In addition to that, researchers also highlight the lack of studies allowing to understand change in foodways (Anderson, 2005; Farquhar, 2006) and, in particular, psychology seems to be almost absent from the study of foodways, changes in foodways and veg*ism. Indeed, as a consequence of the focus on food as a health

issue, the psychology of food has developed until now mainly around obesity, eating disorders, and the regulation of intake (Rozin, 2007). However, I argue, it has a lot more to contribute, notably in the understanding of individual and social dynamics of change. Finally, it seems however necessary to sharpen a little bit more the focus of this study. The specificities of PAO (their important environmental impact, the fact that they often imply killing, the centrality of meat in many culinary traditions, the fact that most food taboos concern PAO) make them a particularly interesting object of study. Indeed, as Rozin (2007) states it,

“meat should be a subject of special interest to psychologists, because it is a quintessential example of the interesting and important state of ambivalence. It is at the same time the most tabooed and the most favoured food across the human race” (p. 404).

Thus, combining the issue of change with the interest for PAO, I will examine in this project the movements towards and around the questioning and refusal of PAO, and, in particular, meat.

But what will I examine exactly in this thesis regarding this issue of change in foodways related to PAO? While the “objective” dimensions of food production are indeed very important to my topic, my aim in this thesis is not to study them for themselves, but - from a psychological perspective - to understand how people perceive, understand and react to this system. It is not a matter of judging whether they are right or wrong for instance when it comes to health issues, but to capture what is important or relevant to them, how they make sense of these complexities and, finally, how they navigate the food related activities in their daily life. In particular, I aim at studying the dynamics of change in these processes, which is also at the heart of socio-cultural psychology as a developmental science. Moreover, regarding veg*, I am not interested to work only with people who present themselves as vegetarians or vegans, neither do I want to categorise participants according to definitions I established based on literature. I will, however, not avoid using these words, and will mention them either to report or respect the way the participant uses them, or in order to refer to a meatless diet (vegetarian) or a diet without PAO, without however reserving it for strict diets neither with the expectation that they are stabilized foodways (over time). Concerning veganism, I did not aim at exploring whether participants are also interested in avoiding other forms of animal exploitation beyond the question of food. However, the issue was discussed spontaneously with some participants.

The theoretical and conceptual frame presented in chapter two lead me to conceptualize changes in foodways as movements of (re)positioning in which socio-material (for instance not eating meat anymore), socio-discursive (for instance presenting oneself as veg*an) and moral (for instance considering the way we treat animals in farm industry as bad) forms of positioning articulate. These positioning movements take place in time, and periods of rupture and transitions might happen in case

of important changes in which the habitual, taken-for-granted way to do (for instance a carnist foodway) does, for some reasons, not work anymore (for instance, because the person saw a documentary on meat production industry and becomes disgusted by meat). The trajectory that emerges in time through these positionings and beyond the ruptures and transitions might be oriented by a representation of oneself (for instance I think being veg*an is good, thus I would like to become one and I indeed become one); this phenomena is called self-creativity and relies notably on responsibility, which thus plays a fundamental role in the way to navigate the food related issues and to position oneself in this landscape. However, the navigation and positioning are not merely about defining oneself (as veg*an for instance), but also importantly about what people do in concrete everyday activities such as cooking, and this is where creativity and affordances allow to grasp microgenetic shaping and reactualization of the foodway. Through this, change in foodways is conceptualized as a complex interaction between a (future-oriented, active and sometimes reflexive) person and his or her (more or less broad) environment. The interaction is both semiotic (for instance what is the sense of meat for me) and socio-material (what do I buy for my lunch today), and is characterized by mediation. Understanding how a person elaborates his or her foodway thus requires to understand also the world that he or she navigates, a world that is social (many others participate and make possible food related activities), cultural (the symbolic dimension of food is central in the practices) and historical (the current food system is the result of specific historical processes, but through the current practices we are also shaping the future).

Finally, while my focus as a researcher is on foodways and on veg* in particular, this should not lead to underestimate the complexity for participants of navigating a world with other products than PAO and other issues than food. In her study on intermittent organic eaters, Lamine (2008) very rightly points that organic food is one choice among others, “an alternative of consumption *among others*, inserted in a more complex ensemble of open choices” ⁷⁰ (Lamine, 2008, p. 2, italics in the original). Similarly, the choice to eat or to avoid PAO is one aspect of food choices that can be more or less central for different people and that articulates with other aspects such as, for example, a gluten free diet, organic food or local products, and that can also be more or less “intermittent”.

Now that I clarified why a psychological study of food related activities centred on PAO is interesting and important as well as which kind of theoretical tools I draw on in order to conduct this study, I will focus in the next chapter on some core aspects of the research as a process, and present notably the methodological, epistemological and ethical dimensions of the project.

⁷⁰ Original quotation in French : « alternative de consommation *parmi d'autres*, inséré dans un ensemble plus complexe de choix ouverts ».

CHAPTER FOUR: STUDYING POSITIONING AROUND VEGETARIANISM

The aim of this chapter is to go to the heart of the process of research itself. As the knowledge produced in such a work is highly interdependent with the method used, the epistemological background and the type of data produced (Valsiner, 2014), it is necessary, in order for this knowledge to be considered as scientific, to make these process accessible (Mortari, 2015). Thus, I will start with the presentation of my research questions, before moving to the heart of this chapter, namely the presentation of the methods used in this project. Then, I will provide information about the participants, clarify my positioning as a researcher and address a few ethical questions. Finally, I will also say a few words about the data that was effectively collected and the way I prepared it for the analysis.

1. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

In chapter two, I presented the theoretical background I selected as useful for this research project. I started with the broader theoretical frame, for which I draw on socio-cultural psychology, in particular the approaches that highlight the dialogical and socio-material dimension of human activity and experience, as well as a pragmatic epistemology. I also presented the more specific concepts that I will use as analytical tools. In chapter three, I presented some of the specificities of the current food system. I highlighted that change in foodways, especially regarding PAO, are an important challenge currently, and that social sciences are needed to address this challenge. Moreover, I underlined that food and eating are a particularly interesting object of study for social sciences, and in particular for psychology. At the crossroad of these two chapters, the central research question that emerges and that orients this project is the following:

What are the positioning dynamics around the consumption of products of animal origin among people who changed their foodway regarding these products?

Thus, my aim is to understand individual movements regarding PAO consumption under the angle of the notion of positioning. I draw importantly on Benson's theory of the self as a navigation system of the worlds that surround us, mainly through the notion of positioning (with which comes also the notion of landscape). However, I complete this approach with elements coming from a dialogical

approach. The abductive process of research led me to deepen a few dimensions of the process of positioning, which seem to constitute key issues of the positioning. Each of these dimensions is related to one of the following research sub-questions.

1. *What are the constitutive elements of the foodscape of the participants and how are they organized?*

The positioning process does not happen in a social, material and cultural vacuum. On the opposite, a position is always relative to a certain field and to others, be it on the material, social or moral level. Thus, in order to understand a positioning, it is necessary to know the landscape in which it happens. The landscape is always at the same time shared, socially constructed and negotiated, and subjectively perceived and navigated (Benson, 2001). In the first part of chapter three, I provided a description of the shared landscape on a very global level, mainly with a third person perspective. My aim with this sub-question is to understand what is the more local and subjectively perceived foodscape. What is perceived as important by the participants of this study? What is relevant to them in the complex landscape of food and foodways? It seems important to get this intermediary level between the study of the way each participant positions him or herself in the subjectively perceived landscape, and the global picture of the current trends and challenges in the food system and in food related activities. In order to answer this question, I present in chapter five a thematic analysis of all the participants' narrative interviews, organized according to the main themes sustaining the positioning regarding meat consumption and veg*ism.

2. *What are the constitutive elements of the subjective foodscape of each participant and how does the participant position him or herself in this foodscape?*

With this second sub-question, I move towards the heart of the issue in this thesis, namely positioning by the individual. This question keeps, as the first one, a very descriptive orientation. Positionings, as studied in this thesis, are individual processes – in the sense that the movement described are those of an individual (of course always in relation with others and the world). Thus, understanding positioning requires to look at each participant's specific positioning in her or his subjective landscape. Moreover, as veg*ism is a very heterogeneous phenomena and our participants have quite diverse profiles regarding veg*ism and PAO consumption, it seems necessary to situate a bit more clearly each participant. Thus, in chapter six, drawing on the thematic analysis presented in chapter five but taking a focus that is much more oriented toward the individual's foodway, I provide a more indepth analysis of each single participant's positioning. This should also already allow to discuss a few elements about what seems to be important elements in and for the positioning process. However, these two first

questions are very spatially oriented, and thus the next question will give more importance to the temporal dimension of positioning.

3. *How does positioning evolve during the person's food trajectory, in relation notably to the rupture/transition dynamics?*

With this third sub-question, I take a more ontogenetically focused angle on positioning processes. Indeed, while positioning was studied mainly in its microgenetic actualizations, the possibilities of positioning are socio-culturally and historically shaped by the broader context, but also by the person's unique trajectory and his or her personal history of relation with meat and PAO. Moreover, a change in foodway might be part of or lived as a rupture in the person's life. Thus, it seems important, in order to get a full understanding of the positioning process, to "zoom out" from the analysis of the present positionings and to move towards a more ontogenetic perspective on the phenomenon. Case studies of three participants, based on their narrative interviews, allowed me to examine in detail the positioning dynamics in the trajectory; those are presented in chapter seven. Through this, my aim is both to highlight the aspects of the past trajectory that play a role in the current or more recent changes in the person's foodway and to examine and discuss the relations between change in foodway and ruptures/transitions.

4. *What is the role played by responsibility in positioning?*

While the previous sub-question was a "zoom out" on the temporal dimension, the fourth sub-question is a form of step back (or down, depending on the point of view) in the direction of the underlying conditions of positioning. Indeed, on the theoretical level, we saw that responsibility is a condition for self-creation, which we can understand as a certain way to position oneself in creating one's unique and future-oriented path. Moreover, with this sub-question I also take a step back from the focus on PAO consumption by examining more broadly how the individual situates her or himself and his or her activities in the world, what are his or her understanding of the interrelations and interdependences in which she or he participates and the possibilities and limits these imply. To that extent, responsibility is not only related to self-creation but more broadly to creativity as a transformation of the world. In order to answer this question, I present in chapter eight the case studies of two participants, in which I analyse the data provided both by the narrative interview and the dialogical experiment.

5. *How does the person creatively shape and enact positionings in concrete everyday activities?*

With the sub-question on responsibility, I focused on microgenetic dynamics underlying positioning (in their articulation with ontogenetic and sociogenetic levels). However, and although it is related to

agency, responsibility is primarily an issue of (socio-)discursive positioning. The aim of this last sub-question is (1) to turn towards socio-material aspects of positioning and (2) to highlight more specifically a situation where a foodway is creatively shaped and reactualized. I will examine how positioning is enacted and (re)actualized in concrete everyday activity. Obviously, socio-discursive and moral positioning are also involved in those activities, however my entry point and focus will be on socio-material positioning. In order to do so, I will dive into those dynamics through a case study, using mainly video data from the filmed observation. On the theoretical level, I will draw on the notions of creativity and affordances, as these notions allow to understand the co-transformations of the person (her or his positioning) and the world.

2. METHODS

In order to document the phenomena of positioning in its complexity, the method used in this project consisted in the combination of three research settings or steps: a narrative interview, a dialogical experiment and filmed observation. As a complement to this, I also collected material (newspapers, flyers, pictures of graffiti...) available in the public space related to meat and veg*ism. The two first steps concerned all the participants, and the third step only two of them. The steps were always carried out in the same order, namely the one mentioned above. The complementary material collection was done in parallel, during the three first years of the project. Interview and experiment were conducted during the same encounter, one after the other, while the filmed observation took place on another day. All the settings were tested during a trial phase with volunteers in the case of interview and the experiment, and on myself (test of the subjective camera, framing) for the filmed observation. These tests were not integrated in the corpus of data.

The study of positioning as conceptualized here requires qualitative methods that will provide enough rich data allowing to describe the unfolding of the processes, to study the phenomena under the angle of its constitution rather than in terms of causal effect (Packer, 2011). In effect, the developmental focus of this project calls for a qualitative approach, as “developmental psychology deals with emergent phenomena that by their nature are not quantifiable” (Valsiner, 2011, p. 148). The bensonian approach follows the work of Harré and colleagues, who use merely qualitative analysis of verbal interactions or, more broadly, verbal productions. Benson himself tends to work with case studies. Moreover, socio-cultural dialogical approaches, which I also refer to, also use qualitative methods. This is obvious inasmuch as the aim is to take seriously in account the subjective experience of navigating and positioning, and that qualitative analyses are oriented toward interpretation and

comprehension rather than prediction (Bauer, Gaskell, & Allum, 2000; Denzin & Lincoln, 1994/2005). In addition to that, I will focus mainly on the individual's first person perspective (Schraube, 2014). Indeed, from a psychological perspective, positioning is the work and experience of an individual (at another level it could be the positioning of an object or a group, however this is not what I consider as the most relevant in the frame of this thesis), thus it calls for a focus on the individual as a unity of analysis. This question is might also be framed in terms of level of analysis, and as Toomela writes it, there is a methodological question that should be considered in psychology, namely

“whether the modern way of interpreting data at the group level can be adequate for understanding individuals. Psyche, after all, is a phenomenon that exists at the level of an individual. Group level analyses turn out to be inadequate too (Molenaar, 2004; Molenaar & Valsiner, 2005; Toomela, 2009b)” (Toomela, 2009, p. 58).

In other words, this is an argument in favor of the careful study of individual cases, rather than a methodology procedure with important samples of participants in order to identify norms and global tendencies (on the advantages and importance of case studies, see also Billig, 2015; Flyvbjerg, 2009; Zittoun, 2016). Thus, this also appeals for a rather small number of participants, as the risk with a too big data set is that the profusion of cases leads to a superficial treatment of the data (Stiles, 2013). Moreover, following Benson (2001) on the idea that the positioning of a human being is always a situated and subjective experience, I will focus on the subjective (or, in other words, first person perspective) dimension of the positioning.

If the three parts are presented here as clearly separated steps and were also carried out as such, they constitute a whole that can be considered as a single data collection setting, with two variants. Indeed, the narrative interview, the qualitative experience and the observation are complementary tools used in order to collect rich data about each participant. As will be detailed below, the narrative interview provides information about the ontogenetical scale while the qualitative experience and the filmed observation allow to observe positioning on a more microgenetical level. This distinction between sociogenesis, ontogenesis and microgenesis has notably been developed by Duveen and Lloyd in the study of social representations. They provide the following definitions:

“There are processes of *sociogenesis*, which concerns the construction and transformation of the social representations of social groups about specific objects, *ontogenesis*, which concerns the development of individuals in relation to social representations, and *microgenesis*, which concerns the evocation of social representations in social interaction” (Duveen & Lloyd, 1990, p. 6).

In addition to that, the authors specify that microgenesis is the motor of change, and that microgenetic transformation can (but does not necessary) lead to sociogenetic and/or ontogenetic transformation. In contrast with these two authors, I do not work here with the notion of social representations. Nevertheless, the way they describe the three levels and their interrelation is valid for other psychological processes (see for instance Zittoun, Levitan, & Cangiá, 2018), and I assume that this is also the case for positioning processes. The type of analysis conducted by Harré and his colleagues and, following them, by Benson, is clearly focused on what Duveen and Lloyd call microgenesis (see for instance chapters 10 and 11 in Benson, 2001; Harré et al., 2009), but as they link positioning with the development of identity, this introduces ontogenesis. They also consider to some extent sociogenesis, but rather as a frame necessary to the understanding of the two other levels, more rarely in terms of how the microgenesis might be a source of change in the sociogenesis. In my own study, I take a similar stand with a focus on microgenesis, while I also give slightly more weight to the study of the ontogenetic level.

This is due to two reasons. The first one is that the issues that prompted this study (see chapter one) ask for a focus on changes (or movements) that affect behavior on a longer term than a single interaction. In other words, given the scale of the issues when it comes to food consumption, it is relevant and necessary to take into account change on an ontogenetic level. Conversely, one might ask then why this interest in microgenesis. The answer lies in Duveen and Lloyd (1990). According to them, the structure of social representation is actualized and changes in microgenesis, and this change can possibly be deep enough to affect the two other levels. In a similar way, I consider here that positions are actualized in microgenesis, and that these actualizations might or might not become stable (and, for sociogenesis shared) enough to constitute a change in ontogenesis and sociogenesis. This implies that positioning (a change in positions) is a process happening first of all at the microgenetic level. By “first”, I do not refer here to temporality but to logical necessity. The second reason for the inclusion of ontogenesis in this study is that I assume that the understanding of the microgenesis requires information about the two other levels. According to Parker (2015), interactions can not be fully explained and understood only by referring to what is immediately present and observable. Restricting research to that level leads us to ignore that humans have repertoires they draw on, that they are historically, culturally and socially situated, that there are issues of power and ideologies at play (Parker, 2015). This would thus be in profound contradiction with the theoretical frame presented above. The time and energy constraints did not allow the study of the sociogenesis in terms of dynamics possibly ensuing from microgenetic change. Nevertheless, and in accordance with the assumption that some understanding of the historico-cultural context is necessary to the study of psychological processes, I collected what I called “complementary data” and got informed through the

scientific literature on that level. Table 1 summarizes the level of focus of each part of the research design. Nevertheless, it is obvious that this is a matter of focus and that all three levels are tidily interrelated. For instance, during the narrative interview, the participant is obviously re-actualizing his understanding of his own story while narrating it to the researcher, and this re-actualization is a microgenesis. On the other hand, during the qualitative experience, I assume that the person is not constructing his or her answers only out of what is available in the situation but relies also on elements constitutive of a more stable position.

Table 1 Level under focus for each methodological unit

Methodological unit	Narrative interview	Qualitative experience	Filmed Observation	Complementary data
Level under focus	Ontogenesis	Microgenesis	Microgenesis	Sociogenesis

The historical dimension of the setting should also be considered. By historical I mean here the fact that the different steps unfold in irreversible time and that each participant encounters the different part of the methodological setting in the same order. The notion of micro-histories seems relevant here in order to highlight some implications of this encounter between the participant, the researcher, and the data collection setting, although this notion of micro-histories was originally developed specifically in relation to experimental designs (see Perret-Clermont & Schubauer-Leoni, 1981; Tartas, Perret-Clermont, & Baucal, 2016). The authors highlight two important points concerning the research design, contrasting with traditional methodological and epistemological assumptions. Firstly, the notion of micro-history brings to the foreground the fact that every stage of the methodological design (in their case pre-test, interactive situation, post-test I and II) is not merely an evaluation of performance or a variable, but also an interactive situation between the participant and the researcher/the setting/the material/the pairs. This interaction is subjectively experienced by the participant who can possibly learn from each situation. In their words, “each phase is an experience embedded in social interactions that is likely to lead to socio-cognitive changes in children’s understanding depending on how they interpret the novel situation in relation to past ones (Perret-Clermont, 1993)” (Tartas et al., 2016, p. 775). This implies that the participant enters every moment of the research process with his or her particular baggage of past experiences, be it in the previous steps of the ongoing research or any other similar situation, and that his or her meaning making possibilities of this particular situation (including what she/he understands she/he is supposed to do) will partly depend on these past experiences. Secondly, and this follows logically from the first point, this also implies that every participant will experience the setting in a unique and personal way. As Tartas et al. (2016) write, “in traditional experimental psychology it is assumed that the pre-test, intervention and

post-test are the same for all children because they are implemented in the same way with different children, but the fact that children can experience them in quite different ways is neglected" (p. 775).

What is the meaning of these two epistemological and methodological points for the present research? I assume here that although these points were made concerning experimental research on children's cognitive development, there is something more fundamental to it that should also be reflected on for other types of research. Indeed, if we consider, in a socio-cultural perspective, that all psychological processes are historically, socially and culturally situated (Daniels, 2008; Valsiner, 2014a; Vygotsky, 1930-35/1978), and that every person has a unique subjective experience of the landscapes she or he navigates (Benson, 2001), it seems relevant to extend the reflection to our own methodological setting. Firstly, the temporal unfolding of the different steps allows the construction of a relation and frame in which the participant can sufficiently trust the researcher and in which both participant and researcher can find and elaborate their respective roles (Hermanns, 2004; Wolff, 2004), but also to ensure that a shared understanding of the participant's trajectory and positioning is reached. The qualitative experience is designed to challenge the participants' positions, to lead them into questioning their ideas, to confront them with other and maybe new points of view and eventually to argue. As this might be quite threatening for their identity, I decided not to start with this exercise. Indeed, the type of thinking processes that I attended to provoke here requires a frame felt as secure enough (Perret-Clermont, 2004). Moreover, the type of positioning was expected to be more detailed than in the narrative interview, so it seemed relevant to start with the more general level of positioning. The filmed observation was certainly the most intrusive part of the data collection, as it clearly took place in the daily activities of the participants. Even more than for the qualitative experiment, it was essential to construct trust before starting that part of the research, a process that requires time. Moreover, the participant's actions and choices during the observation could be understood by myself only in light of previously collected information. While the discussion during the observation brought some very useful details about motivations to certain actions, the choice and origin of products and the intentions behind the visible behavior, the knowledge I got from the previous steps allowed me to orient my questions and observations much more effectively than if we would have met there for the first time. Finally, there were also some reasons to start with the narrative interview. The first one was, as already mentioned, to first get an overview of the general current positioning of the participant, before moving to some more detailed aspects of the debates. The second reason was that this allowed me to have a picture of the participant's subjective landscape of what is relevant in this area of debates. I do not mean here that the narration is truer or more sincere than if the participant would have participated in the qualitative experience before the narrative interview. What I mean is that the chosen temporal unfolding made it so that the participants would construct their narration in the interview setting by

raising the issues and mentioning the reasons that *they* thought were important to mention in order to make me understand their positioning. Figure 4 summarizes the different steps of the data collection setting and their characteristics.

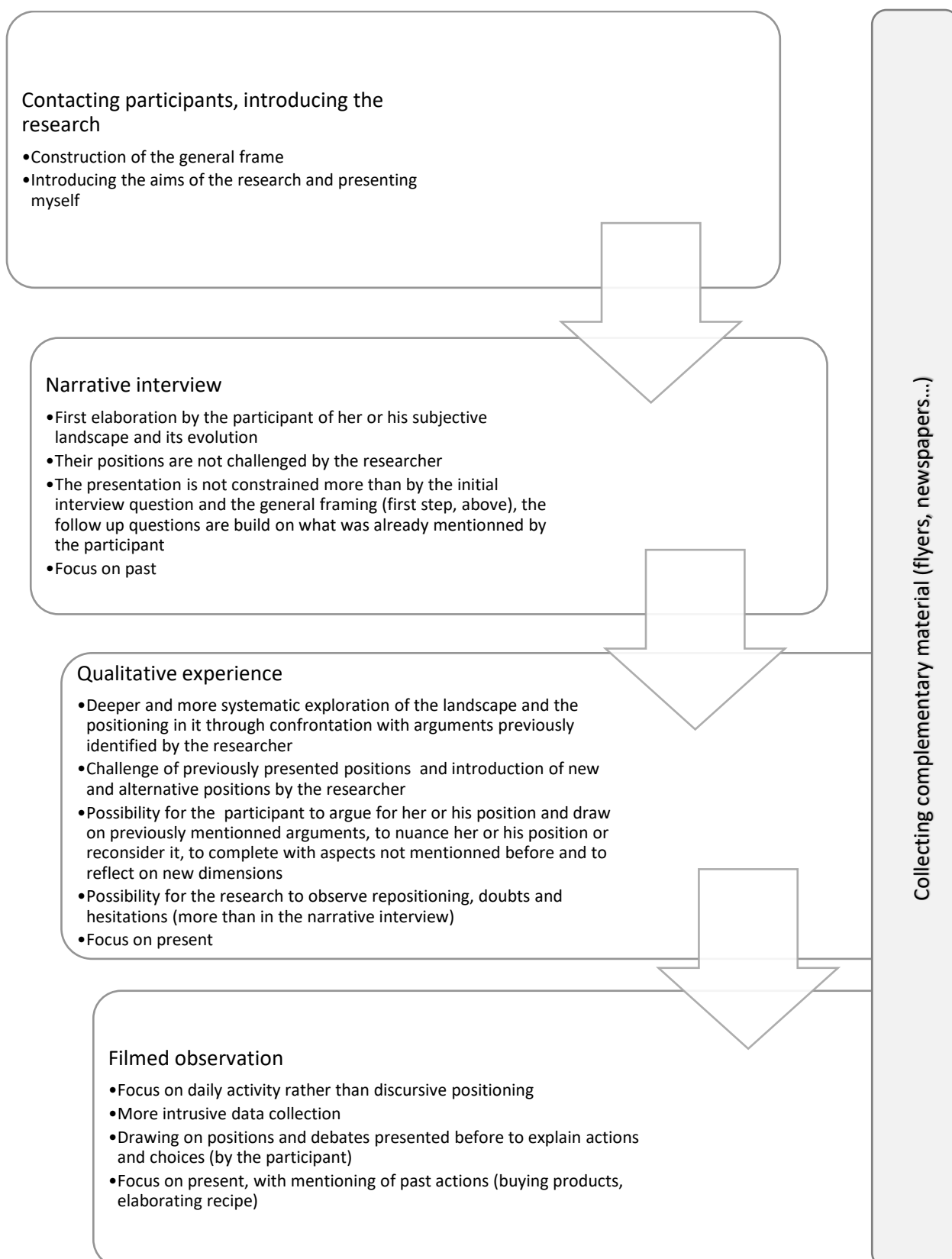


Figure 4 Data collection setting

A. Narrative interview

I choose the narrative interview because, as a form of semi-directive interview, it constitutes a way to accede to the person's subjective perspective through her or his discourse. More specifically, I aimed at provoking and collecting the narration of the change(s) as the person experienced it (or them) subjectively and as the person appropriated him or herself this experience and presented it through narration. Indeed, what I would like to access to is the account of the personal story. Moreover, the narrative interview can provide the material for an analysis that takes into account the developmental, historical (in the vygotskian sense, see Daniels, 2008, p. 33) dimension of the phenomenon. This part of the methodology should allow me to access to data related to change on the ontogenetic level, and to understand the development of positioning during the life trajectory. While the initial focus of my question (to the interviewee) is on events and practices related to the foodway, in my research I am also interested in the meaning of these for the interviewee and, more globally, his or her opinions and reasons. However, according to Jovchelovitch and Bauer (2000), opinions and justifications appear anyway when someone is asked to narrate events, while to opposite is not necessarily true. This justifies an initial focus on events and practices. Positioning theory was initially constructed mainly on the analysis of interactions and, more broadly, on case studies that do not include interviews (see, for instance, Benson, 2010), thus the use of an interview might appear as an unsuitable choice. However, the positioning framework might also apply to narratives, as Raggatt highlights it in the following: "While social interaction can be conceptualized using a positioning framework, the same spatial metaphors of movement can be applied to reflexive thought and micro-dialogues, and indeed to narrative and life-historical constructions that themselves have qualities of extension (in 'time-space')" (2015, p. 792).

I drew on the structure initially proposed by Schütze (1983) in his biographical researches in the field of sociology. An initial dialogue aims at introducing the participant to the research topic (see Mecke, 2001, p. 47) and to communicate to her or him my interest and expectations in order for her or him to be able to orient the narration accordingly. It is at that moment, as well as through the opening question of the interview, that I orient the interview towards the narration of the person's trajectory in relation to food and foodways, and in particular to PAO, rather than towards a broader life story. Indeed, it is possible to use this type of interview for a more or less global vs targeted narration: "a biographically oriented narration request [can be oriented] (either towards the whole life story, or

towards particularly interesting phases of the life story for social sciences)”⁷¹ (Schütze, 1983, p. 285). In the case of my data collection, the restriction was based on thematic rather than temporal dimensions, although a temporal focus is often a consequence of the thematic restriction. After this preliminary step, the first phase of the interview starts with the narration request addressed to the participant by the researcher. In the opening of this phase, the researcher also mentions that she or he will not interrupt the interviewee, except for small clarification questions when understanding is at stake, and that the interviewee can take as much time as it seems necessary to him or her for a complete narration. After this initial question and indications, the narration by the interviewee can start. During the narration, the researcher applies her or himself on “active listening, following of the storyline, notation of executed events that are not really plausible and digressions”⁷² (Mecke, 2001, p. 48). The end of this phase can be identified by the researcher thanks to a narration coda⁷³ or based on the formal construction of the story (Mecke, 2001). For this research, I followed this procedure (preliminary discussion, opening question and indications, active listening without interruption and notation of tracks for further investigation through questions, identification of the end of the narration). Regarding the end of the narration, I did sometimes check whether the person wanted to continue the story or had something more to add, or whether he or she preferred to go on with the second phase, namely my questions, in cases where, trying to draw on coda and structure, I was in doubt whether it was really the end of this phase.

After this first phase, the narrative interview continues with a second phase during which the researcher asks targeted questions⁷⁴, which he or she “takes up what has already been said”⁷⁵ (Mecke, 2001, p. 48). The aim of this phase is to make the most of the tangential narrative potential⁷⁶ by digging aspects that were only touched on or which stayed vague. The questions should be formulated in a way that prompts narrative answers. More concretely, the researcher takes up again what was said in the first phase in order to ask for details, elaborations or clarifications on certain points (Schütze,

⁷¹ Original quotation in German: „eine Autobiographisch orientierte Erzählaufförderung (entweder zur gesamten Lebensgeschichte, oder zu sozialwissenschaftlich besonders interessierenden Phasen der Lebensgeschichte)“

⁷² Original quotation in German: „aktives Zuhören, verfolgen der Erzähllinie, Markierung wenig plausibel ausgeführter Ereignisse und Abschweifungen“

⁷³ In German: Erzählkoda

⁷⁴ In German: gezielte Nachfragen

⁷⁵ Original quotation in German: „anknüpfen an bereits gesagtes“

⁷⁶ In German: tangentielle Erzählpotential

1983). In order to stay close to the narration of the interviewee, the researcher uses, as much as possible, the words used by the participant.

The third phase of the narrative interview is characterized by its orientation towards a higher level of abstraction and generalization. On one side, recurrent and systematic elements in the person's trajectory are discussed. On the other side, the discussion is oriented by questions prompting rather argumentation and explanations.

“The third main part of the autobiographic-narrative interview is constituted on one side by the request for abstract descriptions of states of affair, recurrent sequences of event and systematic relations as well as for the corresponding representations of the interviewee; on the other side by the theoretical why-questions and their argumentative answering. It is now more about the use of the explanation and abstraction potential of the interviewee as a theorizer and expert of himself” ⁷⁷ (Schütze, 1983, p. 285).

In my study, the third part was often quite short, insofar as the aim of the dialogical experiment following the interview was also to bring the person into a more argumentative and abstract discourse, based however on statements that were provided by the research setting rather than starting from the person's narration. Moreover, the second and third part were not strictly separated in the unfolding of the interview, given that, as highlighted by Jovchelovitch et Bauer (2000) and already mentioned above, the narration of event often also includes more general comments and justifications.

B. Dialogical experiment

Experimentation is defined by Wagoner (2009) as a “purposeful distortion of reality” (Wagoner, 2009, p. 99) and this is also the definition I will adopt here. This conception is currently marginal, however it is well anchored in the history of psychology, as it is already present in the work of researchers such as Vygotsky, Luria or Piaget.

“The word ‘experiment’ [...] has taken on a very narrow meaning in contemporary psychology.

We are told that for something to be an experiment there must be an independent and a

⁷⁷ Original quotation in German: „Der dritte Hauptteil des autobiographischen-narrativen Interviews besteht einerseits aus der Aufforderung zur abstrahierenden Beschreibung von Zuständen, immer wiederkehrenden Abläufen und systematischen Zusammenhängen sowie aus den Entsprechenden Darstellungen des Informanten sowie andererseits aus theoretischen Warum-Fragen und ihrer Argumentativen Beantwortung. Es geht nun mehr um die Nutzung der Erklärungs- und Abstraktionsfähigkeit des Informanten als Experte und Theoretiker seiner selbst.“

dependent variable, a large random sample of participants, and a statistical analysis of scores. These requirements were foreign to psychology in the first half of this last century and only became social norms through influences *outside* of psychology, such as the military and education (Danziger, 1990)” (Wagoner, 2009, p. 99, italics in the original).

Thus, in this original conception, experimentation can very well be part of a qualitative and idiographic research. In this sense, she can be used in order to “systematically provoke, access, and analyze some generic aspect(s) of reality” (Wagoner, 2009, p. 99), and it is exactly this provocation that I aim at implementing in this second part of my research setting. Moreover, in this conception of the experiment, the provocation aims at activating microgenetic processes (Wagoner, 2009), and more specifically in the case of my research to prompt a positioning movement by the participant. The aim is to be able to observe the positioning process on a microgenetic level, as it happens during the experiment, as a complement to the ontogenetic focus of the interview. Insofar as I understand verbal productions of the participants as traces of the psychic processes at work, the method used here is an indirect method according to Vygotsky’s distinction (see Tartas & Perret-Clermont, 2012), that is to say that the method does not rely on what is given in the experience or immediately observable, but consists into “the reconstruction and interpretation of the phenomenon under study based on its traces” ⁷⁸ (Tartas & Perret-Clermont, 2012, p. 196).

The experimental setting I used is largely based on the setting developed by de Saint-Laurent (2018), which allowed her to confront her participants with different discourses on the Ukrainian conflict in a relatively secure frame, in a project on collective memory. In her experiment, the participants are in front of 4 little cartoon tables prepared by the experimenter. Each of the tables is labelled according to one group involved in the conflict. Under each table, there are four cartoon chairs, and each one of them contains a piece of paper with a statement related to the conflict. The statements were selected and adapted by the researcher, based on material found in newspapers and internet. The name and status of the fictive author are also mentioned. Each participant, individually and in presence of the researcher, is asked to imagine that he or she participates to a dinner party. Participants can freely choose the table they will (fictionally) sit at. They are then asked to pull one of the chairs (which do not bear any particular sign) and to read for themselves the content of the piece of paper. In order to be sure which paper it is and get information about their understanding of the statement, participants are asked to sum up the content they read. Then, and this is the heart of this experiment, the participants are asked to react to the message read or, more precisely, to imagine that, in the frame

⁷⁸ Original quotation in French : « la reconstruction et l'interprétation du phénomène étudié à partir de ses traces »

of this fictional dinner party, someone sitting next to them is making this statement aloud. Thus, participants are asked to answer to their fictive interlocutors, as if they were sitting at this table, or to report to the researcher what would be their reaction. The participants can choose as many chairs as they want; in average, each participant pulled 4 chairs. This fictional dinner has two characteristics that persuaded me to adopt it for the present study. First of all, it draws on dialogical assumption, and in particular on dialogical tensions in order to trigger the processes under study (in de Saint-Laurent's case: historical reasoning). Thus, it also fits perfectly with my own theoretical approach, and is also particularly adapted to trigger positioning. Secondly, by offering a fictional situation and fictional interlocutors to the participants, it provides a quite secure frame for the participants to take risks on potentially sensitive issues (on the importance of a secure frame for psychological processes, see Perret-Clermont, 2004).

In the frame of this project, I kept the idea of a fictive dinner, the material setting (cartoon tables, chairs and little pieces of paper with statement) as well as the instruction to the participants. The dinner situation was certainly particularly adapted as veg*ism

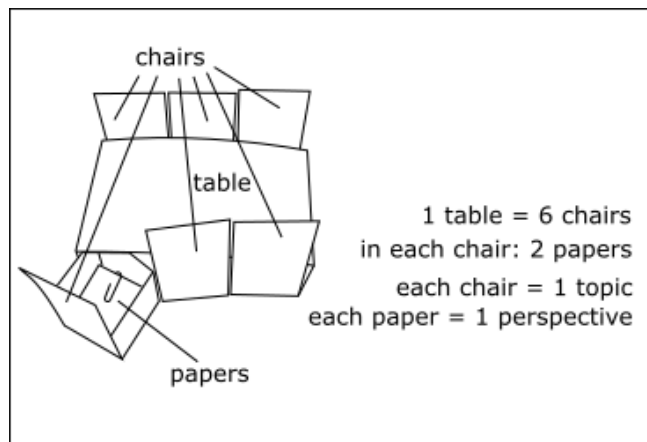


Figure 5 Material for the dialogic experience

frequently appears in discussions around a table, especially when someone chooses a vegetarian dish. Thus, it is not a situation that is particularly difficult or strange to imagine, and it keeps the advantage of security related to fiction. However, I also introduced several modifications. First of all, in order to favor a positioning related to the content of the statement, I did not create separated tables for different social groups and I did not indicate any author of the statement⁷⁹. Thus, the organization of the papers was based on themes (content) rather than social groups. Moreover, de Saint-Laurent (2018) proposed sixteen chairs to the participants, while in average they pulled four of them. In order to reduce the variations in the content of what was read, I diminished the number of chairs to six, and grouped them around one single table (see Figure 5). Each participant was still free to choose as many chairs as she or he wanted. Finally, a last variation I introduced was to place two pieces of paper in each chair. They were presented as statements coming from two different people around the table. The two papers were related to the same topic, but each of them expressed a different perspective on

⁷⁹ The suggestion not to mention the author was made by Constance de Saint-Laurent in a personal communication.

this topic. The aim was to increase the dialogicality of the situation, with a higher number of voices introduced experimentally. It relies on the hypothesis that a diversity of perspectives and fictional positions would favor confrontation and maybe the emergence of a third (alternative) positioning. Thus, the instruction was also slightly adapted, and the participants were asked to read the two papers, and then to tell me (the experimenter) “what it is about” and, finally, to react to both.

The themes for each chair were established based on the existing literature on veg*ism and the relation of humans to meat and animals. As a complement, I also consulted non scientific material on veg*ism (websites, articles in magazines and newspapers, blogs,...). I choose these six themes as I found them to be the most important ones in the current debates and discourses regarding animal farming, PAO consumption and veg*. The text for each paper was constructed based on diverse sources I found in scientific texts, as well as in online testimonies and blogs. No sentence or content was invented. Often, the texts were shortened in order for them to be readable in the frame of the experiment, as well as to reduce the number of elements to take into consideration. To a certain extent, I also harmonized the style, again in order to favor a focus on the content rather than on the form. Table 2 provides an overview of the themes and of the positions referred to in each paper. In the experimental setting, the order of the chairs and papers were not controlled. Chairs were distributed randomly around the table and the participants were free to choose the chairs in the order they wanted. The themes were not mentioned explicitly to the participants. The exact content of each paper and their sources are presented in Appendix C.

Table 2 Themes for the dialogical experiment

Theme	Paper 1⁸⁰	Paper 2
Economic aspect	Meat and fish are expensive. A vegetarian diet allows to save money.	Being vegetarian implies to invest money (for substitute products) and time.
Environment	Animal farming is harmful for the environment (deforestation, greenhouse gases, soil degradation). Rich populations	As meat has a high calorific value, replacing it by vegetables is not necessarily environmentally friendly. Animal farming can be the best way

⁸⁰ This numbering is random. In the experimental material, the papers were not numbered and as they could move in the chair, the order in which they were read was not controlled.

	monopolize natural resources at the cost of poor populations.	to use certain environments for food production.
Animal ethics	Animal farming respecting animals is possible, and their death can be painless. Their living conditions are better than in the wild.	As animals are the subject-of-a-life, we must end any form of exploitation. Animal well-being and farming are irreconcilable.
Human nature /civilization	Meat and animal exploitation are linked to the process of civilization, and are a symbol of this process.	Human being is (physiologically) not made for consuming meat.
Pleasure/taste	Eating meat is a pleasure.	We don't like flesh for itself, only its transformed and thus artificial form (spices, sauces). We are naturally disgusted by flesh (carcass).
Health/nutrition	Vegetarianism is recommended for health reasons. Eating too many PAO increases the risk for several diseases.	Being vegetarian is related to risk of (nutritional) lacks.

The text for each paper, although organized around one main theme, mentions different aspects of this theme and sometimes also evokes other related themes. This complexity, while it probably makes the task more difficult for the participants, was chosen in order to stay closer to the type of discourses the participants would encounter in daily life situations. Indeed, arguments and statements rarely appear in an isolated and “pure” form. The experiment was audio-taped and participants were free to stop whenever they wanted. After the experiment, I gave a document to each participant with all the texts used in the experiment and the sources used.

C. Filmed observation

The last step of the research setting consisted into a filmed observation, aiming at collecting more precise data about daily practices. It was inspired by a more ethnographic approach, as

“at the center of ethnographic studies is the question – theoretically put – of how the particular realities are 'produced' in practical terms; they therefore look at the means employed in a given

situation for the production of social phenomena from the perspective of participants” (Lüders, 2004, p. 225).

I opted for a filmed observation, which allows to accede to the socio-material dimension of activities, as a complement to the discursive data collected during the first two steps. Thus, in the filmed observation, socio-materiality is at the core, although it is completed by verbal data. I decided to use a camera, because the microgenetic processes I am interested in might be difficult to access in the real time unfolding of events. More precisely, I employed a subjective camera, which is placed on the participant’s ear or forehead (two different devices were used) and thus films from a perspective that is very close to his or her eyes, following the movements of the head. According to Glăveanu, this device allows to “capture[...] activity from a first-person perspective” (Glăveanu, 2015a, p. 172). Moreover, the subjective camera also allows to be sure that all the activity performed by the person on the food is in the frame of the camera, which would have been more difficult to ensure with a more traditional device.

I considered it as important to include this type of data given the nature of the phenomenon under study. Indeed, as I argued, the socio-material (including embodied) dimension is central in food related activities. Moreover, foodways actualize themselves in the microgenesis of daily activities. Yet, according to Lüders (2004):

"anyone who wishes to make an empirical investigation of human beings, their everyday practices and life-worlds has, in principle, two possibilities. One can hold conversations with participants about their actions and collect appropriate documents in the hope of obtaining, in this way, rich information *about* the particular practice in which one is interested. Or else one looks for ways or strategies for taking part, for long as possible, in this everyday practice and become familiar with it, so as to observe its everyday performance" (p. 222).

However, the procedure was much shorter in time than what is evoked by Lüders, mainly for two reasons. The first one is that my focus is on microgenetic processes, which by definition are short sequences. Thus, I do not need to spend a lot of time with the participants in order to collect an important amount of data. Moreover, a video analysis takes a lot of time. This is also the reason why I conducted this last step only with two participants, namely Aline and Alexandre, and even reduced the material to one participant for the analysis. The second reason is that in my project these data are only one part of the data, a complement to interviews and experiment. Regarding the complementarity with merely verbal data, the data collected in this third step cannot simply be labelled “non-verbal”. Indeed, inspired by the ethnographic approach (Lüders, 2004), I also interacted verbally with the participant during the observation.

After the dialogical experiment, I asked several participants whether I could contact them again for this filmed observation. As I already knew I would not do this last part with all participants, I only asked to the people who seemed particularly interested in my research and who seemed available. I informed them that my aim was to see how their food habits unfolded in daily life and that my request was to be present during a moment when they are preparing a meal that they are familiar with, a “habitual meal”. I choose to focus on the preparation of a meal rather than another activity such as shopping, because the recording was easier to perform, and because, at this moment many choices are made or were made previously and thus can be traced verbally. Indeed, in order to get as much information as possible about these past choices and the reasons that lead to this particular meal, the participant was asked to tell me as much as she or he wanted about that meal and in particular the reasons of the choices (of products, of that meal,...) she or he made. In total, the video recordings last 42 minutes; 23 minutes for Alexandre and 19 minutes for Aline.

D. Complementary data

As a complement to these data which constituted the corpus for analysis, I stayed attentive to debates and discourses about veg*ism and meat in my daily life environment. I tried to give as much attention to the different positions around vegetarianism (more or less engaged, pro-veg*, anti-veg*, pro-meat, etc.). When it was possible, I kept traces of these elements, in paper or electronic format. I mainly collected articles from magazines, newspaper articles, flyers for different events, picture of posters and graffiti (see example in Figure 6). I collected them each time I would notice something in my environment related to the topic of this project, I also received documents from people knowing I work on this subject⁸¹ and several times I entered deliberately into a kiosk in order to check the magazines and newspapers. Nevertheless, this process was not systematized with, for example, a weekly visit of the kiosks. The aim of this procedure was to document the specific and current socio-cultural-material context in which my participants live and thus the discourses circulating in this environment.



Figure 6 Special issue of a vulgarization magazine, "The agriculture of the future, 7 challenges for the 21st century"

⁸¹ And whom I would like to acknowledge here for that!

Moreover, the material collected was used at the beginning of the research in order to prepare and refine the other methodological tools and to start the fieldwork with a better knowledge of the current debates. With a similar goal, but only until the beginning of the interviews, I also visited online forums and websites around veg*ism. No analysis was conducted based on this data, however it was used in the preparation of the research instruments. Moreover, it allowed to verify that no important topic escaped to my attention in chapter three and, more generally, served as background in the process of analysis, enriching my understanding of what participants refer to.

3. PARTICIPANTS

The main criteria for the selection of participants was that their foodway trajectory was marked by an important change in food habits in relation to PAO consumption, and that at least some aspects of this change are recent or even still ongoing at least in some of its aspects. The change in food habits is considered here as a form of repositioning (through conduct), and based on the literature it is possible to state that a change in food habits is often related to a broader change in the person's life (Ossipow, 1997), and thus to a multidimensional repositioning. In other words, this was a way to select participants for whom the positioning processes would be the most probably be active and thus the most visible, because of their recent trajectory. Indeed, it is during periods of change or development that the psychological processes become visible for the researcher (Vygotski, 1933/1985). The qualitative approach, the diversity in the steps of the research setting and the type of analysis that were conducted were reasons to have a small number of participants. The stake was to construct a deepened understanding of each situation and to conduct detailed qualitative analyses notably in the form of case studies; it is thus important not to drown quality in quantity (Stiles, 2013). The aim of the research is not to present a global picture of veg*ism for instance in Switzerland or in this region based on the data collected with the participants (as it was the case in Ossipow, 1997), although to some extent a comprehension and thus an examination of this level is necessary (hence the importance of chapter three and of the complementary data), but rather to examine in more details positioning as one processes that allows to better understand people's movements in and around veg*ism. Moreover, this choice of sample is a way to include a population that received little attention until now, namely those who do not strictly fit into the "vegetarian" or "vegan" box, either because they don't label themselves as such, or because their practices do not correspond to the habitual definitions. Indeed, studies on vegetarianism obviously often focus on vegetarians, meaning by that either people who are strictly vegetarians or who present themselves as vegetarians (see for instance Boyle, 2011; Carmichael, 2002; Ossipow, 1989). On the other hand, studies on the reduction of meat

consumption often let the issue of the label (“should I call myself vegetarian?”) aside, focusing on effective practices of reduction (see for instance Austgulen et al., 2015). I choose to open this study a bit more (or at least more explicitly) to those people who do not fit exactly in the boxes, who are on the borders, and to make this part of undefined, the possible hesitations and uncertainties as well as what could be considered as “backward movements”, a complete and assumed part of the research. This kind of approach is inspired by Lamine (2008) who worked on what she called the intermittent of organic food⁸². According to her, this choice leads to study processes of decision making that are far more complex than those of the people who completely delegate their choice to a single principle or to a label. The challenge, then, is to “account for the variability of behaviors depending on the situations, without declaring this variability is random or unintelligible, and without starting by purely and simply reducing it”⁸³ (Lamine, 2008, p. 27).

Beyond this criterion, I looked for a diversity of profiles, be it regarding age, the length and type of trajectory in relation to PAO (reflection and change over several years vs sudden recent change), the type of current food practices or the reason(s) of the change. The aim again was not to get a population that would be representative of veg*ans in Switzerland, which is impossible with this small number of participants, but with the hypothesis that this diversity will increase the chances to observe a large range of positioning dynamics. Indeed, in order to build theory and to verify this theory, in other words to access a certain level of generalization, it is useless to replicate the study results by increasing the number of observations or participants. What is necessary is to test the theoretical construct “in multiple qualitatively different settings, in as diverse contexts as theoretically justified”(Toomela, 2009, p. 63). I attempt to reach this diversity through the profiles of the participants. Nevertheless, the frame of the project of course restricts these possibilities, and thus I did not include, for instance, participants who are opposed to veg*ism, or who simply do not consider it as a relevant question.

I contacted participants through different channels. On one side, when talking about my project with acquaintances, some people offered to put me in touch with potential participants they knew. On another side, in order to diversify the profiles and not to be dependent on my circle of acquaintances, I created flyers with a few explanations about the project, but mainly mentioning that I was looking for participants for interviews and inviting them to contact me (see Appendix B). I left the flyers in a few food shops and in the building of another faculty of the university than the one where I was working

⁸² My translation of « Les intermittents du bio »

⁸³ Original quotation in French : « rendre compte de la variabilité des comportements alimentaires en fonction des situations, sans la déclarer aléatoire et inintelligible, et sans commencer par purement et simplement la réduire »

at. In addition to that, two people I know spontaneously proposed to participate when I told them about my work, and some of the participants also put me in touch with other potential participants.

In total, ten people participated to the study: I found two thanks to acquaintances, three thanks to the flyers, three thanks to other participants and two were people I knew from before. Among them, six were women and four were men. The youngest was 25 years old and the oldest 67. All of them live or work in the Canton of Neuchâtel, in the French speaking part of Switzerland. Finally, it came out that for some of them, the main change in foodway happened already several years ago. However, I decided to keep them in the analysis for two reasons. The first one is that they still considered themselves as in the process of adapting or improving their foodway. In other words, they subjectively perceive their current situation as, to some extent, unstable, and this subjective perception is an important information for a psychological research (see Zittoun, 2006 in relation to ruptures/transitions, but also Schraube, 2014 for a more general argument). The second reason is that I found in the interview and experiment interesting elements regarding positioning processes, which is my main concern in the choice of participants. The only exception to this is Gaël, who does not present his foodway as still in change. Thus, his case deserves a bit more explanations, which I will provide in the next paragraph. More details about all participants will be provided at the beginning of chapter six.

Gaël is a participant who is a former vegetarian and who currently has a diet that is situated rather in the average consumption of PAO. To that extent, he has a status of a contrasting case, however as a former vegetarian he corresponds to the criteria for the participants to have changed their consumption of PAO. His last change (from vegetarianism to a carnist diet) took place approximately four years before the interview, which is a longer period than what I wanted for my participants, but because of the particularity of his status (former vegetarian) and the difficulties to find participants with this profile, I choose to meet him for the interview, and finally to integrate him anyway in the study, based on three main reasons. The first one was that despite of the time distance, there is still very interesting material about past and present positioning in his interview. Indeed, he provided many informations about more distant parts of his trajectory, which were not of lesser quality than those provided by other participants. Moreover, the current tensions between diverse positions that appear in his case are precious material for the positioning issues under study. The second reason is that he explicitly framed his interest in vegetarianism in an anti-speciesist discourse, and he was the only interviewee to do so. In other words, the positioning elaboration that he presents is unique among the participants in terms of content. The third reason was that the questionings about coherence and responsibility that appeared in his interview were resonating with what appeared in other participants' data and became one of the major focus in this project. Thus, it was particularly interesting to have

the point of view and experience of a former vegetarian on these issues, but Gaël is also one of the participants who was the most explicit on these questionings.

Finally, it appeared during the interviews with two participants, Pierre and Gaël, that they underwent a psychological crisis to which they relate their change in foodway. Pierre speaks about a period of drug intake and a depression, while Gaël mentions health problems and adds that he was “not very well in the head” and that he needed to work on himself. None of them mentions whether this was a medical diagnosis and whether he received professional support. This raises the issue whether their profiles are not too particular for this study. After some reflection, I decided to keep both of them, a decision based on the following reasons. On a general level, we might wonder whether socio-cultural psychology provides the theoretical tools to address these kinds of situations. I argue that this approach is suitable to analyse many kinds of processes, including situations where something is not going well in the psychological processes of the person. Different scholars identified limits in the socio-cultural approach when it comes to more pathological or more affective issues, and worked to complete it, in particular with psychoanalytical approaches. Pešić and Baucal (1996) notably show the interest of psychoanalysis regarding cases in which interpersonal interactions are not experienced as positively as it is the case in what Vygotsky theorized, while at the same time highlighting that for both approaches, interindividual interactions are at the core of the understanding of human development. Salvatore and Zittoun (2011) also propose to combine psychoanalytical and socio-cultural theories, as both of them conceptualize semiotic processes. In this case, the input of psychoanalysis to socio-cultural psychology concerns mainly its expertise on affective and unconscious processes. In my view, what these authors show is that there are not (or should not be) two clearly separated domains, with psychoanalysis as an approach for affective processes and pathological crises on one hand, and socio-cultural psychology for more more rational, conscious and “normal” (in the sense of not identified as pathological) processes. Thus, I argue that the socio-cultural approach can include the study of situations of crisis (and Zittoun’s work on ruptures is a good example of this), and even that it should do so in order to address the diversity and complexity of human experience, but that this however requires to be sensitive to the affective and unconscious dimensions of human experience (Salvatore & Zittoun, 2011) as well as to the potentially negative impact of some interpersonal interactions on human development (Pešić & Baucal, 1996). In addition to that, deeper life crises are part of the phenomena of change in foodway as underlined by Ossipow (1997), thus excluding them would mean to ignore an important component of this phenomena.

However, this is a quite general argument and we might still wonder whether, in the particular case of this study, it is appropriate to integrate these participants. In my view, the main issue at this level is whether the conceptual frame constructed here allows to analyse the material that was collected with

them. Both Gaël and Pierre referred to these crises as situated in the past, which shows that they were able to construct some form of (semiotically mediated) distance with the painful experience. In other words, it is the indication of semiotic elaboration, which also provides me with a material (discursive production in the frame of the interview and the qualitative experiment) that is analyzable. They were able to answer my questions and requests during the data collection, Gaël in a way that I felt as completely adapted to the situation and relevant, Pierre with more digressions. But even in Pierre's case, despite of the digressions, there was material allowing to capture what are the constitutive elements of his subjective landscape and how he positions himself in it. Based on this I decided to keep them for this study, however I was careful during the analysis to consider the possible particularities of these participants.

4. MY POSITIONING AS A RESEARCHER

“Sexualities and the dead are without any doubt among the most troubling subjects to which a sociologist can confront himself. The reason is that many objects in which a sociologist is interested stay more or less distant or external to him, even if he develops a certain familiarity with them, in particular if they become his stock-in-trade. But no sociologist, as no human being, can escape to sexuality or to his own death”⁸⁴ (Esquerre, 2009, p. 1)

I argue that the same is true about food and about the issue of PAO consumption. Moreover, death has also been a pervasive topic during this research project, although mostly not that of human beings. The aim of this section is to take time to reflect a little bit more on my own positioning regarding this thesis and the phenomena that it aims to study, as reflectivity is a mean to “legitimate and validate the research procedures” (Mortari, 2015, p. 1) through transparency about the process of knowledge construction. In this sense, “to be reflective researchers means to become conscious of what already structures the mental life and to analyze how these underlying cognitive artifacts mold the process of inquiry” (Mortari, 2015, p. 2). As the knowledge, vocabulary and representation of human beings produced by psychology are not neutral or simply “true” or “wrong” but permeated with normative and moral claims (Brinkmann, 2011; Stam, 2015), cultivating a form of reflectivity is fundamental in

⁸⁴ Original quotation in French: « Les sexualités et les morts sont sans doute parmi les sujets les plus troublants et les plus fascinants auxquels un sociologue puisse se confronter. La raison en est que bien des objets auxquels un sociologue s'intéresse lui demeurent plus ou moins éloignés et extérieurs, même s'il développe avec eux une certaine familiarité, en particulier lorsqu'il en fait son fond de commerce. Mais aucun sociologue, comme aucun être humain, n'échappe à la sexualité ou à sa propre mort »

order to be able to discuss and maybe question those claims. At the beginning of my project, I was surprised by how often and how quickly people would ask whether I am vegetarian when I told them about the topic of my research. More than not, this would even be the first question. As I feel this need for the interlocutor to be able to situate me, and as I consider that any researcher is always positioned in a certain manner in relation to its object of study, I will now provide some information about myself, in order for the reader to know – if she or he wishes – where I am myself speaking from.

If I chose to work on this topic, it is of course that I have some interest in it, that those issues my participants encounter are also to some extent questioning my own foodway and, as any human being, I also have to navigate the current foodscape and its challenges. The idea to work on veg*ism appeared quite late in the elaboration of the thesis project. My first interest was oriented towards food production, and more precisely creativity in the complex and constrained activity that is food production. Working on food related issue was the expression of my wish to work on something fundamental, vital in human life, and at the same time something highly elaborate and symbolic. The fact that vegetarianism become more and more a topic of conversation and an object of discourses certainly played a role in the reorientation. On the psychological side, or more precisely on the kind of psychological processes and questions I chose to study, I must acknowledge a strong and lasting interest in what allows human beings to develop and create in a constrained and challenging environment, in what are the possibilities of life and its future development at the articulation of the individual and the collective, as a part of a global ecosystem. I am convinced that these issues (related to meat production and to the developmental possibilities of human beings as part of a wider system) are crucial for humanity, and that it is an ethical duty for researchers to contribute through their projects to a better understanding of such kind of challenges (on engagement in research, see also Stetsenko, 2019; Teo, 2015; Ziegler, 2014).

As far as I remember, I was socialized in the idea that what you eat and where it comes from matters, that some products are unethical or harmful, and that they should be avoided. It was, however, never very strict or restrictive, and it was not a vegetarian diet. Since the moment I left my parents' home and had to cook by myself, I never ate a lot of meat, because I kept the conviction that what we eat should be produced in "good" conditions, and "good" meat is definitely expensive for a student in Switzerland. I applied this logic when buying food at the supermarket or some other shops (meaning, most of the meals), however price and pleasure were the main criteria when eating outside or on the way. I started to consider meat as particularly problematic because of animals' living conditions and its ecological impact during my master studies, avoided it more and more and started to present myself as vegetarian, but without being strict in my practice. I continued in this way during my doctoral project. On average, I make exceptions to the vegetarian diet less than once a month, and whenever

possible I eat rather small portions of meat. For me, fish and other animals imply the same kinds of problems, so I treat them in the same way as meat. Also, I do not have more problems to eat horse or beef than chicken. The taste of meat never really disgusted me, and I really enjoy the taste of some meat dishes. What can really disgust me, however, is the awareness of bad living conditions for the animals. Concerning other products of animal origin, I never considered myself as vegan, nonetheless, I am sensitive to the fact that the implications of these products are not necessarily better than those of meat. Therefore, periodically, I also tend to avoid these products, and on average my consumption certainly diminished since the beginning of my thesis to a large extent because, through my work, I learned a lot about this topic. Conversely, my consumption of meat did not really change during the thesis. When I started, I considered myself as a “beginner” vegetarian certainly on the way to a more strict diet, and I thought that working on this subject would lead me to be more and more convinced by vegetarianism and even veganism. But this did actually not happen. I am still convinced that meat production is highly problematic because of the way animals are treated and because of its ecological impact. When reading about the current situation, I was often shocked by the dimensions of these two problems took over the last decades, and the importance of analyzing them in the frame of industrialization and neoliberalism became clearer to me. However, I am also thinking that death is part of life and thus that meat consumption can be part of it. I assume that my positioning, which is not characterized by a firm commitment regarding meat consumption and is often tainted with hesitation, gave me the opportunity to engage in an open and curious way with the different positions I could encounter during this work.

At the moment of writing the thesis, I consider it as an engaged work, not in the sense that I want to defend a strict veg* foodway or to defend any other position about what one should do as a consumer or eater, but because I continue to strongly believe that climate change and animal ethics are serious and urgent challenges that need to be addressed by scientists (among others). However, those are not the only challenges currently, and human and social development require attention too and are fundamental for any constructive advance. During the research, the importance of considering the political-economic ideologies became clearer. I am committed to the idea that complex issues need to be addressed, discussed, examined in deep and rigorous ways, and that this cannot be done outside of the articulation between individuals and their environment.

Finally, the scientific positioning is an ongoing process during the whole research project, and this is true also for the writing. In this phase, I notably took the decision to conciliate concise writing and gender issues by adopting, when possible, gender neutral formulations, as recommended by the

Bureau égalité des chances of the University of Neuchâtel (office of equality of chances)⁸⁵. Moreover, I decided to use the first person singular writing, as the third person formulation “does not make your research more objective” (Saldaña, 2011, p. 140). In my opinion, the first person stance is more accurate regarding the research process, and is in accordance with the epistemological assumption that research is never neutral. According to Matt (2004),

“the scientist is personally responsible for the quality of his or her work and bears the moral responsibility for taking care. The goal of this requirement is to make one’s own authorship visible in the text, and to make clear one’s own ideas, perspectives and competences” (p. 329).

In this quotation, Matt discusses validation strategies for qualitative research, but does not mention first person writing among those strategies. However, I consider that using a first person stance when it is appropriate in the text allows a clearer understanding of what falls under my authorship.

5. ETHICAL ASPECTS OF THE PROJECT

While in the previous section I already highlighted some ethical implications of research at the level of the researcher’s positioning and the implication of psychological research, I will turn now towards ethical issues regarding the relations with the participants in the study. Indeed, “fieldwork is constantly ridden by ethical challenges” (Ryen, 2007, p. 218) and opting for a qualitative approach does not in itself guarantee ethically acceptable research (Brinkmann, 2012b). Research ethics obviously demands to respect some basic and sometimes institutionalized procedures, aiming at insuring fundamental ethical standards. However, those procedures are not enough, because each fieldwork is always specific, full of surprises and of new situations that present ethical challenges (Ryen, 2007). Indeed, “there will always be subtle, slippery, even unsolvable dilemmas when we work with human participants because of unforeseen issues and the idiosyncratic nature of being human” (Saldaña, 2011, p. 24). Those can be more or less anticipated through familiarization with the field, reading of scientific literature (including literature on ethics in research), however the novelties and specificities of each fieldwork ask for constant readapting and reevaluating. I found Brinkmann’s recommendation to “handle with care those aspects of the other person’s life that are in your hands” (Brinkmann, 2012a, p. 57) to be a helpful compass in the diversity of situations I encountered. In this section, I will pass through the main ethical requirements in research with human beings, namely informed consent,

⁸⁵ http://www.unine.ch/egalite/langage_nondiscriminatoire, 30.04.2019

harm avoidance, and confidentiality and anonymity. For each of these points I explain how I handled it in the frame of this project.

One of the first points in most texts on ethics in research with human beings is informed consent (Brinkmann, 2012a; Hopf, 2004), which, according to Flick, implies that the study “involve[s] only people who (a) have been informed about being studied and (b) are participating voluntarily” (Flick, 2011, p. 217). Although both aspects might be problematized (what does “informed” exactly mean? how much information? is it understandable for the future person? what does “voluntarily” mean? how to be sure participants did not accept to participate simply because of the social pressure of being polite?), in this study this were not particularly difficult points. All participants were asked whether they agree to participate before the data collection started, I explained to them the topic of the research as well as the frame in which I was conducting it, and they were systematically invited to ask any question they could have about the research or about myself. When they asked about my own positioning regarding vegetarianism, I answered briefly and honestly that I found vegetarianism raises important issues and that I considered myself as a vegetarian but also made some exceptions occasionally. Regarding the “voluntarily” part, I asked whether they would like to participate in the most open way I could and also made sure to be explicit about the fact that they could stop at any moment, and that it would not be a problem at all. I also asked them to read and sign a consent form (see Appendix A), on which this right was mentioned, and which included the question whether they allowed me to record (audio or video depending on the phase), an issue that I also discussed previously orally with them.

Another central point in research ethics, already evoked through Brinkmann’s recommendation to “handle with care”, is “the principle of damage avoidance” (Hopf, 2004, p. 337) or harm avoidance (Flick, 2011). Food and eating might appear at a first sight as pleasant objects of conversation, or at worse as banal and daily issues on which there is not much to say, and it is probable that for many people it will not be particularly difficult or problematic to speak about it. However, it still happened several times that participants evoked painful experiences. Some participants were notably confronted with pictures (from animal farming and slaughtering) that they experienced as really shocking and that required some psychological work, and among them some find the use and diffusion of such images questionable. Another aspect around which a certain sensitivity or even suffering can be perceived for some participants is what could be defined as a feeling of guilt, and notably guilt of not doing well enough, not being sufficiently coherent and of making exception. Several participants also mentioned particularly difficult life situations that they related to their foodway, notably psychological difficulties or troubles, divorces, drug consumption or death of a member of the family. It is true that meat and PAO raise issues related to suffering and death of animals to which we as

humans are more or less sensitive, and which might question more or trigger more globally our own relation to death and pain. More generally, as changes towards veg*ism are often related to broader changes in the person's life (Ossipow, 1997), the fact that other aspects of the person's life were evoked was not really surprising. Moreover, that these changes would for some participants be transitions in the sense defined by Zittoun (2006) and thus imply difficulties and notably uncertainty and doubts was also expected. However, each story is still always particular and thus the reaction to have is partly improvised during the interaction. When people evoked more difficult periods or when I felt some suffering or difficulties during the data collection, I let the person express him or herself, but I did not ask further questions, in order to let him or her manage how much was said, without me pushing to go further (see also Saldaña, 2011, p. 25). I noticed in the audio records that I – involuntarily – produced more markers of attention during these moments. A few times, when the person seemed to be stuck in her reflections and unable to overcome a point, I took the initiative either to reassure him or her or to give some information. On one occasion, I also explicitly reminded a participant that if talking about these issues was too painful it was always possible to stop the interview.

Finally, data storage, confidentiality and anonymity are also issues that have to be considered carefully during (and after) the research project (Flick, 2011; Hopf, 2004). I informed my participants that the data would be anonymized. I created a table summing up information about the participants (names and contact) and the pseudonym assigned in the research, and kept it separately from the rest of the data, where I used only the pseudonyms. Moreover, I kept the data (audio and video records, transcriptions – be it electronic or printed form) in safe places.

6. PREPARATION OF THE DATA AND ORGANIZATION OF THE ANALYSIS

Let us turn now towards the analysis of the data. The methods presented above allowed to collect a rich corpus of data constituted by audio records of the interviews and of the dialogical experiment, as well as videos. The complementary data (articles, flyers...) were not used as corpus in the analysis. Ten participants took part in the narrative interview and the dialogical experiment; while two of them (one men and one women) participated to the filmed observation. The data was collected between June 2016 and June 2017. The narrative interview lasted between 26 minutes and 1 hour 8 minutes, with an average of 42 minutes. In total, I have approximately 7 hours of recordings from the interviews. The dialogical experiment lasted between 16 minutes and 1 hour 1 minutes, with an average of 40 minutes. In total, I have approximately 6 hours and a half of recordings from the interview and experiment. I transcribed all the audio records, except for one participant. In his interview, I summed up rather than

transcribed some parts that I considered as not relevant for my research. The conventions used for the transcription are presented in Appendix D. Concerning the video data, I watched the records several times, trying to actively identify the most relevant way to treat them. I finally opted for a written description in a form of a table that included both description of action and the transcription of what was said, as well as interpretations of the positionings, perspectives and materiality in terms of “should, would and could”. During the analysis process, I did however not use all of the data. I operated a selection based on the theoretical issues and on the most relevant analysis procedures in relation to these issues. Thus, I analyzed all the interviews (see chapter five and six), but only used selectively the data from the dialogical experiment and the filmed observation in the frame of case studies.

Following a logic of abductive research, the analysis process was not a strictly separate phase of the research process but started on preliminary data from the first year on. It received most of my time and attention toward last phases of the project, and has been further refined and continued during the writing of the dissertation. Indeed, “qualitative data analysis is concurrent with data collection and management” (Saldaña, 2011, p. 95) and “writing *is* analysis” (Saldaña, 2011, p. 102, italics in the original). From the beginning of data collection, I wrote analytic memos in parallel to other data production and processing procedures. This technic is recommended by Saldaña, who defines an analytic memo as “a ‘think piece’ of reflexive freewriting, a narrative that sets in words your interpretations of the data” (2011, p. 98). It aims at triggering dialogue between data and theory, favor reflexivity and keep traces of hypotheses and other trails of analysis. After the transcription and as a preparation for the more detailed analysis, a global analysis was conducted on the whole corpus (narrative interview, dialogical experiment, video data). This constitutes the first step of a thematic coding (Flick, 2011). It led to the creation of a description for each participant, providing an overview of their main characteristics. Each description notably included a motto of the case (short interview extract considered as typical for this person - see Flick, 1998/2009), a few words on their current food habits, how the person defines her or himself (for instance as vegetarian), the main motivation for the change in foodway and the moment of (the) change(s). The function of this phase in the analysis is mainly to start to organize the information and to get familiar with the data. Indeed, the importance of taking “ownership of [the] data” through “reading and rereading the corpus” is also underlined by Saldaña (2011, p. 95) who labels this “data intimacy”. The descriptions were nevertheless also directly useful during the analysis of participants’ positionings (chapter six).

The analysis is organized around several steps, that are tidily related to the research sub-questions as well as to the different theoretical sources presented in the first part of the monograph. Figure 7 summarizes all the steps, the data used, the type of analysis and the question to which the analysis relates. Step 1 aimed at identifying the landscapes and positions of the participants. It was divided into

two sub-steps. Step 1a describes the general landscape of all participants together. It relies on a thematic analysis and is thus rather static. Step 1b provides a description of each participant in terms of landscape and positioning. It relies on the same thematic coding, however the analysis is now oriented towards the individual level, describing the subjective landscape and positioning of each participant. Moreover, the temporal dimension was taken into account, although not always in a very detailed way, which was not possible with this amount of data. Step two consists in the analysis of three trajectories in the form of case studies. The aim is notably to accord a more important place to temporality, more specifically on the ontogenetic level. In step three, I move towards a more microgenetic analysis and focus on the role of responsibility in positioning. The analysis is based on two case study. Finally, the fourth and last step of the analysis brings me closer to the practical, microgenetic and embodied dimension of positioning. I focus mainly on the filmed observation of one participant and examined it in terms of creativity and affordances. In short, while step 1a and 1b aim rather at providing an overview of the participants and the themes discussed in the interviews, steps two to four dive deeper in the processes of positioning. This oriented my choice towards case studies, a method of analysis that allows to capture the dynamics of the process.

1a: Analysis of the landscape of participants - chapter five

- Thematic analysis
- All participants
- Narrative interview
- What are the elements that constitute the landscape in which participants navigate?

1b: Participants' subjective landscape and positioning - chapter six

- Drawing on previous thematic analysis
- + Positioning analysis
- All participants
- Narrative interview
- What is the subjective landscape of each participant and how does he/she position him/herself in it?

2: Analysis of trajectories - chapter seven

- Case studies
- 3 participants: Aline, Léa, Lisa
- Narrative interview
- What are the rupture/transition processes possibly implied in a repositioning regarding PAO?

3: Analysis focused on responsibility - chapter eight

- Case studies
- 2 participants: Gaël, Aurélia
- Narrative interview + dialogical experiment
- What is the role played by responsibility in the positioning process?

4: Analysis of creative action in terms of affordances, perspectives and positionings - chapter nine

- Case study
- 1 participant: Alexandre
- Narrative interview + dialogical experiment + filmed observation
- What are the dynamics between affordances, positionings and perspectives?

Figure 7 Overview of the analysis

CHAPTER FIVE: THE LANDSCAPE OF THE PARTICIPANTS

The aim of this chapter is to provide an overview of the themes and sub-themes that appeared in the narrative interviews. In other words, the question that guided this analysis is: what are the themes that constitute the landscape of the participants and how are they organized? After the global analysis and in parallel to the (continuous) assessment of the shared landscape, this constituted the first phase of the analysis. The “cartography” of the subjective landscape was conducted drawing on thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006). I identify the different aspects related to meat consumption that are evoked by the participants during the narrative interview, relying on the assumption that if the participants mention that aspect, this means that they consider it as sufficiently relevant to be mentioned and important for me to understand their positioning, although this is of course always contextual. In that sense, the fact that a person presents one aspect as “not important” is as interesting as one that appears as very important (be it through the chosen vocabulary, emphasis in intonation, the expressed emotions or the frequency and length of its evocation). Presenting it as “not important” is still a form of existence in the landscape.

The first step of the analysis consisted into a (paper and pencil) thematic coding. The codes were elaborated drawing on literature on vegetarianism, complementary data and the topics emerging from the data and through this process were then refined into themes and sub-themes (see Figure 8). Each data

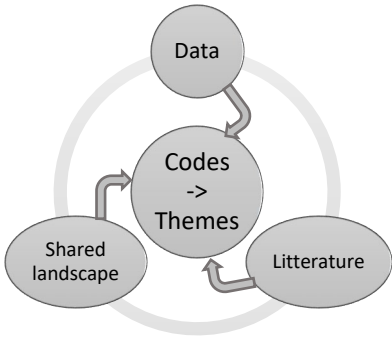


Figure 8 Elaboration of themes

extract was then copied-pasted in an excel document, organized with one sheet per participant. This table was further used in step 1b, where other categories of analysis were added to those of theme and sub-themes. This completed table is presented on page 189 (and notably in Table 3). What follows is a presentation of the landscape that emerged from the thematic analysis, which is also summarized in Figure 9 (p. 154). Each sub-section is named according to one theme, and its content reports the different sub-themes. I start with three themes that I consider fundamental to the extent that they organize the debates and discourses around food and foodways. Those are animal ethics, environmental issues and health. You recognize of course main points of debates I introduced regarding meat production and consumption in chapter three. This is not surprising according to a socio-cultural approach and can be considered as a form of internalization of the debates and their structure. The aim is here not to repeat what has already been described in chapter three, but to describe the particular way it appears in the participants interviews. In other

words, it is an account for an intermediary level of the landscape, between the collectively shared landscape described in chapter three and the subjective landscape of each single participant. Three other themes are pleasure, economic dimensions and interpersonal relations. Those are also not a surprise as the literature in social sciences on food and foodways already highlighted their importance (see also chapter three). Finally, the last theme has a slightly different status, as it groups a number of sub-themes that appeared to play an important role in the organization of and orientation in the landscape. Those were not anticipated and were elaborated mainly from the data.⁸⁶

Themes	• Sub-themes
Animal ethics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Animals' living and dying conditions •Death of the animal •Status of the animal(s)
Environmental impact	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Environmental impact of PAO •Environmental impact of the consumer •Landscape and harmony
Health	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Impact of PAO •Healthy and balanced nutrition •Feeling well and fit
Pleasure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Pleasure related to PAO •Pleasure related to veg* food •Pleasure to share and exchange •Pleasure to cook, cultivate and fabricate
Economic dimensions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Price of products •The economic system
Interpersonal relations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Interpersonal respect and acceptance •Affecting others
Conditions of navigating the landscape	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Coherence •Normal and easy •Knowledge

Figure 9 Themes and sub-themes constituting the landscape of participants

⁸⁶ However, I do not postulate that a completely “data grounded”, free from any theoretical lense, is possible. Thus, my whole background certainly oriented the elaboration of these sub-themes.

One theme that I expected based on literature was the nature/culture arguments. However, only two extracts corresponded to this theme. Thus, I did finally not include it as a theme in what follows but will shortly sum them up here. The nature/culture argument was evoked by Marilou, stating that the fact that humans are the only adult mammals drinking milk shows that it is not natural (and thus should be avoided). Gaël also referred to this argument as he mentions an experiment done with a baby and a squirrel. This experiment is used to show that there is no predator instinct (as the baby does not attack the squirrel) and thus is an invalidation of the carnist argument according to which humans are predators by nature. I will come back shortly on the relative absence of this theme in the discussion at the end of this chapter and will move now to the “real” themes constituting the landscape.

1. ANIMAL ETHICS

Almost all the participants did spontaneously mention animal ethics in the narrative interview. Only Michel did not do so (however during the dialogical experiment it becomes clear that he also has something to say regarding this issue). Some participants mentioned that theme by using exactly these words of “animal ethics”, while others referred to issues related to this theme, as for instance the treatment of animals. I coded all utterances that included a positioning, a commentary or any other element related to the issue of the status of animals, their rights, the human – animal relation(s) and the animals’ living or dying conditions; in short, anything related to the field of animal ethics as defined in chapter three, sub-section Animal ethics (p. 71). The following extracts illustrate this thematic field:

Extract 1.1.1: Léa, narrative interview

L: It completely disgusted me. (.) it completely disgusted me. (2) in fact uh:: how the animal is completely uh (2) I don’t want to say dehumanized but deanimalized we: we don’t have any esteem in fact for the: for the living in fact. (.) n- n- yes uh not respect but simply uh: well empathy

Extract 1.1.2: Aurélia, narrative interview

A: but maybe the ethical aspect comes first,

F: ok yes. (.) can you tell a little bit more precisely what you mean by ethical aspects?

A: uh the conditions in which the animals are raised, (.) and killed, (2) and : well what we make them endure because they didn’t ask for any of this and : they have atrocious lives,

F: yes

A: and :: and in particular uh intensive farming,

In extract 1.1.1, Léa refers for instance to the human – animal relation when she points towards the lack of empathy and esteem from humans for animals. Doing so, she implicitly makes a statement about animals' status and rights (for esteem and empathy). In extract 1.1.2, Aurélia explicitly uses the word “ethics” (at that point she is explaining her motivations for having a vegetarian diet), and when I ask her for precisions, she directly refers to the animals' living and dying conditions, an important debate for animal ethics. Reflecting that importance, animals' living and dying conditions are also one of the sub-themes identified during this analysis.

A. Animals' living and dying conditions

Three sub-themes were considered: animals' living and dying conditions, the right to kill animals and the status of animals. The animals' living and dying conditions obviously refers to the way animals are treated, and in particular to the pain produced by farming and intensive farming in particular. The emotional load of this topic seems quite important, and disgust in particular is often mentioned. Generally, participants encounter this theme through images (in particular on social medias) and written information (see extract 1.1.3). Interestingly, all the participants mentioning animal ethics also refer to particular animals they encountered or encounter “for real” (see extract 1.1.4), although it is sometimes anecdotic.

Extract 1.1.3: Laura, narrative interview

L: then I went through a phase where I became interested in uh not only not, killing animals, (.) which was uh th- the motivation for the whole family not to eat meat, (.) uh red and white, so poultry, uh : but also to the production uhm : (.) of animal products, (.) in particular eggs. (.) there was, in front of the university, uh:: a very good uh exhibition, which which explained, raised awareness, (.) it was about twenty years ago so it was still cages, the little cages, uh the production and:: and there, (.) for me the the: for instance the eggs it was really uh: something very important to always be careful not to make compromises. (.) And, anyhow that started up my interest in finding out more and more, (.)

Extract 1.1.4: Aline, narrative interview

A: I remember it's funny (.) we were at the lake of [name of the lake], °but I was (quite) young° (.) and there was uh et th- they put pigs in a : in a van to go kill them and I was so shocked because it was a van for- well for a horse, and they put I don't know how many inside, and to make them enter they gave them an electric shock : in the belly, and then (.) they had to go up pile one on top of the other and that I think (oh misery): I don't know that if I were not already

not eating meat if I would have told myself oh but I stop eating meat because oh it traumatized me, ((laughs))

Moreover, what is mentioned is either related to a specific situation (as for instance in extract 1.1.4) or the view of one particular documentary, or it can take the form of a general comment on the production of PAO. Most of the time, the pain or suffering is labelled as unacceptable, disgusting or horrible, but not further described. One of the participants uses the word “depression” in order to qualify what cows experience after the separation with their calf. Doing so, this participant (Marilou) introduces a term that clearly refers to the psychic life of the animal. Generally, participants denounce the conditions of production and this sub-theme is mentioned as one of the (principal or additional) reasons to stop consuming meat, to reduce its consumption or to adopt a vegan diet. In that sense, it is a theme that is not very controversial, and differences among participants rather reflect the importance given to this topic. For some participants, notably Aurélia, Gaël, Léa and Lisa, it is clearly the most important topic, while for some others, such as Alexandre, it is only evoked and seems not to play any fundamental role. However, compared to other sub-themes and themes, this is certainly one of the most important in the narrative interviews. Some variations also appear in what is considered as acceptable or not. While several participants explicitly oppose to the industrial way of production (notably Aline and Léa), others are closer to an “animal liberation” positioning that refuses all uses of animals (for instance Aurélia or Marilou). The question of the labels (that could by some people be considered as a guarantee for an acceptable treatment of animals) is highlighted only by Aline and Marilou, however both of them doubt about their usefulness and efficiency.

B. Death of the animal

The sub-theme “death of the animal” specifically relates to the right for humans to kill animals for the sake of food production. It might imply two slightly different categories, which are the death of animals in order to eat them (as meat), and the death of animals as a “collateral effect” of food production (in particular the killing of male chicks in eggs industry). Interestingly, several participants evoked the idea of killing animals by themselves, be it in the form of a question or a statement, as for example in the extracts 1.1.5 and 1.1.6. My hypothesis is that these statements rely on the argument that sometimes appears explicitly in the debates, according to which the ability to kill the animal by oneself would

justify or legitimize its consumption⁸⁷. The two following extracts provide two illustrations of the way the death of animals appears in the interviews.

Extract 1.1.5: Laura, narrative interview

F: but in fact when your family started, it was (.) because one shouldn't kill animals,

L: it's for ethical reasons

F: so ethics of treatment of animals, or the ethics of not killing

L : uh more so because of the treatments, (.) and to kill. (.) uh sorry at the level it was not killing uh at the beginning it was killing rather it was killing. (.) and for me it was rather the treatment, uh however I was not coherent because I could have eaten,: uh wild animals killed by a hunter I don't know what, but there I was not coherent. So I did not eat it was easier to say I don't eat meat than: to look for, (.) or at least that m- me I could not kill an animal. (.) well I couldn't kill a fish either, ((laughing))

Extract 1.1.6: Aurélia, narrative interview

A: well if one day, it's the apocalypse, (.) we all have to handle things by ourselves, well then, I would certainly go hunting in order to survive, (2) but it's really this issue: mass-production in fact. intensive farming, and: it's horrible,

While extract 1.1.5 illustrates this argument relating the ability to kill with legitimacy to eat meat (although the person immediately adds that she is incoherent on that point), in extract 1.1.6, Aurélia develops the idea that killing can be more or less acceptable depending on the context, especially in relation to the question of survival (which actually constitutes a bridge between this theme and the theme of health that I will present later). Death is not only evoked in relation to meat and meat industry, but also in relation to eggs industry, notably by Laura who presents her intention of adopting chickens in order to save them from the killing "engendered" by a period of unproductivity, and she also adds that male chicks are ground in this industry. Marilou, on her side, denounces the shortened life of milk cows and considers their premature death as an indicator of their bad living conditions. They are the only participants to point to these issues, and in both cases, it is a denunciation of the industrial system more than a questioning of the right to kill in itself.

Participants could be classified in three main categories regarding their position towards this issue: those who consider killing as rather unproblematic in itself (thus for whom it is not a reason to become veg*an), those who see it as problematic (for whom it might be a reason to become veg*an), and those who do not mention the issue (or very unclearly). This clearly shows that we are far from a univocal

⁸⁷ Which is actually a rather strange argument, regarding that hunting and meat consumption have always been merely shared activities of the human groups.

positioning among the participants. Both Alexandre and Gaël state that they grew up in a rural context where killing animals was normal (see extract 1.1.7).

Extract 1.1.7: Alexandre, narrative interview

A: because we had: we had heifer that we: we slaughtered to sell meat ((laughs)) so inevitably we ate some,

None of them fundamentally changed his position regarding this issue, both of them are still considering killing of animals as an unproblematic aspect (which does not necessarily mean taken-for-granted; indeed in the dialogic experiment, Gaël shows that he is quite reflexive about this issue). Léa also affirms very explicitly that killing the animal is not problematic to her, and Laura also mentions that in itself, the death of the animal is not problematic to her. On the opposite, it also appears sometimes as a reason to avoid meat consumption. For instance, when I ask Marilou whether she was disgusted by cheese as she was by meat, she answers in the following way:

Extract 1.1.8: Marilou, narrative interview

M: and all the same it was not: it was not the: animal, (2) that is on the plate it is anyhow (3) yeah which didn't bother me too much

When Marilou says that it is the animal that is on the plate, it is of course a (part of a) dead animal, and the fact that symbolically it is more a dead animal than a piece of meat makes it disgusting to her. For Lisa, it appears also to be one of the aspects that make meat consumption problematic and would lead her towards a vegetarian diet. In Aline's and Pierre's interviews, the theme is not evoked at all, while Aurélia only mentions it when I ask her what she thinks about entomophagy.

C. Status of the animal(s)

With the sub-themes "status of the animal(s)", I coded the utterances referring to what are animals for human beings and what are the relations between animals (in particular when participants refer to a hierarchy or a unity). Only five participants mentioned something related to this theme spontaneously. A question I asked concerning the consumption of insects triggered answers of that order in five participants (among which three already mentioned it before, thus in total seven participants said something related to this sub-theme). To this question, the response is more or less unanimous: insects are also animals, thus – and this is more or less explicit and has different implications depending on the participant – they should not be treated differently than other animals. In other words, it is the idea of equality that is expressed in this case. On the contrary, two participants

evoke hierarchy between animals. Léa recognizes that she is more sensitive to the treatment of mammals, as is illustrated in the following extract:

Extract 1.1.9: Léa, narrative interview

L: I eat fish, (.) [...] but I don't know no I am more sensitive to the cause of cows and: and uh well of mammals, but uh no seafood I could not do without on the other hand, (.) I eat some regularly, (.) but that is a food which- well it is the meat that replaced red meat let's say, (.) fish

Lisa also mentions that she tends to hierarchize animals, but at the same time she takes distance from this hierarchy by stating that this is not a reason to eat some of them and she also questions the idea that some are "lower". She also reports that she read a book about the way we categorize animals into those we can eat and those that are our pets. Only two participants mention their emotional relation to animals; Laura says that her family (including her) is loving animals, while Gaël says that he was always sensitive to animals. Finally, two participants refer to some particular system of beliefs or theory that orients their conception of animals. Gaël mentions antispeciesism, which he considers as the logical correlate of his other convictions about human beings and society, and Pierre refers to Christian writings stating that animals have souls and are inhabited by the divine.

2. ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACT

The theme of environmental impact refers to the environmental issues, such as the impact of PAO, the environmental impact of the person's behavior more generally or some other statement regarding the environment. It is present in the interview of nine participants; however, for four of them, it appears only once. It is globally a theme that is less present than the previous one, and more often evoked as a good additional argument against meat consumption, but not the main reason for veg*. Aline is the only participant who presents this theme as her principal current motivation for reducing her meat consumption. In Michel's interview, the theme is present, however it is in relation to bread and in order to say that it is not an important point in comparison with pleasure:

Extract 1.2.1: Michel, narrative interview

M: in order to have really (.) wet (.) bread, (.) and then as soon as it comes out, [from the bread machine] (.) I cut it, (.) I pack it and I put it in the freezer. (.) even still warm which is absurd from an energy conservation point of view but we don't care, (.) because you need to keep this humidity

This is however the only time this kind of position (undermining the issue of environmental impact) appears in the interviews.

This theme includes two main sub-themes, namely the ecological impact of PAO and the ecological impact of the consumer. Two other statements also refer to environmental issues, but are rather isolated. According to a classical thematic analysis, they do not constitute a sub-theme. Nevertheless, in order to map the landscape properly and precisely, I will also mention them, although they could be considered as single trees rather than forests in this landscape. But as I am working on a rather small scale, it seems relevant to report them, as the aim is to give account for the different meanings that are present in the participants' interviews.

A. Environmental impact of products of animal origin

The ecological impact of PAO is mentioned by six participants, most often in relation to meat production. Nobody explicitly mentions these issues as an argument against the consumption of PAO, and only Laura mentions overfishing as a problem. Aline is the person who speaks the most extensively about it, and for whom it played the most important role in her change in food habits.

Extract 1.2.2: Aline, narrative interview

A: where I really told myself well (.) I know: all the problems with eating meat: related to (.) from an ecological perspective, of animal treatment, .h etc., (.) but, uh : it was just uh I saw on [*name of a social media] there is the restaurant of, the [*name of the restaurant], (.) that decided in fact not to : on Tuesdays I think to make uh vegetarian

F: mhm

A: and they put: two or three: facts: facts related specifically to consumption from an ecological perspective,

F: yeah

A: and (incomp) I know well I already knew but in fact it's when seeing that that I thought yes but it's really- it's really stupid you see

However, although the environmental impact is the reason for Aline's change in food habits, according to her it does not necessarily lead to strict vegetarianism, as she frames the problem in terms of overconsumption, and, doing so, also questions the utility of labels. For some other participants, it is another good reason to be vegetarian, in addition to ethical reasons which are more central (Gaël, Aurélia), or to reduce one's meat consumption, in addition to health reasons (Alexandre). Lisa uses this sub-theme as an argument specifically oriented against industrial production; however, in another part of the interview she also states that eating a small piece of meat won't change anything regarding the environment. Saying that, she recognizes the existence of link between an environmental problem and meat production but undermines the use of this argument to promote strict vegetarianism.

B. Environmental impact of the consumer

The sub-theme of environmental impact of the consumer refers to all utterances regarding environmental issues related to a certain behavior that encompasses PAO or concerns another area of activities than foodways, as for example in the following extract:

Extract 1.2.3: Alexandre, narrative interview

A: I like using: seasonal products, local products or whatever. So local products,: seasonal vegetables, so it varies: the recipes vary as the seasons go by, you see I often make whole salads and well depending on the vegetables I have well it it changes, it changes the recipes, but the base is the same let's say.

F: and why seasonal vegetables or local fruits or products,

A: well: because I think that when you: when you are: well when you have this reflection uh on food it goes a bit further than that (.) it's also about the ecology

In this extract, Alexandre explains his preference for local products because of their lesser environmental impact. Although it does not concern PAO directly, he sees this preoccupation as a logical extension of his change in foodway (from POA to other product and from health to environmental issues). Presenting other choices (related notably to food or transport means) as correlate to their reflection on PAO also appears in Laura, Marilou, Aline and Gaël's interviews. Sometimes, this extension however goes hand in hand with a reduced strictness in vegetarianism (Laura) or even the return to a carnist diet (Gaël). In these cases, consuming local food seems to play the role of an alternative to vegetarianism, as appears in the following extract:

Extract 1.2.4: Gaël, narrative interview

G : I try to (.) to eat what comes from the region, (.) rather than avocados that come from from the depths of Peru, (.) it's a bit moronic, I would say so uh (.) well I try anyway to uh to be careful with that what (.) I try to have (.) an ethic in what I eat but slightly in another way.

In some cases, the environmental impact might even become an argument against vegetarianism, and this appears mainly in Gaël's interview, as he criticizes the consumption by veg*ans of food coming from far away.

C. Landscape and harmony

Finally, the two other elements that appear are the preservation of traditional landscapes and the necessity to live in harmony with nature. The preservation of landscape is perceived by Laura as an argument against complete veganism. She points towards the fact that veganism would imply the

disappearance of cows, and thus a profound change in the Swiss landscape, which she implicitly disagrees with. Pierre mentions a desired and ideal form of relation to “mother-earth” and between all living beings that inhabit it. Interestingly, both refer to state of affairs that do not exist (yet), but are imagined as possible futures, the first one as a kind of dystopia and the second as a form of utopia.

3. HEALTH

In the theme health, I include everything that concerns the way the food or the foodway impacts the person in her body and in her well-being. This theme appeared in all participants’ interviews, although it occupies very different spaces, from a trigger for change in foodway that constitutes the main reason the person cites for her reduction of PAO (Pierre, Alexandre) to a theme considered as relatively unimportant or not really deserving more attention (Aline). It is also sometimes a reason for doubts and interrogations (Léa, Lisa).

A. Impact of products of animal origin

One important sub-theme is the impact of PAO. This sub-theme appears in nine of the interviews, the only one who does not mention it is Gaël. It is mainly the negative effect of these products that is mentioned, as in the following extract:

Extract 1.3.1: Lisa, narrative interview

L: so but then I t- I tested my blood, I realized that I had my cholesterol which was really high because I started eating cheese like crazy,

in this extract, Lisa relates a personal medical information (high cholesterol) with her new habits (more dairy products since she became vegetarian). Michel evokes a similar link, however in his case the impact of his food habits is judged positively. In a similar medical vision, some participants also refer to studies showing the negative impact of a too important consumption of PAO (Aurélia, Michel, Alexandre, Aline). This might be more specifically concerning meat (Aurélia, Aline) or dairy products (Alexandre, Michel). While Aline simply mentions this as something that is known and proved, Aurélia and Michel go more into the details of the studies during the interview, as illustrated in the following extract:

Extract 1.3.2: Aurélia, narrative interview

A: (china) study, it’s: it’s a: (.) what is he as (.) it’s an American scientist in fact who did a study on uh milk meat animal proteins, (.) and the links to cancer,

F: okay

A: he conducted studies on rats in fact

F: yeah

A: where he made them eat (incomp.), (.)some of them and not others, and then: he watched: (.) and they noticed that there where more cancers in: rats that ate animal proteins. Actually it's much more complicated than that but I read it some time ago

Alexandre, without going into the details of the studies, mentions the diversity of sources, the contradictions in the information he found and the impact of lobbies on that area of knowledge. Two participants, Marilou and Pierre, mention the impact of PAO on them through a discourse that refers to energy and spirituality more than through a medicalized vocabulary. One specificity of this discourse is the idea that from a certain level of spiritual development, what is eaten is maybe not that important anymore (but both of them estimate that they did not reach that level yet). Both of them also relate meat consumption and negative mental states, Pierre by affirming that meat consumption makes aggressive, while Marilou reports that she feels calmer since she is vegetarian and relates this to the anguish that animals feel.

B. Healthy and balanced nutrition

A second sub-theme groups the utterances related to healthy and balanced diet. It might for instance be an explanation of what the participant considers as healthy, or the expression of worries concerning lacks, or a comment judging the value of a certain food or foodways according to nutritional requirements. Thus, it is closely related to the previous sub-theme, but concerns however the diet more broadly. This sub-theme appears in all participants' interviews; however, some do spend much more time on it than others. A balanced and healthy diet is valued by most of the participants, as illustrated in the following extract:

Extract 1.3.3: Gaël, narrative interview

G: I never took a blood test or anything like that but uh still it encourages you to uhm: it encourages you to be a little bit more interested in the issue, (.) and to know a little bit about what is in what and uh well (.) well necessarily to try to vary what you eat what. (.) uh as much as possible

F: yeah

G: and then uh (2) then well in itself even now uh even now, (.) I'm eating meat-based products again well (2) I still try to be careful to have a balanced diet

Only Aline does not share this perspective; in her case the topic appears only to state that she does not really pay attention to it. Most of the participants, as Gaël in this extract, do not go further in their explanation about what they consider as a healthy or balanced diet. Some would give examples of what they consider as unhealthy; notably the habit of eating outside and eating a lot of sandwiches (Lisa), fastfood and abusive consumption of apple juice (Michel), beer, too much sugar and more generally any impulsive consumption (Alexandre), coffee and alcohol (Marilou). Michel is the only participant who expresses his commitment to a specific diet (other than veg*), namely the Mediterranean diet, which he considers as perfectly in accordance with human needs, as illustrated in the following extract:

Extract 1.3.4: Michel, narrative interview

M: when you have a Mediterranean diet that you certainly know, (.) there are a lot of raw vegetables, (.) a few transformed products, (.) lots of olive oil, (.) red wines, (.) some goat and sheep milk products etc, (.) well you are more or less in line with the healthiest way of eating (.) for human beings, (.) and not the politics of milk products and proteins etc, (.) so I did that by choice. (.) because I give quite a lot of importance to my lifestyle, (.)

Alexandre is the other participant who goes further into his inquiries of what is a balanced and healthy diet. Unlike Michel, he does not follow one particular diet, but tends to elaborate his own habits based on different sources. Interestingly, these are the two participants who mention health as their principal reason for their change in foodway.

Regarding the healthiness of a diet, the intake of proteins is a recurrent issue. The interpersonal interactions seem to play an important role, as illustrated in the following extract.

Extract 1.3.5: Aurélia, narrative interview

A: but I know that there are many more proteins in vegetables that we think, (.) and uh (2) so it's it's a wrong idea to think that there is only meat and that that : you absolutely need to eat meat in order to be in good health or whatever. (.) I have the feeling that proteins are a bit like the last stronghold that: that people who eat meat can use well the last I don't know how to say it that: (2) the last argument they have. (.) because otherwise there is except proteins, in meat, well there are other nutrients, but it's the main one in fact

Aurélia points in this extract to the fact that the question of proteins is often used to question or even attack vegetarianism. Gaël, Marilou and Alexandre report similar experiences or feelings about other people's expectations and opinions, and highlight the necessity for someone following a vegetarian diet, to be prepared to answer to this and thus to have a solid knowledge about the topic. Aurélia, in this extract, is rather sure about the fact that lacks are not a particular problem for vegetarians. Thus,

this seems not to be a reason for worrying. Gaël and Marilou share the opinion that vegetarianism does not imply any lack or risk for health, and Alexandre extends it to all PAO. For Gaël, having a balanced (vegetarian) diet is the way to avoid having lacks when vegetarian. Most of other participants have a rather peaceful relation to these issues and do not express any doubts about the healthiness of their current diet. However, Léa worries about how to eat in a healthy way as a vegetarian, and expresses the wish to speak with a nutritionist. Lisa also is unsure about the healthiness of vegetarianism. In her case, it seems that this became especially an issue while she was pregnant.

C. Feeling well and fit

How the person feels in relation to her alimentation constitutes the third sub-theme of health I identified. It concerns only six participants – Lisa, Alexandre, Pierre, Michel, Marilou, Léa – however the place it takes in their landscape (especially for Alexandre and Michel) is quite important.

In Pierre and Marilou's interviews, this sub-theme appears notably when they narrate the times when they ate meat by mistake (both after having followed a strictly vegetarian diet for a while). Pierre reports that he felt very heavy, and, in the following extract, uses this example to affirm his increased sensitivity:

Extract 1.3.6: Pierre, narrative interview

P: it's happened to me once or twice:, where they made a mistake (.) in my meal. (.) but I tasted the dish and I can tell you one time but I realized after the first two or three bites and I said well they got it wrong and I continued eating. (.) well I can tell you that I never felt so bloated in my whole life, (.) in the afternoon uh: from what I ate it was ravioli I don't know what anymore, (.) but a heaviness I was almost on all fours in the afternoon so you feel after you become, (.) more sensitive, or whatever.

In this case, the physical feeling is used (I assume towards himself and towards me) as an indicator confirming that a vegetarian diet is better. Marilou reports a similar experience, which also leads her to the affirmation that this attests the benefits of a strictly vegetarian diet. Léa also reports some rather negative feeling, as she mentions feeling a lack⁸⁸, which leads her to doubt the healthiness of her current (pescetarian) foodway. On the other hand, positive feelings are also evoked many times in the interviews. For most of the participants, the change in foodway is related to an increase in well-being and or the feeling to be more fit, as Michel reports it in a very explicit way:

⁸⁸ In French: un manque

Extract 1.3.7: Michel, narrative interview

M: I feel in great form living like this, and (I feel it) every day, (.)

For Michel, Lisa, Marilou and Alexandre, this is also closely related to different physical activities and they see their feeling of well-being as emerging from the combination of physical activity and alimentation. To a certain extent, for them increased well-being also played or plays the role of a goal or a motivation to change their foodway.

Finally, one particular aspect of well-being that – unexpectedly – appeared in Pierre and Gaël’s interviews are psychological troubles or difficulties. Pierre mentions psychological troubles before becoming vegetarian, associated with drug intake. He names this period the “descent into hell”⁸⁹. To him, his encounter with religion and the related vegetarian diet were the main resources that allowed him to overcome these difficulties. He includes stopping to eat animals in a way to save his life and his soul. For Gaël, a change in foodway was also triggered by a difficult period, however the change went into the other direction. Gaël explains that he had health issues, that he “freaked”⁹⁰ and had a “big big reassessment of many things”⁹¹. In his case, coming back to a carnist diet was thus a way to diminish the pressure in one area of his life.

4. PLEASURE

If we look at the number of extracts associated with this code, pleasure appears as a very important theme. All the participants mention it, and the following statement seems to some extent true for many of them:

Extract 1.4.1: Michel, narrative interview

M: all these approaches there [speaks about comparative studies in nutrition between USA and China] lead me to ask myself questions, (.) and to say well : maybe we need to eat in a different way, (.) but, (.) little detail the notion of pleasure, (.) it’s there (.) all the time now

This theme is understood here in a quite broad sense and not limited to the taste of foods and meals. Indeed, pleasure might as well be related to preparing the food, sharing the meal, debating with other people about vegetarianism, in short any dimensions of food related activities. I decided to adopt this

⁸⁹ In French: la descente aux enfers

⁹⁰ In French: péter les plombs

⁹¹ In French: une grosse grosse remise en question de pleins de trucs

inclusive approach, as the pleasure to cook (as a counter-example: Aline) or to cultivate vegetables (for instance Michel) might influence the elaboration of the foodway. This code was attributed to any utterance that is an expression of pleasure, liking or disliking in relation to food related activities. To some extent, it is related to the health sub-theme “Feeling well/fit”, as both refer to positive affects. However, the present theme captures more local phenomena, more directly related to senses or specific situations. I identified several sub-themes that are (1) taste related to PAO, (2) taste related to veg* food, (3) pleasure to share and exchange, and finally (4) pleasure to cook, cultivate and fabricate.

A. Pleasure related to products of animal origin

The liking or disliking of PAO is of course a central sub-theme. Three types of positionings appear in the interviews, the first one being the pleasure to eat meat, and especially the liking of its taste. This can be presented as an obstacle towards vegetarianism, as in Aurélia’s case:

Extract 1.4.2: Aurélia, narrative interview

A: I made several attempts, tr- trying to become vegetarian, (.) but it always ended in failure, ((lightly laughing)) because: uh the famous excuse meat is so tasty:

Marilou mentions similar difficulties with cheese that hinders her becoming vegan. For others (as for instance Michel, Alexandre), liking meat is a reason not to follow a strictly vegetarian diet. On the other hand, some people mention their disgust towards meat (nobody does it towards cheese), as for instance Léa:

Extract 1.4.3: Léa, narrative interview

L: finally it was uh: (.) a clear break, (.) really where I really was disgusted, (.) but strongly uh then I really could not anymore: even smelling meat finally. (.) and uh: (2) yeah because I had pictures that uh kept on coming back to me or whatever

Interestingly, it is the link that she established between the piece of meat (here she points especially towards the smell) and pictures she saw about animal farming that trigger the disgust in front of meat. It is indeed often the case that when disgust is mentioned, it is both in relation to a specific product and to some issue related to animal ethics. There are also nuanced statements, and participants also report liking meat for instance but not feeling any lack if not eating it regularly. Disgust is not only perceived negatively, and Léa expresses this explicitly when she mentions that she actually would like to be disgusted by meat. For Lisa a feeling of guilt seems to emerge when eating some product “only” for pleasure (when it enters in conflict at the same time with reasons not to eat it, such as reasons based on animal ethics), as illustrated in the following extract. However, this represents rather an

exception regarding the dominant discourse that is more axed on pleasure and on a positioning as someone who is not torturing himself through his foodway.

Extract 1.4.4: Lisa, narrative interview

L: I'm being trying not to eat also fish things quite some time already, (.) in the last- during the last year, (.) that's more I think more for uhm (.) demonstrating to myself that I can do it. That I can be a vegetarian a full vegetarian and not like just (.) you know: eating sushi with the excuse that I like it and sometimes it doesn't: you know hurt,

Of course, participants also have different relations towards different foods. Aline for instance insists that becoming vegetarian (she has a not strictly vegetarian diet) was not difficult at all for her because she does not really love steaks or meat in general. Later, she however speaks about a meal with chicken that is amazingly tasteful⁹² and to which she does not resist when she eats in a restaurant. Moreover, what participants like and dislike also changes over time, and this is in particular reported by Léa, Michel, Marilou, Pierre, Aline. Finally, one particular pleasure seems to be the discovery of new tastes or the tasting of local specialities when travelling. Indeed, several participants mention this (in past or imagined future) as a situation in which they would make an exception to their veg* diet.

B. Pleasure related to veg* food

Participants of course also mention liking and disliking vegetarian and vegan foods, and this constitutes a second sub-theme. For those who try to find new products to elaborate their veg* foodway, pleasure is definitely a criteria, as illustrated in the following extract (or also for Aurélia):

Extract 1.4.5: Lisa, narrative interview

L: and I started buying quinoa milk you know quinoa rice stuff (2) yeah well the rice milk is not very good, so I tried the quinoa thing and it was actually nicer,

It might also be the case simply that people speak extensively about some foods that are not new to them but in which they find a source of pleasure, as Michel does with bread. Foods designed specifically as meat replacement are appreciated by Aline and Aurélia, but not by Gaël as illustrated by the following extract:

⁹² In French: "qui tue la mort"

Extract 1.4.6: Gaël, narrative interview

G: you can find quite a lot of [*name of a brand of meat substitutes] (2) it started developing a little bit when uh when I started to be vegetarian you could find some in [*name of the supermarket]

F: yeah

G: I never found it delicious but

F: you never found it delicious ?

G: no but: (.) from time to time it does the trick or whatever.

Some participants (notably Laura, Gaël, Léa) underline that vegetarian food can be boring when not well prepared. Finally, some statement, especially in Michel's interview, go over the distinction PAO/veg* foods, and notably point towards the way industry plays with our taste for sweet and fat, but also with other senses such as vision and smell, in order to sell more products (that are not necessarily healthy).

C. Pleasure to share and exchange

This sub-theme is on one side related to commensality, on the other side it touches to argumentation and exchanging ideas. Both might of course happen simultaneously. While commensality is underlined by the literature on food, and meat in particular is related to important social situation, it is surprisingly little present in my data. Gaël mentions it, and states that he would rather share a good meal than stick strictly to vegetarianism.

Extract 1.4.7: Gaël, narrative interview

G: For instance if someone invited me to eat somewhere and they didn't know that I was vegetarian I would not make a scene (2) [...] (.) I always ate willingly I preferred to happily share a meal than (.) .h to to- well I always valued this aspect

Alexandre also mentions a barbecue, but to add that it was a particular difficult situation because his brother's friends laughed at him as he did not eat meat. Thus, as a contrast to the pleasure to share the same (kind of) meal, it is an unpleasant situation – in which the laughing seems to be the most painful aspect. Nevertheless, this laughing takes its roots in the fact that one person does not share the same meal than the others. Many other participants (Léa, Lisa, Aline, Michel, Alexandre, Laura) report that they would not refuse meat when invited or that they would eat meat because of the presence of a non-vegetarian. They do not evoke pleasure to share, it is rather presented either as a politeness, easiness or simply not resisting to the taste. However, one hypothesis could be that

politeness and easiness are socially more acceptable justifications than pleasure for this consumption of PAO.

Pleasure to exchange with other people, debates and ideas is rarely explicit but appears in some interviews. Marilou clearly reports that she had a good time in company of other vegans at a gathering of a vegan organization and during some demonstration, as becomes visible in the following extract:

Extract 1.4.8: Marilou, narrative interview

M: and then I also met it was last year, in: in Lausanne⁹³ with and I was also in Bern with vegan organizations

F: ah okay yeah

M: yes (.) .h but: finally, (2) I was also at a: (.) it was last year in Geneva, in a uh: a it was a: a demonstration against spiecicism

F: yeah

M: and uh well I I found it was great I felt good: during this one hour and a half two hours, (.) I felt a strong energy it was all good,

Aurélia also reports that she engages gladly in discussions about vegetarianism with interested people, and Gaël also engages with a certain pleasure with these debates, as illustrated in the following extract:

Extract 1.4.9: Gaël, narrative interview

G: recently videos of (2) of guys demonstrating that we really don't have a predator soul exactly, (.) with a squirrel in the cradle of a newborn, (.) and well the newborn will certainly not try to eat the squirrel or whatever

F: ((laughing))

G: he really doesn't have a predation instinct but not at all, (.) no, (.) really not at all. (.) so uh well you see it's just that these are still questions that take [me].

F: yeah

G: and anyhow it's cool.

Léa, on the contrary, does not like at all to be asked about her foodway, as she has the feeling she has to justify herself all the time. Other participants (notably Aline, Michel) report that they engage(d) in debates and discussions, without however indicating whether it is a pleasure. On the other hand, Aline reports that reading about the (environmental) situation might also be unpleasant. Finally, the intensity with which some participants (Michel, Aurélia, Alexandre, to some extent Lisa) gather

⁹³Lausanne, Bern, Geneva : towns in Switzerland

information about vegetarianism and present this topic to me leads me to make the hypothesis that there is a certain pleasure in learning and sharing the knowledge they have.

D. Pleasure to cook, cultivate and fabricate

A few participants evoke some more or less pleasant activities around the preparation of food, and this is the object of the fourth sub-theme. Michel is particularly engaged in these kinds of activities. He cultivates a little garden, prepares his bread by himself, enjoys cooking and even produced his own wine during several years.

Extract 1.4.10: Michel, narrative interview

M: I find it: uh great, now we don't buy onions we planted I think 30 or 40, (.) it makes onion stalks

F: yeah

M: you take some well they are not as plump as the ones from [*name of the supermarket], (.) they are uh: (.) quite small, (.) but they are tasty

Gaël also states that he likes cooking, but while Michel insists on the fact that he cooks easy and quick meals, Gaël indicates that he would spend quite a lot of time in the kitchen. Alexandre, without mentioning pleasure explicitly, also indicates that he takes much more time than before to prepare his meals, and this seems for him to have a positive connotation. On the opposite, Aline indicates that she does not really like to cook and thus that she does not take time for this.⁹⁴ Michel is the only participant reporting growing vegetables by himself. Laura mentions that she and her family would soon have a chicken coop and a vegetable garden, which she announces as good news.

5. ECONOMIC DIMENSIONS

Meat is an industry and most of the food that is consumed is bought at a certain price. This sub-theme concerns any reference to the financial dimension of PAO consumption and veg*, from the price of a product that might limit or favor its access to comments on the economic system. Working conditions in animal industry was also included here, as it concerns the socio-economic relations in which employees are engaged. Prices were actually what I thought about when introducing this theme,

⁹⁴ Only men indicated taking time for and enjoying cooking. Their might be a gender effect here, however this topic seems too vast to get seriously engaged within this thesis and the number of participants too small.

however with the interviews it became quickly clear that other economic aspects constitute important parts of the landscape of some participants.

A. Price of products

One of the most obvious economic issue for people regarding their food habits is the price of the products they buy. This topic is mentioned by half of the participants (Michel, Aline, Léa, Gaël and Lisa). Aline is the only participant mentioning economic reasons in her change in foodway.

Extract 1.5.1: Aline, narrative interview

A: and moreover we are students : with uh my husband and: so we don't have a lot of money (.) basically what we were buying all the time was- was chicken and the conditions are not but already well we eat meat but it's never steaks, we never: eat this kind of things because we don't have the means, uhm : (.) then well it's at that moment that I told myself, .h (.) for what we eat well we can absolutely replace it and it's stupid to eat meat in these conditions well (.)

In this extract, Aline brings together economic reasons, conditions of production and type of meat in order to assess that meat could be suppressed from their foodway quite easily. She will also add that now her foodway is less expensive. On the other hand, price is sometimes a reason to eat meat. Aline estimates that the prices for a vegetarian dish in a restaurant is often too high compared to the quality, and thus she prefers to eat meat in this situation. Léa, who changed from a carnist to a pescetarian diet, finds fish expensive and this makes her hesitate about her current diet. (Both Aline and Léa are students.) To Lisa, finding cheap and good meat in the country where she grew up and where she sometimes goes back was a reason to consume some. Gaël, on the opposite, mentions the low price of a specific vegetarian food as a positive point, while Aline mentions that the price of some vegetarian substitutes for meat prevents her from buying them more often. Thus, globally, price can be a limit (especially for students) as well as an incitement, and those participants mention it as such. The theme appears in general very briefly, and only a few times per person, in other words it is far from being a major point in the participants' discourse. During the interview, only Michel questions explicitly the preference for cheap food by stating that maybe it is worth, for the sake of health, to pay a bit more for food. As he is a doctor, we can imagine that his income provides him more room for maneuver than the students.

B. The economic system

The sub-theme economic system regroups what participant say about the socio-economic relations around the PAO production/consumption system and, in particular, the financial interests of the different actors in the industrial system, the role of the consumer as well as the working conditions in the meat industry. Eight of the participants mention this sub-theme during the interview (all of them except Marilou⁹⁵ and Pierre). Michel simply acknowledges the economic interests of industrials, while the other participants tend to disagree with the functioning of this system or to denounce some of its effects as undesirable, as for instance Laura does in the following extract:

Extract 1.5.2: Laura, narrative interview

L: female chicks, they keep them one year, because they produce from the fourth week they start to produce one egg, (.) at least one egg every day. (.) then, they take a break from 3 to 5 weeks, (.) where they don't lay eggs, (.) they change their feathers, (.) and : it's too expensive for the people who : who produce eggs, (.) who really need to make money with that, (.) to keep these chicken during 3 to 5 weeks. So, (.) they kill them, (.) which I find perverse,

The effects of this necessity for productivity on animals are also denounced by Léa, who develops this point quite extensively in the interview, as well as by Alexandre and Aline. Léa and Aline also point toward their role as a consumer. In order to explain her wish to stop eating meat, Léa says that she does not want to participate to this system by giving money to the producers. Aline explains that to her, it is a more general problem of over consumption and thus, her responsibility as a consumer is to buy less. Lisa and Aurélia also mention the working conditions in slaughterhouses as additional reasons to become vegetarian. Finally, Lisa and Aline use the word capitalism in order to label this economic system and to discuss the problems in the food system.

6. INTERPERSONAL RELATIONS

This theme groups what participants tell about interpersonal relations, notably how they react to what others say regarding their foodway, how they themselves perceive and react to foodways that are different from their own, what degree of liberty they conceive for everyone and to what extent and how they try to defend their choice or even convince other people. The two sub-themes that were

⁹⁵ However, Marilou denounces the (too high) pace of life of human beings and that is also imposed on animals, which could also be related to the ideal of productivity.

identified, (1) interpersonal respect and acceptance and (2) affecting others, represent two poles in the attitude towards the other. It seems that for several participants (Gaël, Aline, Léa), how to balance between both poles can in some situations become a major issue.

A. Interpersonal respect and acceptance

This sub-theme groups extracts concerning respect of others' foodway, acceptance or tolerance for different points of view and habits, and also utterances concerning the feelings and experiences of the participants regarding the others' reactions to their foodway. Different relations are evoked, notably partners (Aline, Léa, Laura and Marilou⁹⁶), actual or potential future children (Lisa, Marilou, Michel, Léa, Aurélia, Laura), work colleagues (Aurélia), friends (Alexandre, Gaël, Léa, Marilou, Lisa), parents and step-parents (Lisa, Léa, Aline, Alexandre). Many of them express that they respect the others' choices, as Aline does in the following extract:

Extract 1.6.1: Aline, narrative interview

A: And my man he yes : he still eats meat from time to time what but basically he adapts more or less to: what we eat, but then (.) I don't know if I go shopping for instance (.) well then I buy meat for him,

F: yeah

A: because he wants in fact, but: I I replace in fact,

F: ok. So it doesn't bother you to buy some for him,

A: no

F: no

A: no not at all because I mean it I- I believe that this is his right, well: it's his life he does what he wants and:

F: yeah

A: well my choices I- it's for me, and no: it's not a problem to me

Aline does not only say that it is fine if her partner eats meat, but she even buys meat for him. Similarly, Laura reports that she would prepare chicken for her husband and her daughter. There seems to be a certain work of taking distance from a certain image of the veg* as someone who is judging others and tries to convince them of the superiority of veg* foodway. Aline repeats several times that all foodways are fine as long as it makes sense to the person. Gaël denounces a "course towards integrity" that he

⁹⁶ During the interview, Michel and Aurélia also evoke their partner, however, as it seems that they have similar foodways, the question of acceptance is not discussed.

could observe (not only concerning veg* foodways) and states that he does not bother and insult other people (Alexandre says something similar):

Extract 1.6.2: Gaël, narrative interview

G: but: well I also never uh (.) I never pissed someone off on uh ah uh it's not good what you do uh:

More than the fact to really bother other people or not, it is interesting that they feel the necessity to say it in the context of the interview. Léa makes it clear that she is not an activist, while Michel notes that he can not decide for his children and grandchildren what they eat.

Moreover, the risk to annoy other people with one's foodway is also discussed, especially regarding the partner and situations when participants are invited to eat at some others' place. Here the strategies are diverse; some will notify the host in advance, some will simply eat what is prepared. With close people such as parents or partners, there might be a period of negotiation and adaptation (Lisa, Léa, Aline). Globally, the participants express the wish not to bother others with their foodway, however they will differ in their concrete way of negotiating the situation, depending to a large extent whether they follow a strict vegetarian or vegan diet or not. Whether their own foodway is accepted is also discussed by some participants, and diverse feelings are reported. For instance, Aline reports her amusement in front of the surprise and worries of her partner when she first announced her wish to change her foodway, she underlines that he quickly noticed that it is not an issue. On the other hand, Léa experiences more difficulties with her parents and stepparents, as she feels that her new foodway is not taken seriously, and Alexandre even considers some people's lack of understanding as the most difficult aspect of his change in foodway. Globally, most of the participants report both positive and negative experiences, be it with different people or as an evolution within one interpersonal relation.

B. Affecting others

Closely related to the previous point, the sub-theme affecting others relates to the participants' wish and attempts to promote change in the foodway of other people, or to provoke reflections and to share information about the food system. While participants emphasize heavily their respect for other foodways and their wish not to bother other people, statements about the possibility to affect others' in their foodways are much more rare and careful. Sometimes, both are articulated, as in the following extract:

Extract 1.6.3: Aline, narrative interview [she speaks more globally here about the differences of points of view regarding the economic system between her and her husband]

A: again he does what he wants, and I do what I want I mean it's (.) we discuss these topics these themes, uh : and each of us has a position and (.) I don't try to influence him, or he doesn't try to influence me well it's not true because sometimes I still try to well you see now he bought 2 t-shirts I was a bit like (.) come on you have t-shirts. But after, (2) I will never prevent him or : so sometimes I just say yeah, but come on (.) try to think before, or we discuss well, about my courses about what I read or things like this, you see and uh (.) and it also appeals to him, but at the same time well there are things he wants, (.) that are not at all green or that are not, he eats meat so you see the kind of things for him, it's (.) there's no way that he could be vegetarian for one day, (.) and that's ok,

In this extract, although everything is very tainted with a discourse of tolerance and “everyone does like he wants”, Aline also acknowledges the tension between the points of view, as well as her attempts to question her partner's point of view and to provoke reflexivity about action. Other participants also mention argumentative exchanges in which they would promote a particular foodway (Aurélia, Laura, Michel, Alexandre, Gaël, Marilou). Marilou would also leave journals about alimentation in the train, with the hope that someone will read it. This sub-theme can also be understood in relation with a hope for a more collective change that appeared more or less explicitly and in different forms in all the interviews. Finally, some participants also speak about they affect other not merely through verbal argumentation, but through their behavior and the situations they provoke. Lisa for instance makes the following statement:

Extract 1.6.4: Lisa, narrative interview

L: also because I mean my mother also she's really attentive to the cholesterol thing she has cholesterol so it's. (.) I think it's a good thing for everybody if somet- from time to time we just (.) don't eat (.) meat.

It seems that her family, when inviting her, avoids preparing meat, and Lisa presents this as having also a positive impact on her mother.

7. CONDITIONS OF NAVIGATION OF THE LANDSCAPE

Finally, some themes that I did not anticipate appeared very regularly during the interviews. This indicates their importance in the participants' experience of their (change in) foodway, and this is the reason why I decided to include them. However, during the analysis and writing, it became clear that

these are not exactly on the same level than the other themes presented until now. Those themes are the matter constituting the landscape in which the participants navigate, they are the debates and controversies in which participants try to find their way. The elements presented under this point rather relate to the conditions and rules that guide, allow and constrain the navigation. Of course, to some extent, they can also be the object of (moral) discourses, and this is why I still included them here, but I argue that their status is slightly different. Thus, I decided to group them under one theme “conditions of navigation of the landscape”, and to treat each of them as a sub-theme. For instance, the sub-theme “coherence” groups the participants’ statement about the expectations and obligations to be coherent (notably between practices and discourses) as well as the right or inevitability to be incoherent. It is a part of the landscape itself as it is constituted by more or less implicit discourses about coherence and integrity, however at the same time, it says something about the relations between different other parts or aspects of the landscape and the positioning. The other sub-themes identified are easiness/normality and knowledge.

A. Coherence

This sub-theme concerns the way participants articulate different domains or aspects of their foodway or more broadly their life, and in particular how they consider and deal with what is perceived as contradictions. Firstly, one important aspect of coherence is the articulation between one’s actions and one’s discourses, and this is particularly a topic for Gaël (I will come back on this in chapter eight) and for Lisa, as illustrated in the following extract:

Extract 1.7.1: Lisa, narrative interview

L: Because at some point I cannot say people yes I’m a vegetarian but then I (.) I don’t know I invite people over and so we serve salami and before they arrive yes I can just have one but not in front of other people so I mean it doesn’t make sense

Secondly, it might also be an issue of articulation between the person’s image of and wishes for him or herself (for instance having a veg* diet), and the way he or she presents him or herself to others and manages to convince them to respect this foodway (for instance Lisa and Léa). Thirdly, tensions might also appear between different discourses that lead one to act in different ways. Léa for example presents meat consumption as strongly related to her South American origin and thus to her identity, and this enters into conflict with the wish to avoid eating meat based on animal ethics. Fourthly, it might concern the relation between the (reasons for the) foodway and some other discourses or practices. Gaël, for instance, points towards the (for him) logical relation between antiracism, feminism

and anti-speciesism, while Aurélia raises the contradiction between being vegetarian for environmental reasons but taking the plane⁹⁷.

In order to deal with the tensions that might appear between these different dimensions, some participants (in particular Gaël, Aline, Lisa, Aurélia) prioritize certain aspects on others. Moreover, while at some points of the interviews coherence is more or less presented as an imperative, a counter-discourse also appears, as for instance in the following extract:

Extract 1.7.2: Lisa, narrative interview

L: I have a friend who was really really serious (.) a friend a person that I got to know better because she also had a baby in the same period,

F: ok yeah

L: but, (.) I don't know I- I found also being so (.) strict (2) is not normal because so it's like well you don't have any ambiguity so you are just like a machine or what

Here, Lisa attacks the imperative of coherence with questioning its compatibility with humanity, and other participants also share this discourse that humans are, to some extent, incoherent (Gaël), limited in what they can do (Aurélia, Aline) or not ready to change – which should be respected (Marilou).

B. Normal and easy

Many statements are made about what is difficult or easy and what is experienced as normal in veg*ism or as a veg*an. Again, while normality and easiness can be objects of discourse, here they seem rather to have the function of “coloring” some parts of the landscapes in certain ways. Although this word is not evoked by participants, it has certainly a lot to do also with familiarity or getting familiar with certain debates and ways to do. Several participants (Aurélia, Lisa, Aline, Michel) present their current foodway as not difficult or uncomplicated, as in the following extract:

Extract 1.7.3: Aurélia, narrative interview

A: actually there are many there are many: uh instead of eating cream you can use uh nuts, : cashew nuts, things like that , or there are all the: the substitutes with soja, plant-based cream and all, (.) where it's not too complicated then. (.) the taste is slightly different but you can do very good things

Time is often associated to the argument too, and both Michel and Aline argue that they do not need to spend a lot of time cooking. Moreover, these two participants also emphasize that the change itself

⁹⁷ She presents the argument but does not adhere to this critic.

was not difficult. However, this point of view is not shared by Léa notably, who highlights the efforts that are necessary for a change in foodway. Moreover, many examples of difficulties are provided by all participants. It seems that this is a very contextual issue. Léa and Lisa experience difficulties when sharing a meal with her (non-vegetarian) families, while this difficulty will probably never emerge for Aline and Laura who have vegetarian parents. Gaël and Marilou both report their feeling that it is easier now, as there are more vegetarian options available in shops and restaurants.

Normality in this sub-theme relates to the unquestioned, the taken-for-granted, but that is currently acknowledged by the participant as such. It does not refer to what is currently taken-for-granted, but to what is present as taken-for-granted (“normal”) in the past, as in the already presented extract :

Extract 1.1.7: Alexandre, narrative interview

A: because we had: we had heifer that we: we slaughtered to sell meat ((laughs)) so inevitably we ate some,

In this extract, the “certainly/inevitably”⁹⁸ indicates this unquestioned nature of the meat consumption. Thus, it indicates a certain relation of the person to an area of the landscape (meat consumption), characterized by the feeling that this is how things are, maybe how they should be, it is known, habitual.

C. Knowledge

Finally, the last sub-theme is related to epistemological issues. Indeed, participants actively engage in what is sometimes experienced as a jungle of overwhelming information. They question the sources, the intentions of the authors, they notice that there are contradictions, they make statements on the importance or even (moral) obligation of knowing, the consequences of ignorance and the best ways to spread knowledge and raise awareness regarding veg* and PAO. Again, while epistemology can be an object of debates in itself, in this frame it is mostly a matter of relation to the different parts of the landscape.

Feelings of not knowing or not knowing enough in past or present are reported by many participants (Alexandre, Léa, Michel, Gaël, Lisa, Marilou, Pierre, Laura). Not knowing or not understanding something is a part of the process of change⁹⁹, as reported notably by Michel and Alexandre, for whom it will be a trigger for investigating nutrition. The experience itself might be rather difficult and

⁹⁸ In French: *forcément*

⁹⁹ This has been theorized notably in the rupture/transition model, but this will be analyzed more in details later in this work.

uncomfortable (Léa, Alexandre for instance). On the other hand, all participants mention different ways of learning about veg* and meat, notably through books, chats and websites on the internet, documentaries, news, discussions, exhibitions. In this process, some of them mention difficulties or obstacles, as for instance Alexandre:

Extract 1.7.4: Alexandre, narrative interview

A: I read a few things for now maybe more than two years, in order to get information because there is a little bit anything and everything you know but there's- there are lots of contradictions in what is said regarding food. And obviously there are: studies that are conducted by well by lobbies and they are they are biased, and then you have other studies which are conducted by independent people : and they contradict each other. (.) so like you don't really know what uh really what to follow, (.) so I think that the best in order to know is to try, to test, (.)

Alexandre notices contradictions in what he reads, and also questions who is behind the production of knowledge and what are their interests. In front of these difficulties, he nevertheless has a strategy that he is testing on himself. Similarly, Lisa, Aline, Michel, Marilou and Léa question some information they had access to or mention contradictions in what they found.

Some develop also a discourse about the right and/or the necessity to learn and to inform others. Michel states several times that one should be curious. Several participants (Alexandre, Michel, Aline, Marilou) regret the lack of knowledge in general or of some people on these issues. Alexandre thinks that schools do not fulfill their role properly regarding food and health education. Whether to inform other people and maybe argue for a change in foodway is also discussed by some participants (here we come back again on what has been discussed in the sub-theme "affecting others"). Finally, all knowledge and information are not always positively connoted, as the following extract illustrates:

Extract 1.7.5: Aline, narrative interview [speaking about documentaries about animals living and dying conditions with shocking images]

A: it's stupid because I know I would have stopped eating meat much earlier, (.) if I had seen some, (.) but at the same time it's the kind of thing that I- I mean I don't want to see I find this horrible and .h (2) no.

F: but did you already see some: [by chance or like that

A: [yeah : I- yeah well again (.) [*name of a social media] ((laughing)) but there in fact (.) there are a lot. if you are friend with people who are a little bit in animal protection or like this, they publish a lot and, in fact it's something that bothers me

because (.) these are things really I mean (.) I'm completely disgusted I hate seeing that kind of things (.)

In this extract, Aline expresses that she hates seeing shocking images from slaughterhouses. More globally, she questions the utility of some information when it provokes merely a feeling of disgust or of helplessness. While Léa also reports disgust when seeing a documentary, Aline is however the only participant to question the utility of some information (in terms of impact and without questioning the veracity of this information).

8. A FEW WORDS OF DISCUSSION

While chapter three provided an overview of the current situation in and debates about the food system, this first analysis allows to get a better idea of what is relevant and important to the participants in this particular study. I already highlighted the relative absence of the nature/culture debate. Indeed, that meat consumption is natural is one of the most common ways to justify it (Larue, 2015; Piazza et al., 2015). On the other hand, the argument that meat consumption is not natural, sometimes with reference to some golden vegetarian past, is also an argument used by vegetarians (Larue, 2015; Spencer, 1993/2000). Thus, one could expect that this type of argument would be used also by the participants. However, only two participants referred to it briefly¹⁰⁰. I see different explanations of this relative absence. Firstly, it could be that this debate is not actual anymore. However, this would go against Piazza et al.'s (2015) findings and also against what I observed in the media during my work. Secondly, it is possible that my participants were particularly aware of the dangers and limits of these debates. Elements from the qualitative experience allow to say that this is certainly the case for Aline, who studied social sciences, as well as for Aurélia, who mentions that she avoids using these kinds of arguments. However, the other participants do not seem to have particular reasons to avoid these arguments. Thirdly, it might be the case that although participants do not use the words "nature" and "culture", the underlying assumption that meat or vegetarianism are natural are hidden behind other words, such as "normal" (see also footnote 100 about Michel, as well as Léchet, 2015). As I do not have enough elements in the data in order to corroborate one of the proposed explanations, neither another explanation that would impose itself, I must let this question open. Nevertheless, this still allows me to highlight that it is worth to get an overview of what is said

¹⁰⁰ A third one, Michel, referred to literature on human evolution regarding dairy products consumption. He does not mention anything about nature or culture, however the debate is extremely close.

by the participants, as it might not be the exact reflection of the debates taking place in scientific and institutional spheres, or what would be expected according to the literature. Moreover, although they were not necessarily mentioned very often, it is also noteworthy that the three justifications for meat consumption (namely that meat consumption is normal, necessary and natural) presented by Larue (2015) have all been reported by our participants as some discourses they were confronted to.

Figure 10 presents the number of extracts coded for each theme, and its aim is to provide an overview of the relative importance of each theme. Although these numbers must be taken with a grain of salt, as they do not take into account the length of extracts, neither the fact that some participants talked more than others (and their theme(s) of predilection are thus more represented), they still give an account of the presence of each theme in the landscape of the participants. We can observe that “conditions of navigation” is by far the theme to which the most extracts were associated, and this was certainly a reason why, despite its particular status (see above), it was included in the study: it is a substantial part of the data in the narrative interviews. This indicates that participants, when asked about their foodway and its evolution, do not only explain why they became veg* (or came back from it), what are their reasons and motivations. They also give quite a lot of importance to the way they relate to these issues, and in particular (1) they communicate about the epistemological status of the discourses constituting the landscape as well as their own epistemological positioning and strategies (although they do obviously not use this term), (2) they qualify their relation to different parts of the landscape in terms of easiness/difficulty and normality, and (3) they think about the relations between

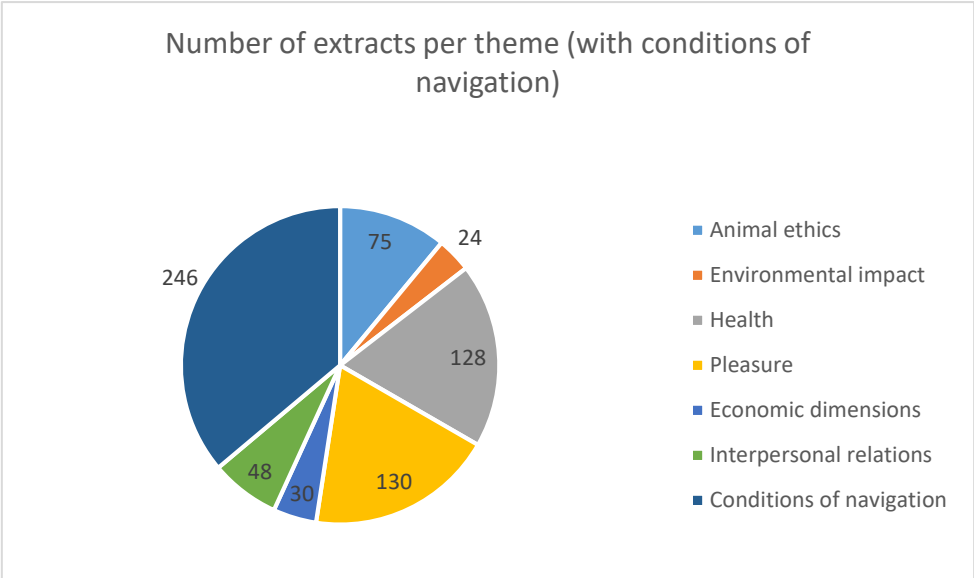


Figure 10 Number of extracts per theme

different parts of the landscape and their positioning in it in terms of coherence, and might question the necessity and possibility of coherence.

How can these three sub-themes be understood in relation to Benson's understanding of landscapes and positioning? Indeed, Benson (2001) highlights the important role of emotions as pathfinders, and he also underlines the moral dimension of the landscape, which he defines as relating to the question of what is good/bad, important/unimportant, right/wrong. What then about coherence, easiness and knowledge? I suggest here that at least coherence and easiness are part of the morality of the navigation, to the extent that they are discourses circulating in and constituting the shared landscape in which participants are living. Easiness and coherence have rather a positive valence – something that is easy or coherent is good. Of course, the questioning of this assessment as well as the development of counter-discourses are possible, as for any moral discourse, and they appear in the interviews. However, what I would like to suggest here is that the landscape is not only a surface where all voices appear as equal. As has been highlighted in dialogical approaches, some meta-discourses or what Valsiner (2019) calls hypergeneralized signs have a powerful impact on the organization of the landscape and the way it is navigated. To that extent, tracing only the path at the surface might lead to ignore the powerful underwater streams as well as the meteorological phenomena that also participate to shape what happens at the surface and what navigation is possible or favorable. Regarding knowledge, I conceive its status as slightly different and suggest that for the participants the distinction true/wrong has a certain independence regarding good/bad and the emotions related to it. Something might be true although it is considered as bad, as for instance what happens in a slaughterhouse. As a consequence, I suggest that epistemology should also be integrated as an important component of the way humans navigate the world and position in it, in addition to the moral dimension of this navigation. Indeed, and this seems obvious, in order to navigate the world, it is not only important to distinguish what is good or bad, and important or unimportant, but also what is true and what is untrue.

Regarding the other themes, two themes are much more represented than the others, namely pleasure and health. Each of them was associated to approximately twice as much extracts than the theme animal ethics, which occupies the third rank. This was quite a surprise, as currently animal ethics and environmental issues seem to lie at the heart of societal debates. This high presence of pleasure in the participants discourse is a severe reminder of the fact that the relation to the landscape is not a cold rational story, but that emotions are important pathfinders, as Benson would put it (Benson, 2001, 2003). It constitutes also an important reminder of the centrality of embodied experience in the navigation of this foodscape. Of course, part of the pleasures (and discomfort) participants mention concern verbal interactions with others, but the high majority relate to the taste of food, its smell, and

other activities of production and preparation where the body is highly engaged with the food. To that extent, the picture appearing here is miles away from the image of the sad vegetarian who deprives her or himself for ideological reasons. It might be, of course, and the dialogical approach in particular leads to pay attention to these kinds of dynamics, that the importance of pleasure in the discourse of participants is partly a reaction to this image in which they do not recognize themselves and to which they would not like to be associated.

Regarding health, I see different aspects that came into play and resulted in such a representation in the participants' interview. Firstly, this was the main reason to become vegetarian for three participants (Alexandre, Michel and Pierre), who spoke extensively about this theme. Interestingly, participants becoming vegetarian for other reasons spoke less about these reasons and stayed less centered on one theme (especially for Michel, who spoke essentially about health and pleasure). Secondly, all other participants also mentioned this topic, and sometimes repeatedly. This seems to originate in two (very probably related) phenomena. The first one is that some participants worry about the healthiness of their foodway. The second one is that they get confronted regularly in interpersonal interactions to questions regarding their way to "compensate" meat, and in particular proteins. Thus, it seems that the participants (except maybe Aline) integrated and reproduce a certain discourse about health and nutrition, that states that eating in a healthy way is important and that it is a personal responsibility. Thus, to some extent this falls under what Brady & Ventresca (2014) label healthism and nutritionism. However, while they define nutritionism as a reduction of food to a health issue, the participants in this study do certainly also care about other aspects of food, as the other themes show it. Moreover, it is particularly interesting that the other most represented theme besides health is pleasure, and I make the hypothesis that they act as counter-weights to each other. In particular, Michel, who is the participant developing the most "nutritionist" discourse, also insists very heavily on pleasure (which is almost the only other theme he really develops – except "conditions of navigation"). The health issue might also be discussed in relation to Levenstein's work (2012) on food scares. Indeed, the high presence of this theme in the interviews might be the indicator of a concern. Moreover, some of the participants clearly make their own research on what is healthy or not and even explicitly question the position of politics regarding these issues. To that extent, it reflects what Levenstein (2012) qualifies as a lonely navigation of food scares. However, a dialogical approach also leads to see that participants are in dialogue with many different others (friends, medical staff, scientific studies, websites) in their navigation of these nutrition issues.

If we move now towards the four other themes, animal ethics is the most important in terms of number of extracts. Thus, it seems that the raising preoccupation with animals' living and dying conditions (see Bramble & Fischer, 2016 as well as the section on animal ethics p. 71) is shared by our participants.

This is not so surprising as debates about the morality of certain PAO has a certain history in Switzerland and provoked debates (Balsiger, 2016)¹⁰¹. I already underlined that environmental issues were surprisingly low. Globally, it is interesting to notice that the environmental issue is never used as a strong pro-veg* argument, but merely as a complementary argument. Even for Aline, for whom it is an important theme, it is not related to strict vegetarianism, but only to a massive reduction of meat consumption. The organization PEA (pour l'égalité animale) advises besides not to use this argument, that they consider as weak¹⁰². Indeed, it does not imply a complete ending of consumption of PAO and implies the risk of provoking a critique regarding the lack of coherence of the person by mentioning environmental unfriendly activities (take the plane or the car), and this indeed happened to some of our participants as it appeared in the dialogical experiment. This might provide an explanation for the reason why ecological reasons appeared surprisingly rarely compared to the fact that on the social level it is often evoked, and would illustrate how socio-discursive positions that are adopted and perspectives that are voiced are co-constructed with the (possible and actual) reactions of others. Indeed, I make the hypothesis that participants who did try to mention that theme in the past as a pro-veg* argument found themselves confronted with this kind of reactions, and thus renounced more or less to refer to it. Another hypothesis would be that this argument is too abstract or complex. Indeed, to consider health issues, the person “only” needs to take into consideration the piece of meat and his or her own body (in the future). Concerning animal ethics, the person needs to establish a relation between his eater/consumer behaviour, the piece of meat and its past as an animal. Concerning environmental impact, in addition to relating the piece of meat to the animal, the person must think of the effect of the life of this animal, its needs and emissions, on the environment, which is even more complex. However, the person does not need to construct or find out all these relations by her or himself, but can possibly find them explained or mentioned in his landscape. Finally, another reason might also be that this effect of meat production is also less spectacular than pictures related to animal ethics¹⁰³, or present for shorter time in the participants' shared landscape. People would be less familiar with the argument and thus less prone to use it in dialogue.

¹⁰¹ More recently, the Swiss citizen notably had to vote on the popular initiative “For the dignity of farm animals (Horned Cow Initiative)” (2018) and on the popular initiative “Against bad treatments towards animals and for a better legal protection for them (initiative for the institution of a defense lawyer for the protection of animals)” (2010) – [my translation for: “Contre les mauvais traitements envers les animaux et pour une meilleure protection juridique de ces derniers (initiative pour l'institution d'un avocat de la protection des animaux)”].

¹⁰² «Atelier d'argumentation sur le véganisme » in the frame of « le mois végane romand », 23rd of November 2017.

¹⁰³ At least at the time of the data collection, when climate change was less visible than currently.

Concerning the theme interpersonal relations, it confirms that these relations are important in the participants' foodscape, which was already extensively explored in literature (see for instance Anderson, 2005; Fischler & Pardo, 2013; Ochs et al., 1996). They never appear as the reason for a change in foodway itself, however, certain encounters or separations are important triggers. To come back to Benson's navigation metaphor (2001) and complete it, the navigator is not alone on the sea: some others act as guides towards new regions in the landscape, some others give tips on the way to navigate (for instance where to find information or products), some simply encourage some directions rather than others while finally some seem to be like pirates making some areas of the landscape more dangerous and attacking the navigators position. This aspect is often neglected by Benson himself, who is more centred on a self-world relation where others are not mentioned. Conversely, dialogical approaches bring this self-other interdependency to the foreground. Finally, I initially expect the economic dimension only as a form of constraint (expensive) or incitement (cheap) that make some areas of the landscape more attractive or accessible than others. This was indeed the case but was not mentioned very often and as an important constraint (except by the two students among the participants – who mention it as a constraint, but do also really insist on it). What I already underlined as a surprise is that the economic dimension was evoked in much broader ways than that. Indeed, for some participants it is really a part of the landscape under the form of an economic system that shapes and constrains the relations between all actors of the food system that comes with a possibility to theorize and criticize it.

To conclude this part of the analysis, there is certainly an important diversity among participants, and the landscape depicted here is thus not really "shared". Moreover, the number of participants and process of recruitment do also not allow a generalization to a bigger population. However, what can be highlighted here is that the landscapes of the participants are definitely constituted by a shared landscape of debates and discourses that circulate in their environment orally or in forms of books, documentaries or other representations, and that each participant indeed has his or her subjective experience of this shared landscape, as underlined by Benson (2001) and as can be expected more generally from a socio-cultural approach (see for instance Valsiner, 2014a; Vygotsky, 1934/1994).

CHAPTER SIX: THE PARTICIPANTS' POSITIONING

While the previous chapter was organized thematically and aimed at presenting an overview of the content of the narrative interviews of all participants, in this chapter, I will move closer to the individual level and thus present an analysis organized around each participants' experience of and positioning in this landscape. The aim is to understand the topographies of the landscapes they navigate in, the way these topographies, although anchored in a collectively shared landscape notably constituted by discourses and debates presented in chapter three, are subjectively experienced and, finally, how the participants position themselves in this landscape. This will provide a more precise picture of the participants and the issues they are confronted with, and in order to do so, I will mainly draw on Benson's theoretical proposition (2001). More precisely, I use the notions of landscape and of positioning in order to describe the way the participants orient themselves regarding meat consumption. Thus, the analysis is driven by a topical logic – what are the themes that are relevant to the participants – that is anchored in a discursive understanding of positioning – how do they position themselves in the context of the interview with me as an interlocutor. However, based on dialogical approaches, I also assume an ongoing intrapersonal dialogue that is taking place in parallel and in dialogue with the interpersonal dialogue (Raggatt, 2015) as well as the presence of the voices of different others (Linell, 2009). Traces of this intrapersonal dialogue and these others' voices might appear in the discourse of the participant, for instance when they simultaneously take different positions and then underline the relation between them (as when someone says "I'm not coherent"). I also include these traces in the analysis. Through this, I will start to identify a few central aspects of the positioning work done by the participants.

For the analysis, I used both the description I prepared during the global analysis (see p. 150) and the excel table I already mentioned in chapter five, and on which I will provide a bit more information right now. This excel table allowed to indicate, in relation to each extract, the information of the thematic coding already used in the previous chapter (theme, sub-theme), but also positioning towards this theme/sub-theme, links with other themes, notification concerning temporal status of the extract, relevant others and possible practical implications. Table 3 provides an overview of the categories included in the excel table, a short description of each category, its theoretical and/or methodological grounding as well as an example.

Table 3 Aspects included in the excel table for the analysis of participants' positioning

Column title	Description	Theoretical/methodological grounding	Example
Theme*	Thematic coding driven by the question « what are the aspects mentioned by the participants in relation to meat (non-)consumption?»	Benson's subjective landscape & thematic analysis	Economic
Sub-theme	Category allowing to precise the theme	Benson's subjective landscape & thematic analysis	The economic system
Extract*	Data extract from the narrative interview	Thematic analysis & (dialogic) multivoicedness analysis (Aveling et al., 2015)	from the fourth week [the chicken] start to produce one egg, (.) at least one egg every day. (.) then, they take a break from 3 to 5 weeks, (.) where they don't lay eggs, [...] it's too expensive for the people who : who produce eggs, (.) who really need to make money with that, (.) to keep these chickens during 3 to 5 weeks. So, (.) they kill them, (.) which I find perverse,
Positioning	The way the participant relates to the theme (is it important, good/bad, do I like it or not, how do I present myself, what do I do)	Benson's theory of positioning (& to a minor degree multivoicedness analysis)	I find it perverse to kill animals that are not enough profitable
Temporality*	Is the extract related to a particular event (which one/when) or is it a more general statement?	Developmental perspective (assumption of socio-cultural psychology); rupture/transition	General/present

Link with other themes	Are other themes evoked and what is the relation between them (conflictual, supportive,...) ?	Inspired from multivoicedness analysis	Death of animal
Others	Who are the (relevant) others mentioned in the extract?	Dialogism & positioning theory	Industrial eggs producers
Practical implications	What are the practical implications (in terms of food choices/consumer choices) of the extract/positioning?	Literature on foodways and eating, and on socio-materiality	Adopt chickens that would be killed / not buying those eggs

The asterisk indicates that the column was systematically completed. The other columns were only completed when the information was explicit in the interview or could be easily deducted. Unlike the order of the columns, the departure point for each entry in the excel table was the extract. If a single extract was related to several themes or sub-themes, I entered it more than one time in the table. The choice of these categories relies heavily on Benson’s theorization of positioning combined with thematic analysis for the identification of the landscape, but also on dialogical approaches (in particular Aveling et al., 2015) as well as broader assumptions of socio-cultural and dialogical perspectives. Thus, I go further than a habitual thematic analysis, including other information such as relevant others or temporality, which were pointed to as important by the theoretical approaches described above. Indeed, although thematic analysis constitutes an interesting tool for the organization and systematization of the content of the data, it is in my opinion misleading to consider any methodological or analytical tool as independent from theory. The indication about temporality for instance allowed to provide an indication about the evolution of the landscape or the positioning, an information that is very important from the point of view of a developmental approach, but which traditionally gets lost in the thematic analysis.

Based on the excel table and in order to get a more synthetic overview of the positioning and landscape of each participant, I drew a schema for each participant (see Figure 11 as an example). Its aim is to represent in a synthetic ways the person’s change in food habits over time, some contextual information and the person’s landscape and positions.

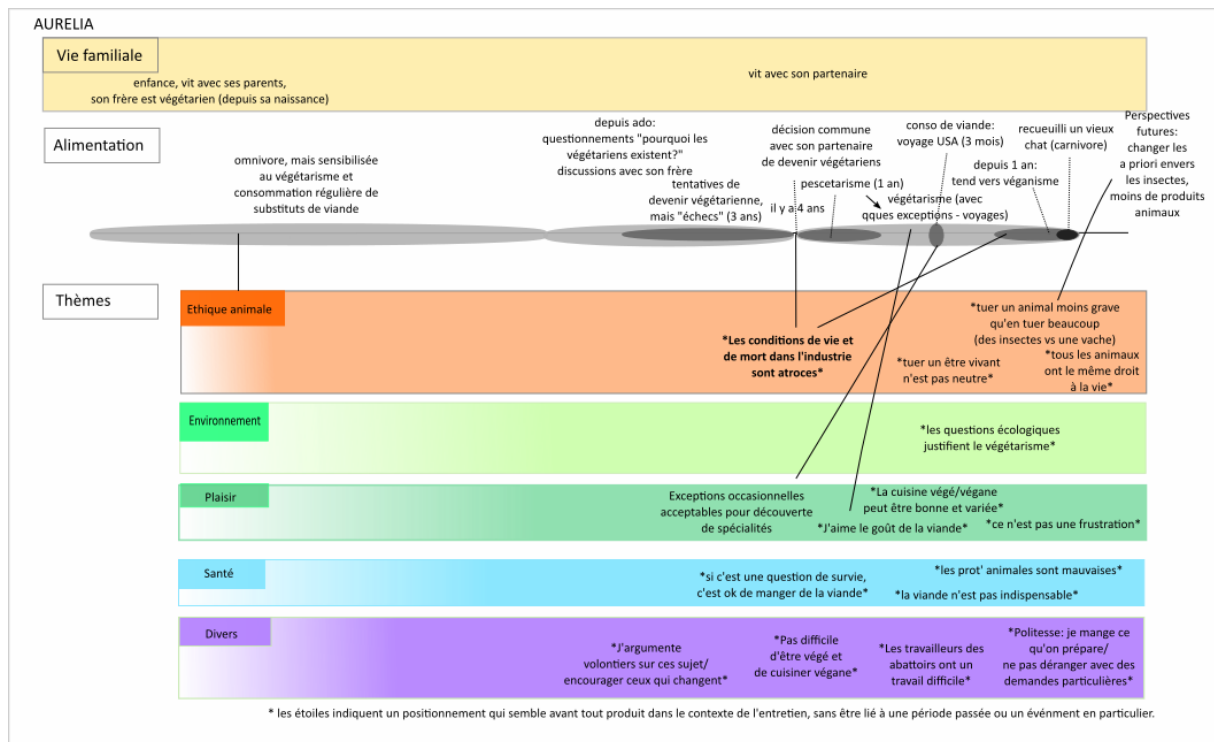


Figure 11 Aurélia's foodscape evolution

The upper line includes information about the person's life context (in this case family and partner, sometimes also professional life and mobility). The second line (grey) represents the person's changes in food habits. It is organized along temporality: the most to the left is the most distant past (starting where the person's narration goes back to) while on the right extreme is the present. The future is not drawn, however some future perspectives are indicated at the right extremity of the line. The elements of the first line (life context; in yellow) are placed according to the phases depicted in the second line. The third (and spatially most important) part of the schema depicts the themes that appeared as relevant in the person's subjective landscape. I summed up in small sentences the positionings and perspectives that appear regarding this theme. The number of elements (small sentences) per theme gives an indication about the extent to which the person develops this theme during the interview. Some elements are in bold in order to highlight their central role in the person's landscape. The asterisk indicates that the statements are made in general terms, and not (explicitly) in relation to some event or moment (for instance "it is bad to kill animals"), while strokes connect some positionings to specific events in the case where they were mentioned by the participant while speaking about this moment.

In what follows, I start with an overview of participants regrouping some fundamental information, in order for the reader to get a global idea about who are the participants in this research. After this, I dive a bit deeper in each single case, in order for the reader to get a picture of the complex dynamic and the singularity of each participant's positioning and landscape. In what follows, I start the presentation of each participant by a motto of the case which is a sentence considered as typical or

representative for the participant (Flick, 1998/2009), in order to provide a first taste of the participants' positioning and characteristic. Follows a short description of the participant's story, after which I provide an account of his or her current subjective foodscape and the positioning in it. I organized the sections based on the alphabetical order of the participants' pseudonyms.

1. OVERVIEW OF PARTICIPANTS' POSITIONINGS

Who are the participants in this study? How old are they? What are their food habits? Are there any strict vegans among them? Flexitarians? What were their motivations for changing their food habits? These are a few questions one might have regarding this study, and the aim of what follows is to provide some basic information about these aspects. Table 4 provides an overview of the participants and their characteristics in relation to PAO. It is based on the descriptions created during the global analysis. The temporal indications for each participant (for instance "six month ago") refer to the time of the interview as "zero point" (or "now") on the time scale.

Table 4 Overview of participants

<i>Pseudo- nym</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Practice</i>	<i>Defines her- or himself as</i>	<i>Short description of change</i>	<i>Main trigger for change</i>
<i>Alexandre</i>	33	Avoids meat, fish and dairy products, but not strictly. Eats some when invited, avoids buying them	Does not want to use an "etiquette" (vegetarian or vegan)	Progressive change over the 5 last years, starting with avoiding dairy products. Considers his foodway as still evolving	Health
<i>Aline</i>	29	Avoids meat, but not strictly. Eats some in restaurant	Vegetarian/ flexitarian	Grew up as vegetarian, oscillates between eating meat or not since adolescence, decided to become vegetarian again 2 months ago	Ecological impact (for the last change)
<i>Aurélia</i>	27	Avoids meat and fish, tends to avoid all PAO (exceptions: pastry)	Vegetarian, interested in veganism	Vegetarian (with exceptions) for 4-5 years, thinking about vegetarianism for much longer, tends toward veganism since 1 year	Animal ethics (animals' living and dying conditions)
<i>Gaël</i>	30	Eats everything (PAO almost every day)	Former vegetarian, now does not use a specific label	Became vegetarian around 19, came back to carnism around 26	Towards vegetarian: animal ethics (anti-speciesism) Back to carnism: burden, necessity to climb down

<i>Laura</i>	33	Avoids meat, eats chicken 2-3 times a year, eats fish, low consumption of dairy products	Vegetarian	Vegetarian since adolescence with family, periodically vegan, now started to eat chicken again occasionally	Animal ethics. Familial reason: not killing / personal reason: treatment of animals. Eating chicken: easier, less PAO to balance, let other people do
<i>Léa</i>	25	Avoids meat, does not buy it, consumes it at parents/stepparents' place and on holidays. Eats fish	Uncertain, "I don't know what I am", "I don't really consider myself as vegetarian"	Meat consumption taken-for-granted and regular until 6 months ago. Sudden change	Animal ethics – treatment of animals
<i>Lisa</i>	38	Avoids meat and fish, but not strictly. Eats mainly ham, sausages and fish occasionally	Vegetarian but hesitating if she can claim that	Became vegetarian 5 years ago, sudden change, but thinking about it for longer. Episodically tended toward veganism. Started to eat meat again occasionally when pregnant	Animal ethics
<i>Marilou</i>	67	Strict veganism	Vegan	Became vegetarian approximately 10 years ago (divorce), became vegan approximately 2 years ago	Disgust, animal ethics
<i>Michel</i>	59	Avoids dairy products but not strictly, consumption of meat and fish but under average in amount and frequency	Not vegetarian	Stops to consume dairy products 15 years ago, goes on with reduction of meat and fish. Now towards more fruits, producing/processing more himself	Health
<i>Pierre</i>	47	Strictly avoids meat and fish	Vegetarian	Stopped to eat meat 22 years ago. Still tries to go towards a "purer" diet	Religious (avoid toxic food and save his soul)

What already comes out from this, is that people do not simply either enter or not enter a well-defined category (for instance "vegetarian"), which would allow us to provide a more beautiful and simpler table. Relations to and definitions of what it is to be veg* are diverse. There are, for instance, no two participants who have the same content in the column "practices". These different practices are different ways to position oneself as an eater, sometimes overlapping between the people (avoiding meat is a quite common feature among the participants) and sometimes specific to one person (Marilou is the only strict vegan). Simultaneously, the different definitions they have of vegetarianism (can it include exceptions? What about fish?) constitute diverse perspectives on this label. Different categories of reasons triggered the change, which constitute different elements of the person's subjective landscape that become particularly relevant to the person at a certain moment. From a semiotic perspective, the way the person relates to these labels might be understood in terms of signs,

meanings and sense. Words such as vegetarian, vegan or flexitarian are signs that are related to socially shared and to some extent stabilized meanings (such as *a vegetarian is a person who refuses all products that are a coming from the body of a dead animal*). At the personal level, each individual constructs his own sense of this sign, which relies on the socially shared meaning but is not strictly equal to it (Aline for instance uses the word vegetarian also to designate people who eat fish and occasionally meat). The meanings are thus elements of the socially shared discursive landscape of the person, but to which the person has a subjective and dynamic relation which she or he develops through the elaboration of a personal sense. This elaboration mediates the positioning process in the landscape, discursively (will the person use this word to designate him or herself?), socio-materially (identifying for instance as a vegetarian, will she or he still eat meat occasionally?) and morally (is it wrong to present yourself as a vegetarian although you make exceptions?).

The highlighting of the diversity among participants is of course also an analytical choice from my side, as I would consider it as an oversimplification to resume such diverse practices under labels that hide what participants actually do and say (on this aspect, I follow Lamine, 2008). Moreover, this diversity completely confirms what comes out from the literature on vegetarianism, namely that it is a manifold and complex phenomenon, on which agreement is not (and might never be) settled (Beardsworth & Keil, 1992; Ossipow, 1997; Spencer, 1993/2000). Is it then still relevant to study such a vaguely defined phenomenon? I claim that it is; as the word itself exist and is used, it is a social reality that deserves to be studied as such and that in its effects certainly have real consequences, and therefore it is worth and important studying it (this reasoning is inspired by James, 1902/2012), without however falling into the trap of oversimplification. I argue that this lack of clarity might even be a context that makes positioning processes particularly interesting (but also difficult), as the landscape in which individuals have to orient themselves is not clearly segmented or marked out.

2. ALEXANDRE

There are : studies that are conducted by well by lobbies and they are they are biased, and then you have other studies which are conducted by independent people : and they contradict each other. (.) so like you don't really know what uh really what to follow, (.) so I think that the best in order to know is to try, to test,

Alexandre is a 33 years old man, with a training in management, but currently questioning his professional future and notably working part time as an assistant in a physiotherapeutic consultation. He grew up on a farm notably with milk cows, and he presents the consumption of dairy products and

meat as taken-for-granted during childhood. He defines himself as a sportsman and used to play football at a quite high (although amateur) level. An injury of the knee is presented as the trigger of the change in foodway. As the recovery of the operation is complicated, someone tells Alexandre that milk products tend to favor inflammation in articulations. Thus, he starts avoiding eating them. During this period, he also stops playing football but starts running. Currently, his knee recovered but his ankle is causing him some troubles and prevents him from running. In Alexandre's change in foodway, the health dimension plays a central role, as appears in the following extract:

Extract 2.1.1: Alexandre, narrative interview

A: after the operation, because it was the : a tear of the cruciate ligaments, (.) I always had uh : a kind of well not a pain but a discomfort in the knee, (.) and in fact someone told me that it was maybe linked to dairy products because they: they cause inflammations, (,) in the articulations well notably it was stronger in the articulations that were operated, (.) and thus obv- I stopped eating dairy products for one month and it went better, (.) and then every time I ate cheese or things, uh: in rather big quantities, (.) well I felt again some pain in the knee or whatever. (.) so there I told myself, it's certainly that and since then I: I really limit dairy products: as much as I can,

This interest in the impact of food on the body will not stay limited to the knee and the operation, but Alexandre will gather information more generally on the way dairy products and meat impact the body (for instance the acidity level) and he will organize his food habits based on this knowledge. Later, he will also extend this to other foods such as products containing gluten or sugar. While the operation took place approximately five years ago, the change in foodway is very progressive and, according to Alexandre, was accentuated during the last year. For all these foods, it is the quantity that is considered as problematic, and not the product in itself. Thus, Alexandre does not strictly avoid any of them. Moreover, he does not present himself as vegetarian. He does not buy meat and dairy products anymore, but eats some occasionally. In short, after this injury, both Alexandre's perspective on dairy products (what they are to him) and his positioning towards them (from including to avoiding them) changed, as he progressively takes distance from a discourse presenting them as good or even essential for health. During these changes, a few others played an important role. First of all, the family, with whom he shared the perspective on PAO (it is something normal/something good) and the positioning (we are producers and consumers of PAO) during many years. These perspective and position however enter into conflict with another voice on PAO, which states that they are not healthy. This perspective is notably voiced by an other who stays undefined in Alexandre's narration but who played the role of a trigger, provoking Alexandre's exploration of this alternative perspective on PAO and finally his repositioning.

His inquiries about this topic also lead him to epistemological reflection on the production and transmission of knowledge.

Extract 1.7.4: Alexandre, narrative interview (already presented in chapter four, and overlapping with the motto of the case)

A: I read a few things for now maybe more than two years, in order to get information because there is a little bit anything and everything you know but there's- there are lots of contradictions in what is said regarding food. And obviously there are : studies that are conducted by well by lobbies and they are they are biased, and then you have other studies which are conducted by independent people : and they contradict each other. (.) so like you don't really know what uh really what to follow, (.) so I think that the best in order to know is to try, to test,

In this extract, we can observe that Alexandre is critical towards the production of knowledge about food, as some researchers are not independent from food lobbies. He evokes the contradictions that he encounters when looking for information about nutrition, which obviously constitutes a difficulty. It seems that some others (researchers) whose voice he encounters can not be trusted because of their relations with institutional others (lobbies) and therefore, their perspective is not considered as valuable. The solution he proposes in response to this trust issue that does not allow him to orient himself in the landscape based on others' voices is to test by oneself the effect of certain diets, and this "experience-based" knowledge is valued several times by Alexandre during the interview. Thus, in order to position himself in the dialogue regarding the effect of some products, Alexandre relies notably on a form of dialogue with himself (observing his own body and the changes across time) as he gets suspicious about the interpersonal dialogue (which actually also encompasses the participation of institutions). In addition to that, he also insists on the lack of (institutionalized) education on nutrition, and on the ignorance of people who rely only on common sense rather than scientific knowledge. Doing so, he displays his knowledge not only about the content of the debate, but also about the stakeholders and their interests. As he reports elsewhere that often people think that adopting this foodway while practicing sport so intensively is "crazy", what he demonstrates here can be interpreted as a way to position himself as someone knowledgeable and rational (I as an expert in nutrition), in opposition to the "crazy" person who does not know what he does. However, this way to navigate the foodscape also resonates with what Levenstein (2012) describes regarding the individualization of the navigation of food issues, related to a lack of trust in institutions.

Thus, the health question occupies a quite important part of Alexandre's subjective landscape. It persists and develops over years, although different areas of the landscape are progressively explored (dairy products, meat, gluten, sugar) and different others are integrated in the dialogue (such as new

authors, scientific reports, friends or his chiropractor). The exploration leads him to become aware of different contradictory positions and thus to a form of critical epistemological positioning. The underlying positioning regarding that topic might be very broadly summarized as a positive valuation of health – *I consider it as important/good to be in a healthy condition*¹⁰⁴ –, which is a form of moral positioning, coupled with the assumption that nutrition is a (important) tool to maintain or favor health. Through this, Alexandre develops a socio-discursive position of someone who is able to take care of himself and who has a good understanding of nutrition (which also entails a critical posture). I argued elsewhere that over time, Alexandre’s landscape was extending but also becomes more detailed and complex (Gfeller, 2019). In relation to that development of the landscape, the positionings and perspectives also become more detailed and subtler, as under the broad umbrella positioning valuing health, many more local and detailed positions are endorsed, valuing or devaluing certain foods or certain behaviors, as for instance *I consider that eating too much dairy products is bad, or I consider that eating compulsively is bad.*

Alexandre’s positions are sometimes challenged in interpersonal interactions. Indeed, the judgement that some people make on meatless foodways is presented by Alexandre as the main difficulty he faces, as illustrated in the following extract:

Extract 2.1.2: Alexandre, narrative interview

A: yeah it’s the judgement of others, (.) well what was it two weeks ago, I went to eat at my brother’s, (.) and I brought my salad because they had a barbecue with meat, (.) and typically they looked at me with wide-open eyes: because I was eating chick peas with beans and ((laughing)) they messed me around ((laughing)) and that’s what is hard I find. It’s this external pressure, (.) if you want to embark on something and you are not: completely convinced you are uh you are had by others, and you say to yourself yeah what I do that’s not good and you come back in what you did before,

Thus, the others with whom he interacts seem in this case rather to prevent him from the elaboration of a foodway that is low in PAO, as they question or invalidate Alexandre’s positioning of valuing that kind of foodway, through the valuation of meat consumption, especially in a social situation constructed around this food (barbecue). The fact that he experiences this as hard indicates that these kinds of interpersonal exchanges affect the way he considers himself and thus participate to a more intrapersonal dialogue. Indeed, the possibility that he mentions here to “come back on what you did before”, although he does not endorse it as a (socio-material) position he wants to adopt, is voiced by

¹⁰⁴ This is my own formulation of what I identify as the underlying statement. In what follows, I write in italics the positionings I (re)formulate and between “...” what was said by the participants.

him in the context of the interview, which illustrates that it occupies a place in this internal landscape of positions. On the opposite, some others take the role of partners in gambling, an activity which is used by Alexandre in order to experiment and change his foodway – be it only for a few weeks, and he also finds supportive interlocutors in his (vegan) chiropractor and a friend who fasts with him. The fact that he mentions them in the interview also indicates that these others were partly internalized in his intrapersonal dialogues, however this time their perspectives on food or more specifically on PAO are (in different ways) supportive of Alexandre’s positioning.

Are there any other important themes in Alexandre’s landscape and how does he position towards them? The pleasure of eating PAO is not presented as problematic by Alexandre. He states that he likes the taste, which is for him a good reason not to stop completely, but also – in the case of meat – reports feeling no lack. However, he presents himself as addicted to chocolate, and expresses the wish (and difficulty) to be able to better control his consumption. As he clearly relates this wish to health reasons, this is an example of how the intersection between two themes (here health and pleasure) can produce tensions and difficulties to adopt a certain socio-material positioning (how much chocolate do I eat).

While environmental issues appear quite late during the interview, once Alexandre starts to mention them he gives them quite a lot of attention. He even presents his interest for the environmental impact of lifestyle as older than his interest in nutrition. Thus, this aspect seems to participate in his landscape in a stable and important manner. While Alexandre positions himself as sensitive to these issues and as very critical towards the average current lifestyle, he also considers the difficulties in reducing one’s impact. In his perspective, food choices are one way to have more environmentally friendly habits. Environmental considerations imply the necessity to reduce the consumption of meat, but not to avoid it completely, as illustrated in the following extract:

Extract 2.1.3: Alexandre, narrative interview

A: eating meat is not bad but in a way that is too much (incomp.) if you eat a lot of meat they are obliged to produce a lot, (.) but if you eat meat from time to time you don’t need to produce a lot (.) so if once a week you eat a good steak uh that’s not bad to me. Because you have fewer cows and it pollutes less. So that’s it.

Through this, Alexandre positions himself against a discourse that would consider the environmental impact of PAO as irrelevant for the consumer’s choices, but he does also take distance from the (implicit) perspective that would consider strict veg*ism as the logical implication of environmental issues.

One dimension that is almost absent from the interview is animal ethics. In this extract (2.1.3), the it “is not bad” to eat meat, repeated twice, could be an implicit reference to the ethical discourse stating

that meat consumption is bad because it implies the death of the animal. However, it might also simply be the case that the *bad* refers to the environmental impact. The only explicit reference to animal ethics during the interview is related to a book he read, which denounces the living and slaughtering conditions of animals in industrial systems. He seems to agree with this perspective qualifying animal's life conditions as bad. In Alexandre's positioning, these elements seem to play the role of additional reasons to be opposed to meat consumption.

To sum up, health issues constitute the major aspect in Alexandre's subjective landscape, an area that he explores in a detailed way. He positions himself as someone for whom health is important and who has more knowledge on that topic than the average. His positioning is constructed to a large extent in opposition to the perspective presenting PAO as essential for health, and he developed it by drawing on readings, discussions with a few others as well as observation of his body. This positioning seems to be questioned or becomes more difficult on three occasions. Firstly, when he encounters contradictions in the information he gathers, a situation that he solves by testing the food on himself. Secondly, when he encounters disapproval from people around him. Thirdly, he is currently again injured at the leg. This injury to some extent invalidates Alexandre's positioning as an expert in health, as he did not manage (yet) to overcome that new injury. Environment is a second quite important theme in his landscape, and he positions himself as sensitive to environmental issues. Practically, both health and environment lead Alexandre to reduce his consumption of food of animal origin, without adopting a strict vegan diet. The perspective on practices implied by this is also in harmony with his claim about pleasure. Regarding that aspect of the landscape, Alexandre positions himself as liking meat, but not missing it if he does not eat any. This aspect however seems to occupy much less space in the landscape, as it is only briefly mentioned. Thus, the positionings in these three areas of the landscape seem rather supportive to each other. Finally, the animal ethics debates seem almost completely absent from the landscape, and no economic issue is mentioned.

3. ALINE

On one side I would like to change things and well I would like, (.) yeah I really would like that things change, but on another side I don't want to impose, which makes sense to me on others in fact.

Aline is a student, 29 years old. She is the only participant who grew up in a vegetarian family. During childhood, she only ate meat occasionally with her grandparents. She describes their familial vegetarianism as something that was not discussed, it was just normal to them as children (she has a

brother and a sister). The father, a doctor, is the main initiator of the familial vegetarianism, and his own motivations are related to animal ethics. A change appears at the divorce of the parents, when Aline is approximately 12. The father continues to follow a strictly vegetarian¹⁰⁵ diet, while the mother starts to eat meat. Aline will basically adapt depending on with whom she eats, but as a matter of fact her diet stops to be mainly vegetarian. During her adolescence and as a young adult, she oscillates between vegetarian and non-vegetarian diets. These oscillations are in close relation with her environment, as she travels in different countries. When establishing again in Switzerland, she adopts a carnist diet. Two months before the interview, she reads “facts” about the environmental impact of meat production, more precisely about the amount of water that is necessary for its production, and decides to become vegetarian. During these two months, she occasionally made exceptions to this vegetarian diet. Her husband continues to eat meat.

During the interview, she sometimes defines herself as vegetarian and sometimes as flexitarian. Environmental impact is the trigger of her becoming vegetarian, thus it seems that it occupies an important place in her landscape, however she does not extend much on that topic. In a similar way, she mentions her disgust towards the way animals are treated, without extending much on it, except that she hates seeing pictures showing that.

Extract 1.7.5: Aline, narrative interview (already presented in chapter five)

A: it's stupid because I know I would have stopped eating meat much earlier, (.) if I had seen some, (.) but at the same time it's the kind of thing that I- I mean I don't want to see I find this horrible and .h (2) no.

F : but did you already see some : [by chance or like that

A : [yeah : I- yeah well again (.) [*name of a social media] ((laughing)) but there in fact (.) there are a lot. if you are friend with people who are a little bit in animal protection or like this, they publish a lot and, in fact it's something that bothers me because (.) these are things really I mean (.) I'm completely disgusted I hate seeing that kind of things (.)

It seems as if the awful feelings triggered by these images render their evocation too painful to expand on it. Moreover, she adds elsewhere that she is not convinced that these kinds of images are usefull, as it seems to her that they provoke mainly guilt, helplessness and disgust, which she perceives as possibly hindering the initiative to do something about it. Thus, she questions a discourse presenting these images as painful but necessary, based on the idea that if people see this they will stop eating

¹⁰⁵ Although Aline uses the word vegetarian, more precisely it is a pescetarian diet as the father eats fish. I decided to keep Aline's words.

PAO (a discourse notably voiced by Aurélia). On the other hand, there are a series of themes that are recurrent or on which she is more talkative. The fact that following a vegetarian diet is easy, not complicated is a recurrent discourse. It is related notably to the fact that she does not really like the taste of meat, and to the fact that she did not adapt her way of preparing food more than excluding the meat. Dialogically, this insistence might play the role of a counter-discourse to the perspective on vegetarianism as something complicated which requires efforts. She also elaborates on her perspective on freedom, insisting on the fact that she considers everyone as free to behave as he or she wishes, as long as it makes sense to him or her, as illustrated in the following extract.

Extract 1.6.1: Aline, narrative interview (already presented in chapter five)

A: And my man he yes: he still eats meat from time to time what but basically he adapts more or less to : what we eat, but then (.) I don't know if I go shopping for instance (.) well then I buy meat for him,

F: yeah

A: because he wants in fact, but: I I replace in fact,

F: ok. So it doesn't bother you to buy some for him,

A: no

F: no

A: no not at all because I mean it I- I believe that this is his right, well: it's his life he does what he wants and:

F: yeah

A: well my choices I- it's for me, and no : it's not a problem to me

Doing so, she reproduces quite a neoliberal discourse (every consumer is free to choose) and at the same time she positions herself as tolerant towards other foodways, which can be opposed to the perception of vegetarians as a threat for the carninormative order (see chapter three, p. 104). However, this does not always go without tension, and I will come back later on this aspect later (see chapter seven). Finally, another important aspect of Aline's discourse, in terms of length of the explanations she gives when she engages with this topic, is the economic aspect. More precisely, she frames the whole problem in terms of overconsumption, stating that no label or regulation can solve a problem while "people" continue to consume too much. She spends quite a lot of time (compared to animal ethics and environmental impact) on this, and comes back to it several times.

Extract 2.2.1: Aline, narrative interview

A: you can do whatever you like you can invent all the labels I mean (we also worked quite a lot on sweatshirts) [speaks about a course at university] and so on, (.) you can ask people uh: to treat animals well uh you can ask people to treat people I mean their employees well, you

can make them sign all the contracts you want, but at the same time, if you continue to ask them for such big quantities, uh in such short time periods:, well in fact it's useless, (.) so that's when I realized that (.) if I continue to consume as much, (2) you can make them ratify you can buy all the labels you want but at the same time, with such behavior, labels are useless (.) so it's when I told myself, yeah in fact, now, if I stop consuming , or consume much less, well then it makes sense, I mean for me to uh: because it's completely stupid to say ok I want to eat 6 kilos of meat per day but it needs to be organic, and thus there really I had a change in my awareness where, I said well, the problem for me it's overconsumption

In her perspective, meat is only a particular case of the problem of overconsumption. She develops this perspective drawing on a course at university, probably adopting a critical discourse on the neoliberal market, and tries to use the examples that they saw there regarding textile industry in order to understand the food industry. In other words, it seems that a discourse and way of analyzing that she first encountered in an interpersonal situation (and moreover introduced by an expert) was then integrated in her subjective landscape sufficiently for her to refer to it in a new interpersonal situation which is the interview and to try to apply it to another object (from clothes to food). Doing so, she reframes meat production as one problem among others, and the overproduction (she also uses the word capitalism) as the hearth of the problem. Interestingly, while I underlined previously that she voices a quite neoliberal discourse regarding the freedom of the consumer, she expresses now a rather critical perspective on the neoliberal market.

The situations in which she consumes meat also provide information about possible reasons not to follow a strict vegetarian diet. First of all, she did not stop to eat fish, however she does not indicate what makes fish different from meat to her. We can notice here that she reproduces the socio-material positioning of her father, as well as his perspective on vegetarianism. Secondly, she states that she will take meat at the restaurant for reasons of taste (she particularly likes the dish) and of price (she does not want to pay an expensive price "just for pasta"). Thirdly, she also insists that when invited she prefers to eat what has been prepared rather than presenting a special request to the host. In other words, politeness (or a particular definition of politeness) comes before vegetarianism, but this can also be seen again as a way the differentiate her positioning from the vegetarian as a threat to the carninormative order (as highlighted in the literature) or as annoying (an image of vegetarianism that several participants seem keen to differentiate from -see for instance Léa). Finally, she also ate cold meats because it was easily available (buffet) and she was in a stress situation. We can see this as going in the same direction than her discourse on easiness. However, while it is most of the time a support her vegetarian positioning, in these particular situations (meat is available), it becomes a reason to consume meat. However, it might also be interpreted again as a way not to be categorized as the

annoying vegetarian who has specific requests in a socially shared situation. Finally, health does not appear spontaneously in her narrative interview, but is introduced by myself as interviewer. Aline's positioning then is to state that it is not something important to her, and also that it is not a sufficient argument to make her consume something. At this point, she explicitly contests a discourse using health as a (sufficient) argument for advertising the consumption of some foods.

To sum up, environmental issues and animal ethics are an important part of Aline's landscape in the sense that they are the main reasons for her to avoid meat, however they do not appear in the interview as very large and detailed part of the landscape on which there would be a lot to say. She developed and develops her positioning and perspectives related to these issues notably through her studies, through interactions with friends (notably mediated by social medias) and with her family. On the other hand, the economic dimension (overconsumption and capitalism) seem to constitute a large part of Aline's current landscape, and leads her to nuance her positioning about avoiding meat consumption (it is not the meat consumption in itself that is problematic but its overconsumption). She strongly positions herself against overconsumption, adopting a critical discourse on economy while simultaneously distancing from a strict vegetarian positioning. Again, we saw the role of interpersonal interactions, and in this case in particular a course at university, in the introduction of this perspective in Aline's landscape. In addition to that, easiness is also an important part of Aline's positioning, but depending on situations it can act in favor or against meat consumption. A few other elements such as taste and price seem to occupy a minor place in the landscape, and as for easiness, might orient the positioning in one direction or the other depending on the situation. Health seems almost completely absent from the landscape. Finally, I noticed several times that Aline seems careful not to position (or let the others the opportunity to position her) as a threatening or annoying vegetarian.

4. AURÉLIA

To respect an animal is to leave it in peace, it's not to enclose it in a cage and to kill it and to eat it

Aurelia is 27 and has a technical job in a printing company. She became vegetarian 4 years before the interview, after what she qualifies as a few unsuccessful trials due to her taste for meat. Her brother was vegetarian for many years, and this is mainly how she became familiar with the debates around meat consumption as well as with the concrete possibilities when following a vegetarian diet. Thus, it seems that what was at the beginning a topic of interpersonal discussion in the family realm

progressively became a part of Aurélia's internal dialogue in which her socio-material positioning as a carnist entered into conflict with the perspective on meat as implying the suffering of animals, a perspective voiced by her brother and that Aurélia internalized. During the last year, she got interested in veganism, and now tends to adapt her diet in this direction. However, she states that she sometimes makes exceptions to this vegan diet when eating pastries. She also mentions during the interview that she would not like to be put in a box (such as "vegan"). She narrates that she became vegetarian on a first of January, together with her boyfriend. The main reason for her veg* diet is related to animal ethics.

Extract 2.3.1: Aurélia, narrative interview (partly overlapping with extract 1.1.2)

A: there is not only the ethical aspect there is also uh the health aspect that I'm interested in, and ecological, and: and even human, because I think that the people working (.) in these sectors in the slaughterhouses and all that it must not be easy for them, (.) well yeah there are all these aspects that are interesting.

F: yeah

A: but maybe the ethical aspect comes first,

F: ok yes. (.) can you tell a little bit more precisely what you mean by ethical aspects?

A: uh the conditions in which the animals are raised, (.) and killed, (2) and: well what we make them endure because they didn't ask for anything and: they have atrocious lives,

F: yes

A: and:: and in particular uh intensive farming,

In this extract, she mentions ethical aspects, but also health, environmental impact and working conditions in slaughterhouses. All these different aspects relate to a same direction for the positioning, namely that she would avoid eating meat (and more generally PAO). However, as she mentions, animal ethics seems to be the most important aspect, and this is confirmed by the fact that she comes back several times in the interview on these issues. Interestingly, she simply mentions these aspects without developing them further (and she does not explain more before this extract), which seems to indicate that she presupposes that I – as a researcher interested in veg* - know what she means by that, that we share a certain understanding of what she is referring to. In other words, she expects me to be familiar with what she perceives as a socially shared landscape and that based on this her perspective and positioning regarding these issues should appear as obvious to me.

Although Aurélia is one of the participants for whom the positioning is the most strongly presented as an evidence (how not to be vegetarian or even vegan with all these reasons?), she also mentions that she made exceptions to her vegetarian diet when travelling, for the reason that she wants to taste the local specialties. Thus, we can see here a tension between the reasons to become vegetarian that she

mentioned before, and her positioning as a traveller that is related to a certain perspective on what is (proper) travelling – and notably that it includes discovering local specialities. She adds that she and her boyfriend were “not proud” that they ate so much meat during that time, which can be interpreted as an expression of this tension, and that they became again vegetarian when coming back from the travel. Highlighting this feeling and the coming back to a vegetarian diet might be a way to anticipate a possible discourse stating that they are not real vegetarians as they made these exceptions.

It appears that her ethical motivations are in opposition with her taste for meat, as for several other participants.

Extract 2.3.2: Aurélia, narrative interview

A: it's not because I don't like it that I stopped. (.) it's really for ethical reasons, or whatever. (.) so uh I still find it tasty,: when I go to the restaurant and that (.) that there is meat cooking I find that it smells good,: I'm not disgusted

F: yeah

A: I would like, to be disgusted but: (.) but it's fine it's also not a frustration

F: yeah

A: I know why I do it

In her case, the motivation to be vegetarian for ethical reasons seems strong enough to resist to the temptation of meat consumption, which is not always the case. In this extract, we can observe the presence of several / participating to the shaping of the way she presents herself in this interview and which show this tension between ethical motivations and taste for meat, as well as the way she deals with this tension. Among others and to mention only a few explicit ones, there is first a fictional / that does not like meat (which she presents as what she is not), there is the past / who stopped eating meat (mainly related to socio-material positioning), there is the / who (in the restaurant) likes the smell of meat as well as the / that would like to be disgusted (thus a fictional but desired /). This shows the complexity of her positioning in relation to meat, in which several layers overlap and respond to each other. She notably develops here an alternative voice to the presentation of veg*ism as frustrating for people who like meat, which also resonates with the rejection of the argument of taste in order to justify meat consumption that she expresses elsewhere, an argument that she says she often encountered in interpersonal discussions. Thus, voicing this might be a way to anticipate or implicitly answer to this possible discourse she already encountered. The “I know why I do it” seems to play the role of a voice that is strong or loud enough to act as an efficient counterweight to the taste for meat. After this extract, she mentions several tricks for vegan cooking, presents it as a nice little challenge, as “not complicated” and tasty. This perspective on vegan kitchen might facilitate the tolerance of absence of PAO without frustration.

In addition to that, Aurélia also presents herself as someone who likes to discuss these issues with other people, as long as they are not completely closed to veg* arguments. This contrast strongly with for example Léa who hates the feeling of having to justify herself all the time. The fact that she read a lot on the topic (she cites in particular the China study¹⁰⁶ on which she gives me some details, and also advises me to read “No steaks”¹⁰⁷) probably participates to make her feel comfortable in discussing the topic. Indeed, we can make the hypothesis that through these readings, she encounters many voices that will both allow her to feel surer about her choice of foodway as they reinforce her positioning as veg*an (in other words voices that participate to her internal dialogue) and provide her with arguments that she can use in interpersonal discussions (in other words the perspectives she can present to others are well-elaborated and manifold). In addition to that, the fact that she is familiar with the topic for many years and used to discuss it with her brother probably also gives her confidence in the discussion.

Generally, Aurélia gives the impression during the interview that a vegetarian positioning is an evidence, and a vegan positioning is logical. Her landscape is quite diversified, however animal ethics definitely occupy a large and central place in it. Health is maybe the second important aspect, and she also notably explains some details about the China study. Environmental impact and working conditions seem to be less important, although they are clearly present. All these aspects are mentioned in favor of a vegetarian positioning, and animal ethics also in favor of a vegan positioning. At least in the frame of the interview, these debates seem to be considered by Aurélia as known, and the positioning that result from them as logical or taken-for-granted. In social interactions, she seems quite comfortable to assume and explain this positioning and to provide details about these different elements of the landscape. Doing so, she also positions herself as someone able to discuss quietly, and I make the hypothesis that this is also a way to distantiate from the vegetarian person perceived as someone who makes the carnist people feel uncomfortable. There are some tensions that appear, and notably with her positioning as someone who likes meat and likes to taste specialties when travelling. Thus, taste and pleasure are also an important part of her landscape, but are sometimes related to a consumption of meat that she is “not proud” about.

¹⁰⁶ Campbell, T. C., & Campbell, T. M. (2005). *The China study: the most comprehensive study of nutrition ever conducted and the startling implications for diet, weight loss and long-term health* (1st BenBella Books ed). Dallas, Tex: BenBella Books.

¹⁰⁷ Caron, A. (2015). *No steak*. Paris: J'ai lu.

5. GAËL

I try to have (.) an ethic in what I eat but slightly in another way

Gaël is a young man, 30 years old, working as a replacement teacher at the moment of the interview, but also an artist who has a bachelor in visual arts, is engaged in different projects and on the way of becoming an art teacher. As already mentioned (see chapter four, p. 142), Gaël has a particular status among the participants, as he is the only one following a carnist diet. He starts by presenting his foodway as a child and adolescent as “very varied”. Although he knew about vegetarianism because of his “baba cool” parents’ friends, not eating meat was strange to him. They lived in a former farm, and although his family did not have animals, it was a rural environment in which animals (and their killing) were directly present. He notably mentions that their neighbors had cows and goats that they would sometimes eat together. Although Gaël does not provide many details about this period, the few information he gives seems to indicate a social environment in which a diversity of perspectives and positionings regarding meat and veg* coexist, between the rural inhabitants who would raise and kill themselves the animals they eat, and the parents’ friends who are vegetarians. He became vegetarian at the end of high school, when he was approximately 19. He describes this as a logical continuation of his political ideals of equality and fight against exploitation.

Extract 2.4.1: Gaël, narrative interview

G: When I graduated from high school I would say something like that, (.) when well I started to ask myself more questions: political or uh ethical and these kinds of things, (.) where ok well I started to be interested also (.) in everything about communism uh anarchism and uh these kinds of things,

F: yeah

G: and uhm:: (2) where well the question the question of the animal is something quite uh quite central in relation to (.) (linked) to ideology, and then well in order to stick as much as uh as much as possible to these values in fact. Well. which is called anti-speciesism,

F: ok

G: uh as one speaks about feminism or racism, [...] and thus well indeed (.) one can say that you are against exploitation of of of human beings of of of surrounding nature these kinds of things, (.) and then uh when you realize in fact that (2) well that you continue with your lifestyle (.) to exploit (2) well there to be precise uh animals through your foodway, (.) uh well so you are not coherent anymore. (.) that’s it. And so for me that’s a bit how I became [vegetarian].

Thus, he frames his decision as relying on anti-speciesism, which he presents as similar to feminism (the semantic continuity is more visible with the word anti-sexism) and (anti-)racism, and relates all of them to his interest in communism and anarchism. Those ideological frameworks provide him perspectives on social justice and equality, which seem really important in his positioning. There is a strong identity dimension, as he says elsewhere that he considered himself as an “anar” (shortening of anarchist) which he pronounces with an exaggerated regional accent¹⁰⁸. However, the regional context is not only important in terms of identity, but also in terms of voices represented in the socio-cultural environment. Indeed, as his intrapersonal dialogue regarding the world surrounding him became more vivid (“I ask *myself* more questions”), it is not surprising that he started to nourish this dialogue with communist and anarchist voices, as these are relatively present in the region where he lived at that time. The regional context is a topic that comes back several times during the interview and as I will develop later, Gaël is also to some extent reflexive about the role of this environment in his trajectory.

When he speaks about the period during which he did not eat meat, he underlines that this was very uncommon and that he experienced it as complicated.

Extract 2.4.2: Gaël, narrative interview

G: it was anyhow really hellish. (.) uh really especially because I lived in [name of a town] (.) so in the mountains and everything, you still have something, (.) yeah it's very: country-like, like this, even in the anar punk scene and whatever, (.) it's still very: very local like this, so it was quite (2) it was quite uh yeah quite complicated or whatever.

The general picture that emerges is one of relative isolation. It seems that he knew few or no people at all in his direct environment who choose the same path. Thus, it seems that the opportunities for interpersonal dialogues *in presentia* with people sharing to some extent his perspectives on meat and veg* were rather rare. Moreover, he presents his whole ideological reflection as a personal process, and says he was never militating. Even in the anarchist and punk milieus that he describes as more veg*-oriented, he distances himself from a certain competition of integrity. Thus, it seems that even in this case, namely opportunities for interpersonal dialogues with other veg*ans, the situation is not experienced as particularly nice or as a safe place to dialogue.

¹⁰⁸ There is indeed an important history of anarchism in the region, as the Anti-authoritarian International was founded at a congress in a village of this region in 1872, after the split between Marx and Bakounine. In 2012, thousands of people attended the “Rencontres internationales de l’anarchisme” which took place in the same village, commemorating the 140 years of this first congress. See <http://www.ainfos.ca/12/sep/ainfos00131.html> (27.03.2019)

Extract 2.4.3: Gaël, narrative interview

G: what also a little bit: uh drove me away from that [the anarchist/punk milieu] is that (2) i: in : at least in that kind of milieu, what I felt a little bit is that there is a sort of race, for who will be the most upright, (.) in a certain way. (.) who will be the most uh (.) the most militant or the most lively or well: (2) after a while it started to become (.) a bit heavy or whatever.

While he presents the wish for coherence and integrity as one important component in the process of becoming vegetarian, those appear in this part of the interview as rather negatively connoted. Thus we can observe a change of perspective, in which he moves from the internalization of a voice presenting coherence and integrity as valuable (that appears to be a perspective shared in the anarchist/punk milieu) to a position from which he voices a more critical perspective on this valuation. He puts an end to his vegetarian diet during what appears as a period of rupture in his life, which he presents as involving psychological problems requiring a work on himself. Vegetarianism is then reframed as a privation, a kind of sacrifice and a constrain that entered too much in conflict with the necessity to climb down¹⁰⁹. The notion of privation also relates to pleasure, and he underlines several times that he likes meat, and more generally he like to eat, to cook and to share meals. The perspective that eating should be a pleasure appears regularly during the interview, as well as the related position of *bon vivant*. Thus, as several other participants, Gaël voices a rather hedonistic discourse regarding food. These pleasures seem to enter into conflict with a vegetarian diet, and sharing a meal was a reason to him to make an exception during his vegetarian period.

Environmental issues are evoked in a contrasted way. It is recognized as a pro-vegetarian argument, however he also uses it to criticize vegetarianism when it leads to consume food that is not locally produced. In other words, Gaël voices several perspectives from the current debates, that lead him to a subtler perspective than he had at the time when he became vegetarian, which is also less tidily related to a vegetarian positioning. Nutritional aspects seem not to play a role in his positioning towards PAO however, he states that through his vegetarian diet he started to learn about nutrition and that he still tries to have a balanced diet. He explains that when presenting himself as vegetarian, the most frequent question or argument he would encounter was about nutritional dimensions, a situation which lead him to learn more about this topic. This is an interesting dialogical movement, in which a socio-discursive positioning as vegetarian triggers the interlocutor to voice his perspective about vegetarianism (what is it and what is it about) which positions also the vegetarian person in a certain manner (for instance as a nutritional expert). This microgenetic event (probably also because

¹⁰⁹ The words Gaël uses in French: “lâcher du lest”.

it is repeated) triggers learning that will impact the ontogenetic level, as Gaël indeed becomes someone with more knowledge about nutrition.

Nowadays, he still positions himself in favor of anti-speciesism and states that his ideological convictions did not change, but that he learned to live with contradictions.

Extract 2.4.4: Gaël, narrative interview

G: in a certain way in fact my opinion of it didn't really change,

F: ok

G :it did not : it did not uh (2) it's still approximately the same meaning that (.) .h uh I'm living a little bit with this contradiction, (.) now, (.) and in fact it's something that (.) that I learned to do a little bit, (.) if you want, that I was not necessary- that I was not necessarily aware at the beginning, well (.) you tell yourself ok well I need to be as coherent as possible, (.) as upstanding as possible, (.) so you try to put things on the side in order to be the most uh (.) well to be the most uh:: yeah::: a care¹¹⁰ about integrity well but ok, (.) and well:: after a while I had to notice that: (.) well we all have some inconsistencies or whatever.

Thus, while animal ethics are still an important part of his subjective landscape, towards which he did not really change his positioning on a discursive level, his positioning in practice at a personal level (can/should I eat meat or not) changed, which came together with a new positioning towards coherence (from *I need to be as coherent as possible* to *I'm also allowed to sometimes be incoherent*) that itself also relates to a change in perspective on coherence (coherence as a value towards which we need to work, to incoherence as something inevitable and that we need to live with).

All in all, animal ethics are an important part of Gaël's landscape and he positions himself in favor of anti-speciesism. His references to communism and anarchism suggest that political-economic discourses are also an important part of his landscape, and I notably highlighted the probable importance of the regional frame in order to understand the presence of these discourses in Gaël's subjective landscape. These elements imply for him a positioning against meat consumption. However, this position seems to encounter a lot of resistance from other aspects that constitute his landscape, and notably what could be called the sense of belonging to a region where meat consumption is strongly rooted, the pleasure to eat meat and to share meals and the feeling that a vegetarian diet is a privation or a burden. Moreover, the picture that emerges from the interview is that Gaël did not really find opportunities of interpersonal relations in which his vegetarian foodway would have been experienced positively. Finally, he clearly separates a discursive/ideal positioning that is anti-speciesist,

¹¹⁰ The french word used (souci) can be translated both by care and by worry.

and a practical everyday positioning that is carnist, but (see motto of the case) ethical in another way – and notably through consuming local food.

6. LAURA

Now that I am uh: I am not the only one anymore there is really, this mass of of the new generation that is vegetarian or vegan, I can allow myself to : to make a step: to withdraw a little bit because it's clear that in the beginning, I was saying I'm vegetarian,: it was also a bit political,

Laura is 33 and works as a scientific collaborator in a university. She became vegetarian approximately 20 years ago, when her parents decided to move towards this diet¹¹¹. The change was progressively made over a period of two or three years. At the beginning they would still cook all kind of meats when having guests, then they would completely eliminate red meat, and finally they adopted a pescetarian diet. Thus, in Laura's case the close social environment had a decisive influence on her socio-material positioning as a vegetarian. Although she does not give many details on this period, it seems that she was socio-materially positioned as a vegetarian by her parents. The motivation for this change was related to animal ethics, and in particular to the wish not to kill animals. When leaving her family's home, she continues to avoid meat, but also starts to get interested in animals' living conditions. This leads her to become very careful with the provenance of eggs, to buy organic food and also periodically to have a vegan diet. During this period, she lives either alone or in shared apartments. The fact that she continues to follow the vegetarian diet that was first developed in the familial context on her own indicates that she integrated this socio-material positioning as hers. Moreover, she also presents herself as a vegetarian which refers to a socio-discursive positioning while her interest for animals' living conditions indicates movements at the level of moral positioning, which again seem now to be rooted in her internal dialogue in the continuity of the familial dialogue and without being opposed to interpersonal dialogues. However, there seems to be a movement towards becoming a more active navigator of the issues. The next important change she mentions is she becoming pregnant, 7 years ago. She mentions that she ate chicken once during her pregnancy. Currently, she lives together with her partner and their child, who are not vegetarians.

¹¹¹ As it is the case for Aline, Laura habitually uses the word vegetarian, but to her this does not exclude the consumption of fish.

An important theme in her interview is animal ethics. It is the reason she gives for her becoming and being vegetarian, as illustrated in the following extract:

Extract 2.5.1: Laura, narrative interview (partly overlapping with extract 1.1.5)

L: I always said I'm not against the fact of killing, but: against how we keep them we treat them, this industry, of of meat creation,

F: but in fact when your family started, it was (.) because one should not kill animals,

L: it is for ethical reasons

F: so ethics of treatment of animals, or ethics of not killing

L: uh more because of the treatment, (.) and of killing. (.) uh sorry at the level it was not killing uh at the beginning it was killing rather it was killing. (.) and for me it was rather the treatment,

Interestingly, animal ethics are the only argument she gives in favor of vegetarianism. As already mentioned, this was also the reason of her parents to become vegetarians, and thus it seems that she integrated this discourse as a part of her subjective landscape that plays a central role, but she also explored the issue further, notably by seeing exhibitions on this subject, which led her to complexify her perspective on PAO industry and to change her socio-material as well as moral positioning accordingly. The theme of environmental issues also appears during the interview, however it is not related to meat consumption but to producing yogurt herself.

Extract 2.5.2: Laura, narrative interview

L: well the fact that I make my own yoghurts has nothing to do with vegetarianism. (.) it's rather a question related to sustainable development, local products, uh kilometer zero

The "kilometer zero" she mentions can be applied to any kind of food and not only to PAO, and indeed she mentions elsewhere her more general interest for local, seasonal and organic food in general. This seems to be a more recent issue for Laura, and this can be related to the fact that in her socio-cultural environment, debates around these issues appeared more lately. She actually mentions perceiving an evolution in her environment several times, as for example when explaining that at the time when she became vegetarian people did not know about the harmful effects of fish industry (implicitly implying that now they do).

While there is a link with environment in this interest for local products, there might also be, although it is not explicit, a relation with health, as she also presents herself as interested in this dimension.

Extract 2.5.3: Laura, narrative interview

L: in general I'm very interested in food, (.) and: I've never had health problems even normally one speaks about anemia when not eating meat, (.) and I have a lot of iron, and: I'm interested in reading, finding information, som- sometimes I: I can be interested in (2) foods which have

more protein , (.) sometimes I can be interested in foods that contain less sugar, (.) in order to avoid problems of::: of too much insulin,: of diabetes a little bit the issues on the health level of (.) of the Western population, (.) but I would say that it's more a personal interest for uh: (2) for the origin of food, for the effects of food, but I'm also interested in phytotherapy and homeopathy also. (.) I'm also interested in permaculture that there is also at [*name of the university], , (2) yeah so it's more global finally that than the question of meat, (.) yeah (.) much more global

In this extract, when stating what is important and interesting to her, she positions herself not merely as a vegetarian but primarily as an informed eater and maybe consumer. It might also be the case that this interest for health is partly related to her role of mother, thus reproducing the positioning of the woman as the one who takes care of the other family members, but this is only a hypothesis. The more specific aspects she mentions, in particular proteins and diabetes, clearly reflect the current debates (see chapter three) regarding health. More implicitly, she also reproduces here a discourse that constructs responsibility regarding these issues at an individual level (see again chapter three).

The broadening of the positioning (as an informed eater) probably helps to deal with the conflict between her (long-lasting) vegetarian position and more recent occasional chicken and fish consumption. Indeed, the informed and responsible eater position does not necessarily exclude meat consumption. However, when she explains that she now consumes fish and chicken, she directly adds that she takes care not to eat too much dairy products and to buy only organic food, as appears in the following extract:

Extract 2.5.4: Laura, narrative interview

L: when my daughter grew up a little bit, (.) and liked meat, (.) I started to make this compromise, (.) to uh well that the big change it's related to the status of the family with whom one lives, (.) it's clear that it depends a lot on the partner: (on all) that, (.) so then, (3) for 3 or 4 years I've made this compromise to eat much less dairy products, (.) especially much less cheese, (3) and t- I eat fish, from time to time, and very rarely chicken.

She frames this change in her food habits as related to her family situation, which constitutes clearly a change in her landscape. Although it is not mentioned, we can guess that it is not only a matter of organizational issues, but also of affective relations as a partner and a mother that are relatively new in the landscape and/or are becoming more central. Thus, we observe in Laura's case a complex interaction between several positions, and notably her positioning as a mother, as a partner, as a vegetarian for ethical reasons, as an informed healthy eater and as an environmentally responsible consumer. Moreover, the place of her daughter in the landscape regarding meat also change over

time, as the child grows up and starts to like meat, which asks for a reorganization of Laura's positioning towards meat. What also becomes clear from what follows this extract is that during a certain time, Laura would buy chicken, prepare it for her partner and her daughter but not eat it. And, finally, it is when she once prepared chicken and wondered what she would eat herself that she started to consume chicken again. Thus, the chicken was present in the landscape with different status, first as a product that she would buy for others, then a product that she would eat herself. This also implies different positioning of herself from a strict vegetarian but meat buyer position to a meat eater position, or in terms of perspectives: a perspective on meat as something that is not acceptable (although as a personal choice it cannot be imposed to others, thus it is possible to buy for them) vs a perspective on meat as something acceptable (with quite a lot of strategies that make it acceptable).

In short, animal ethics is an important and lasting part of Laura's landscape, with nuances in what areas are the most central (death of the animal or living conditions). This seems to be the only reason that leads her to position herself as vegetarian (in practice and discursively). While she was first positioned (socio-materially and probably socio-discursively) as a vegetarian by her parents, it seems that she integrated this positioning enough (it was part of her subjective landscape and she also identified this position as hers – and not only as “we”) to continue to endorse and develop it when becoming more independent from her family. Health and environmental issues are other elements present in the landscape, which do not contradict a vegetarian positioning but do not imply it neither. On the other hand, she moved toward a less strict positioning regarding vegetarian diet, and in relation to this movement she notably mentions organizational issues, her family life, the broader context (more vegetarians thus less need to be very engaged herself), a reduction in PAO consumption, more local food. Thus, the changes in her positionings and perspectives are related to the changes in her environment, both close (daughter and partner) and more broad (the evolution of debates in the socio-cultural frame, but also the available products, the number of vegetarians,...) and she is partly reflexive about this. Currently, it seems that her positioning is less focused on meat and that other foods and also other elements took a more important place in her landscape.

7. LÉA

I think that I'm still looking for a balance, or trying to define myself regarding: what I would like

Léa is a 25 years old student, living with her partner who eats meat regularly. She directly presents herself as coming from a meat-eater family and relates this to the fact that her mother is from South America. Doing so, she points to her social position as a daughter and as a family member. The fact

that this appears so quickly in the interview might indicate that this specific position plays an important role in her positioning as a vegetarian (which is relevant notably because of the frame of the interview), probably because of the tension that exists between both. While she never seriously envisaged becoming vegetarian until that moment, 6 months before the interview, she saw a documentary on animal industry that strongly shocked her. She positions herself against this way of treating animals; animal ethics is to her a very strong argument for becoming vegetarian, as appears in the following extract:

Extract 2.6.1: Léa, narrative interview (partly overlapping with extract 1.1.1)

L: no it completely disgusted me. (.) it completely disgusted me. (2) in fact uh:: how the animal is completely uh (2) I don't want to say dehumanized but deanimalized we: we don't have any esteem in fact for the: for the living in fact. (.) n- n- yes uh not respect but simply uh: well empathy or whatever. (.) and uh I found it really really shocking, (.) and: I don't want to give money to these people, I don't want to: uh (2) yeah I don't want to spend my money like this.

She repeats several times, in slightly different ways, her disapproval of the way animals are treated in industrial production. Doing so, she reproduces a discourse that is critical regarding animal industry (see also chapter three, section on animal ethics) that probably also appeared in the documentary she saw. To that extent, this is also a counter-discourse to a possible voice presenting animal industry as necessary or justifiable. Moreover, as it is explicit in this extract, this is related to a strong feeling of disgust. When she mentions the “esteem of the living”, she brings the issue to a more general level, both including herself into a more general (yet unclear) “we”, and including animals into the broader category “living”. This is a movement of questioning the relations between the “we” and another category that encompasses animals that is repeated elsewhere in the interview. In addition to that, she also builds on a certain understanding of the relation between those animals she saw and herself as mediated by money and by “those people” (who treat the animals like that). In this understanding, she is positioned merely as a consumer, a position in which money becomes a central tool that mediates the relation to the world. This position might be seen as reproducing a neoliberal discourse that stresses the role (and responsibility) of the individual as a consumer. Her positioning as a consumer is also grounded in her framing of the ethical issue in terms of industrial production, as illustrated in the following extract:

Extract 2.6.2: Léa, narrative interview

L: what bothers me in fact is uh (.) it- it's mainly uh the way animals are treated, (.) let's say, uhm: (.) it's the fact of producing meat like plastic in fact it's like one would produce uh shoes or t-shirts or whatever uh: so uh there is this whole production line that come back uh as

profitable as possible, (.) and (that's) still uh living beings, (it's that mix/that's what bothers me) I have difficulties, (.)

In this extract, she contextualizes again the issue of the treatment of animals as part or consequence of a more general issue that is productivity, and that is in conflict with the way living beings should be treated. Thus, she opposes here two discourses existing in her socio-cultural environment: one that values productivity and the other that values a certain form of respect of the living beings that she sees as incompatible with industrial productivity. Through the reference to the second one, she criticises the first. Her perspective on animal ethics is thus tainted with an economic understanding, and defines industrial production as inevitable, a perspective that would imply positioning as a vegetarian (as long as industrially produced meat is concerned).

While this argument clearly pushes Léa to position herself as a vegetarian (in practice more than in the way she presents herself, or in other words socio-materially more than socio-discursively), it is the only argument that supports this movement. Health is mentioned as a topic on which she needs to learn more, which is a positioning of herself as a responsible eater, a movement that might be interpreted as an example of the tendency of individualization of responsibility regarding nutrition (see chapter three, p. 77). Other aspects of the landscape rather enter into tension with vegetarianism, while environmental issues of meat consumption are not present at all in the narrative interview. She mentions several times the fact that she likes the taste of meat, as in the following extract:

Extract 2.6.3: Léa, narrative interview

L: ah yeah yeah sometimes I would like meat uh well one thing uh this summer the barbecues it was awful now I think that that's the worst, (.) it's the worst but (2) no but the taste of meat I love that. (.) I love that, but: then ok

F: so sometimes you try well you replace it with something else, or

L: well actually yeah I make fish skewers uh very nice ((laughing))

F: yeah? that you didn't do before or what?

L: no no for me barbecue was meat

While she is very clear about her liking meat in this extract, at other points of the interview she mentions the disgust she might feel regarding meat now she saw that documentary. It seems that the feeling of disgust gets less strong with the time, and also that it is reactivated more specifically through elements that remind her the productivity system, such as seeing "columns of steaks" in the shop.

Extract 2.6.4: Léa, narrative interview

L: I would prefer really to be disgusted and to tell myself ah no I can't smell, uh it's (incomp.) well I'm there, when I see meat and all, (.) but (.) well stupidly when I see meat on the plate

it's fine huh. (.) but when I arrive in the shop, and I see uh these lines of steaks uh: it changes.
(.) but uh (.) that's it.

This exemplifies the dynamicity of the psychological organization, in which something considered usually as very instinctive and basic as disgust might be transformed through the sense the element provoking that reaction has for the person (from tasty to disgusting to less disgusting / meat as a part of habitual meal, related to family or as a problematic industrial product implying suffering of animals)¹¹². This intrapersonal dialogicity is obviously supported and even triggered by dialogues with different types of others (for instance those with whom she experienced that meat is an important and nice part of a barbecue) as well as encounters with objects (as the lines of steak she mentions in this extract).

The beginning of the previous extract clearly illustrates a tension. If we remember that according to Benson (2001), feelings and emotions are pathfinders of navigation, and that conflict are emerging from different ways of making sense rather than rational vs emotional positioning, then we see Léa's conflict as an opposition between herself as an ethical consumer (who does not consume meat) and herself as a hedonist eater (who consumes meat). This "meat-eater position" is also presented in her discourse as something important in her familial identity, and she has particularly difficulty with refusing meat prepared by her mother, but also by her stepparents. I will come back on this in chapter seven. Finally, another aspect that is in conflict with her positioning as a vegetarian is the wish not to be identified as an activist. She very explicitly takes distance from this activist position, and more globally does not like to have to argue or to explain about that subject. This relates quite clearly to the perspective on the vegetarian person as someone threatening the taken-for-granted carnist order (see chapter three, p. 104) and thus Léa's positioning might (as for instance in Aline's case) be a way to implicitly take distance, mainly at the level of socio-discursive level, from this representation of the vegetarian and thus, to lower the risk to be positioned by others as the annoying vegetarian. As far as I know, this never happened, thus the positioning work she does here is rather related to an imagined (and potential future) other. As a result of these conflicts between positions, Léa is unsure about what she is and how to position socio-discursively, as the label vegetarian seems inappropriate to her, and she is also uncertain about what to do or how to position socio-materially, for instance whether she should also refuse meat at her step-parents' place.

¹¹² Valsiner (2019) theorized these kinds of movements in the frame of semiotic cultural psychology, highlighting in particular the role of signs, while Rozin (2007) points to similar processes of transformation of embodied experience in terms of interaction between biology and culture, however mostly on a phylogenetic level.

To sum up, as for several other participants, animal ethic occupies an important place in Léa's landscape, and to her this dimension is strongly related to disgust. The view of a documentary plays an important role in her getting familiar with a critical perspective on meat production and the suffering that it implies. In relation to this theme, Léa positions herself against meat consumption. This positioning is nuanced and framed by another element that relates more to economic aspects, namely the industrial system of production. It is less clear whether this aspect was also part of the documentary or in which frame she started to engage with discourses about economy, however she is clearly developing a critical perspective on productivity. In this sense, the relation between Léa and the animals is mediated by money, and thus Léa's positioning is more that of a consumer than of an eater, which has slightly different practical implications. Pleasure and disgust are also an important part of the landscape, that are linked to ambivalence between her liking the taste of meat and her disgusted by meat now she knows about the system of production. Environmental issues seem to be absent from her landscape, while health is mentioned as something she would like to know more about. Thus, it exists in her landscape, however as a kind of unexplored area. Finally, interpersonal relations seem to be a place where Léa has difficulties to position herself as a vegetarian, in particular in relation to her family but also because she worries about being identified as an activist, a positioning for which she clearly expresses dislike.

8. LISA

I think more for uhm (.) demonstrating to myself that I can do it. That I can be a vegetarian a full vegetarian and not like just (.) you know: eating sushi with the excuse that I like it

Lisa is 38 years old and works as a researcher in social sciences. She is married and has a child; both child and husband eat meat regularly. She became vegetarian 5 years before the interview, but already thought about it for longer time. Her main reason for being vegetarian is related to animal ethics, and the trigger for her becoming vegetarian was a flyer that she received during a traditional cow fight in her city. Her change of food habits towards vegetarianism took place in a period that she presents as a transition, between two jobs and two countries. During a first period, she continued to eat fish, and while diving during holidays and observing beautiful fishes, she decided to stop eating them too. She was strictly vegetarian for a bit more than 2 years. Towards the end of this period, she tended to avoid PAO, without becoming completely vegan, however. When learning she was pregnant, she started to eat meat again from time to time, especially ham, salami and fish. Since that moment, she presents herself as vegetarian but occasionally eats meat, a situation with which she is unsatisfied. During the

three weeks that preceded the interview, she was again strictly vegetarian, and she makes the hypothesis that it is related to the perspective of the interview. During the interview, she seems to aspire to continue with a strictly vegetarian diet. In these few elements about her story, we can already identify some socio-discursive positionings that seem to play a role in her trajectory and the elaboration of her current positioning, notably she as a mother, as a wife, as member of the audience at a cow fight, as a professional, as a migrant and as an interviewee. Those are also relative to several others, and we can notably observe that the trigger was an interaction with an activist mediated by an artefact (flyer). As I mentioned it (see chapter three, p. 106), interactions often play a crucial role in the trajectory of veg*ans.

Animals ethics is the main reason she mentions for being vegetarian, and until almost the end of the narrative interview, the only one. She clearly denounces the way animals are treated and killed as very problematic.

Extract 2.7.1: Lisa, narrative interview

L: it was based more on kind of euhm: reaction that I used to have when I was euh when it happened to me to watch the television like for example some: images of animals that euhm are in the slaughterhouse, (.)

F: yeah

L: hum and euh the way they are treated the way they are killed the way they are euh you know transformed into food

The vision of pictures of animals in slaughterhouses is related to a negative feeling, which she presents as the base for her decision to become vegetarian. Later, she adds that she does not consider meat eating as “philosophically wrong”, but frames it as wrong given the current system of production. Doing so, she clarifies her (socio-discursive and moral) positioning in the field of animal ethics, which is a highly complex domain of debates (see chapter three), and takes distance from a discourse stating that meat eating is fundamentally wrong for philosophical reasons. This might also be a way to anticipate a reproach labeling her as incoherent because of her meat consumption despite of her agreement with animal ethics. Indeed, the way she formulates her positioning here does not completely exclude meat consumption. However, on other occasions, it really seems to be the death that is problematic, notably when she states that the pleasure to eat salami does not justify the death of an animal, or when she mentions that she avoids to kill insects, or as in the following extract:

Extract 2.7.2: Lisa, narrative interview

L: but I’m not thinking that insects are the lowest so you can eat them, (.) also for you know: for the (.) hunger in the in the world you help like eating insects no,

In this extract, Lisa rather takes the position that in any case eating animals is wrong. In order to do so, she mentions two discourses that are rather usual in the socio-cultural frame of this study, namely one of hierarchization of species (see chapter three, p. 106) and another one presenting insects as a solution in the fight against hunger, and she clearly disagrees with them.

Towards the end of the interview, she frames the problem of meat industry as conditioned by the capitalist functioning of this sector, and also argues that the bad working conditions in meat industry are another reason to her to be vegetarian, which she is one of the few participants to mention. Thus, her perspective on meat industry is characterized by an economic reading (in a similar way than in Léa's case) that presents this capitalistic logic as problematic. This leads her to position against this industrial production and against the consumption of its products. It is possible (but this is a hypothesis) that her background in social sciences provides her theoretical means allowing her to address the issue of meat production in that way. What is clear is that in terms of content she draws on an economic understanding of the issue (similar to the kind of analysis presented in chapter three, section 1) which allow her to construct an alternative discourse to the one considering meat as philosophically wrong (to use her words), one of the perspectives in the field of animal ethics (see chapter three, p. 71) that she also voices (see previous page).

Another important discourse appears regularly during the interview and would imply a strictly vegetarian diet. It articulates around the ideas of seriousness, of doing it completely and of being a full vegetarian, as illustrated in the following extract as well as in the motto of the case:

Extract 2.7.3: Lisa, narrative interview

L: then I think maybe it's for me that I should avoid just to become again uh disc- more disciplined when I take a decision. (.) I do something and I do it well.

This is a nice example of intrapersonal dialogue between an / that thinks (and thus takes a kind of reflexive metaposition regarding herself), an / that should (which introduces a moral component that has an imaginary and future-oriented nature), the / that takes decisions (which is also future oriented but probably more closely related to social and material everyday life; and I would also consider it as a form of socio-discursive positioning) and the / that does (in other words the / that positions herself socio-materially). This feeling of satisfaction when being strictly vegetarian (or when working hard in other domains) is mentioned several times in the interview, while she also notifies being unsatisfied by her current practice. In the motto of the case, she explores the idea of becoming stricter again, which illustrates also the role of the interview both as triggering positioning processes, and as a place for possible explorations of future or alternative positions. It becomes also clear that the question of discipline and of capacity to do it is tidily related to the definition of what is a "full" vegetarian (in other

words, the perspective on vegetarianism), a definition that she will also slightly question during the interview. Thus, Lisa is in dialogue here with definitions of vegetarianism (which are numerous, see chapter three, p. 94) and with perspectives on strictness and coherence (on which there are also diverse discourses; see the section on critical voices regarding positioning, p. 37).

What are then the aspects that orient her towards meat consumption? First, health issues seem to play an important role. She presents herself as someone “obsessed” with testing her blood, which indicates concern for possible lacks. It seems that this played an important role when she started to eat meat again, as appears in the following extract.

Extract 2.7.4: Lisa, narrative interview

L: I found out that I was pregnant so I went to the doc- my doctor there, and I had a first uhm: echography, [...] and the guy told me: you know it's better if you eat a bit of meat here and there, actually, for the: you know for the baby, (.) and then we went home we bought ham ((laughing))

What probably enters into play here in addition to her “usual” paying attention to possible deficiencies are the responsibility for another being (in other words her role as a mother), as well as the authority of the doctor (and thus her positioning as a patient). However, on the other side, she also points several times to the negative impact on health of PAO, in relation notably to cholesterol. Moreover, she presents her change of foodway towards vegetarianism also as a change towards a healthier diet, as she ate badly before (according to her). In other words, this represents a change in her perspective on eating. At some points of the interview, she explicitly expresses doubts regarding some controversial issues on health and vegetarianism. Thus, the discourse stating that health is important, that it is the person's responsibility and that food is a way to stay healthy (see chapter three, p. 77) seems to some extent to play a role in Lisa's positioning in the foodscape, and is never questioned by her. However, what exactly is healthy is sometimes less clear to her (I make the hypothesis that she encountered contradictory informations in her landscape) and thus seems to be the occasion for doubt, a way to take distance from a discourse and to consider it critically.

Pleasure is the second important aspect that underlies her occasional meat consumption. She already mentions it in relation to the period before she became vegetarian, saying that she thought it would be too difficult for her to be vegetarian because she loves salami and ham, which provides again an interesting example of intrapersonal dialogue between between a (meta-position) / that thinks herself, an / that experiences difficulty, an (imaginary future) vegetarian / and the / loving salami and ham.

The fact that these are traditional, economically accessible and tasteful products in Italy¹¹³ also appears several times in her discourse, highlighting the importance of the socio-cultural-material environment. The topic appears then repeatedly during the whole interview, mostly under the form of statements that she likes salami, ham, sushi (implicitly with fish). She also gives precisions about what she does not like that much or does not eat, saying that these are not difficult to avoid. She evokes her love for parmesan as a reason not to become vegan. However, twice during the interview, she presents eating fish/salami just because of pleasure as a bad reason not to be strictly vegetarian, in comparison to animal ethics arguments, which highlights a tension between her positioning regarding the theme of pleasure and the theme of animal ethics.

The environmental dimension appears only twice, very briefly, one time as part of the critic against the industrial system of meat production, the second time when she mentions that eating a small piece of salami won't change anything for the planet. Thus, this aspect seems to play a minor role in her positioning. Finally, at some points of the interview, vegetarianism appears as one mean among others to be self-satisfied through a disciplined practice (another mean is yoga) and to eat in an ethical and responsible way (she mentions she is also careful about these aspects regarding other foods).

All in all, animal ethics are an important part of Lisa's foodscape, and constitute the theme that lead her to position herself as vegetarian. At different points of the interview, she positions herself more precisely regarding some aspects of the debates in the field of animal ethics, voicing different issues and perspectives, sometimes to disagree with them. Health also occupies an important place in her landscape, sometimes in favor of a vegetarian positioning, and sometimes as a reason to eat meat. Environmental issues seem to play a minor role in Lisa's landscape and thus in her positioning. The most important aspect that enter into conflict with her vegetarian positioning are health and pleasure, as she positions herself as someone liking meat or at least some meat preparations. In overall, pleasure seems also to occupy an important place in her landscape (and not always against vegetarianism). The economic dimension is also part of her landscape that leads her sometimes to position more specifically against industrial meat production. Finally, her positioning towards herself is marked by dissatisfaction related to her occasional meat consumption. The expression of this dissatisfaction provides interesting examples of intrapersonal dialogues in which she brings many *I's* together. Moreover, at several places her social roles (sometimes related to specific others such as her daughter) appear to play an important role in her positioning.

¹¹³She grew up in Italy, worked there during a while as she was vegetarian and currently goes there sometimes for visiting her family during holidays.

9. MARILOU

I never had the desire to : even the opposite (.) to eat something that reminds me again yeah once you ate ((laughing)) bolognaise, (.) it's almost the opposite for me [...] I'm almost ashamed that (.) I was already 58 when I : stopped,

Marilou is a 68 years old woman, who has already been vegetarian for 10 years. Her change in foodway is rooted in a strong disgust towards meat. The change was not abrupt as she started to avoid certain kinds of meat already 3 or 4 years before that. For these ten years, she ate meat only one time, by mistake, an experience that she reports as very unpleasant. Two years before the interview, she went through another change in her foodway as she started to follow a strictly vegan diet. The change towards vegetarianism is presented as closely related to her familial situation. When speaking about her disgust, she mentions in particular the Sunday roast that her husband liked and that she prepared, as appears in the following extract:

Extract 2.8.1: Marilou, narrative interview

M: I remember it started when uh:: we were still together as a family, with my ex-husband with the two children

F: mhm

M: uh my ex-husband always liked roasts on Sunday, (.) and: I felt that it started to: become yeah i- it was: it was (2) it was horrible to make a roast, this huge quantity of meat, (.) that smelled:: after each meal of roast: uh I washed my hair changed my clothes, ((laughing)) well it was: (.) it started really with the roasts. (2)

She finally became completely vegetarian when her last child left home, which was after the divorce. She mentions that she was basically still cooking meat for him, and that she thought it was not possible to be vegetarian while she was living with them. In other words, her position as a wife and as a mother was experienced as opposed to a positioning as vegetarian. It is only when she separates from her husband and thus from her role as a wife that she starts to diminish her meat consumption. When her child left home, it is obviously not the end of her position as a mother towards him, however, it seems that this position is not anymore experienced as particularly relevant in relation to meals and thus she is able to adopt a vegetarian positioning. This illustrates the importance of certain contexts and activities in relation to positioning processes.

The profound and “unanimous” disgust highlighted by Marilou is specific to her in comparison to other participants. The motto of the case (see above, p. 224) perfectly illustrates it, as well as extract 2.8.1.

On another hand, she states that she likes dairy products, which made the transition towards veganism slightly more difficult, as she mentions in the following extract:

Extract 2.8.2: Marilou, narrative interview

M: but also there, (.) with all these problems osteoarthritis, (.) articulations, (.) we know it's not good but (.) who stops? (2) ah it's so good: fondue¹¹⁴: ((laughing)) ah (.) one can not (have everything) in life but you have to prioritise, but

F: but the (.) because the meat you did not especially like the taste or it didn't bother you to stop?

M: no no

F: and dairy products?

M: yeah it was more difficult

F: it was more difficult,

M: cheese

F: yeah

M: and it was still it is still not: it is still not: the animal, (2) that is on the plate

In addition to the question whether she likes the food or not, two other dimensions appear in this extract. Firstly, she opposes health reasons that would lead to stop or reduce dairy products consumption on one hand and pleasure on the other hand. As she does it on a very general plane ("we know [...] who stops?"), I ask a question that reorients her discourse on liking at a personal level. At the end of the extract, she explains the difference she experienced between dairy products and meat through the fact that in one case the animal "is on the plate". This implicitly refers to death and to the fact to eat a (part of a) dead animal, which is something disgusting. Marilou never expresses explicitly during the interview her liking, desire or pleasure to eat certain foods. Interestingly, the "it's so good: fondue:" is expressed in an impersonal way, on a tone expressing irony and she clearly does not voice this as something that is her own positioning. Related to pleasure, she however mentions the very good feeling she gets through practicing yoga, as well as the happiness to share a moment with other people at vegan events. Thus, the kind of hedonist discourse about pleasure related to eating that is voiced by many other participants is absent in Marilou's discourse, while the pleasure she expresses related to yoga can be seen as more related to an ascetic perspective.

Regarding animal ethics, she gives rather precise details and mentions different aspects of animal industry that she qualifies as horrible or terrible, notably the reduced life expectancy of dairy cows due

¹¹⁴ Traditional swiss meal consisting of melted cheese and bread.

to high productivity and repeated pregnancy and the systematic killing of male chicks in egg industry. This information comes notably from journals that are produced by veg*an associations. Moreover, she is very critical towards labels, advertisements as well as politicians, the farmers lobby and the scientific information, as illustrated in the following extract:

Extract 2.8.3: Marilou, narrative interview

M: and still always medicine saying yeah this you need this you need this (.) there are studies there are: (2) there are studies that even show that women who have: who eat dairy products that they have [more] osteoporosis than : others,

F: yeah

M: but that that : (2) it's hidden it's (.) it's it's the parliament, : there are farmers it's subsidised milk it must : it must work, that's it, (.) we : they make us they make us well, it's like this : (.) be good we want this ((laughing))

We can see here that these elements (politicians, peasants, “medicine”) are part of her subjective landscape, however she positions herself as critical to their discourses and completely undermines their voice. Even more, she presents them as dishonest (“it’s hidden”), as manipulative (“they make us”) and as caring only about their (implicitly financial) interests (“it must work”). In the interview, these others are merely elements that are used by Marilou to elaborate her positioning in the form of an opposition, a contrast. Mentioning them here might have different functions. On one hand, statements about what one is not are also an essential component in positioning elaboration (Benson, 2003). On the other hand, this might also work as a form of anticipation of possible pro-PAO voices.

While she can get quite animated against the lack of information or disinformation, she is also engaged in a reflection about the way she can herself participate into promoting veg* diets. However, she seems hesitant about how exactly to do it and unwilling to enter into direct confrontation. Thus, she would for example let a newspaper about meat industry lie around in the train. Interestingly, she states that she likes to interact with people that request her to justify herself, and at the same time she states that maybe “the solution” is not to share too much with other people about one’s lifestyle. Globally, her perspective on (argumentative) interactions seems to be that they represent both a danger and a necessity. Moreover, when leaving after the interview and the experiment, she insists on her belief that it is not possible to change people and that everyone makes the step (toward vegetarianism) when he or she is ready. This perspective on change is to some extent similar to that of other participants, as it insists on individual freedom and on the importance not to put pressure on others, which I related both to a neoliberal discourse on individual freedom and to the (defense against the) representation of the veg*an as annoying or threatening for the carninormative order. What also appears rather clearly in Marilou’s interview (as well as in other participant’s discourse, notably Aurélia and Michel),

and which might create tension with the previous discourse on freedom, is the idea that vegetarianism is a better foodway, a perspective that is also at the heart of the complicated dynamics between vegetarians and non-vegetarians as studied by Minson and Monin (2012). As a “better” foodway, it is related to the ideas of progress and development, a perspective that is also quite widespread (see Larue, 2015; Lévi-Strauss, 1996/2001).

To sum up, disgust (which I included in the theme of pleasure in the thematic analysis) plays a central role in Marilou’s positioning as vegetarian. On the other hand, pleasure to eat something is never mentioned by her, thus the theme pleasure appears as represented in the landscape only under the angle of disgust. Thus, in contrast with many other participants, Marilou tends to voice a perspective that is quite anchored in an ascetic discourse, as opposed to a more hedonistic discourse on food. This disgust is tidily related to animal ethics, an important theme in her landscape. This is notably the theme that lead her to become vegan (and here disgust of PAO seems not to play a role). In the elaboration of her positioning regarding animal ethics, she draws notably on material produced by veg* activist associations, while she is very distrustful of many other voices, and notably those of politicians, farmers and the institutions which elaborate certification labels. Health is also present in her landscape, as another reason to avoid PAO, while environmental issues are only mentioned once and not in relation with PAO. Finally, one can also mention as part of her landscape a sort of theory about change and what makes it possible or not. Regarding that theme, she draws on a discourse that values individual freedom but at the same time anchors her perspective in a developmental discourse stating that veg*ism is a better foodway, and that there is a certain moment when people are “ready” to make this step.

10. MICHEL

Finally our body is not built for absorbing dairy products proteins in such big quantities [...] so I did that by choice. (.) because I give quite a lot of importance to my lifestyle (partly overlapping with extract 1.3.4)

Michel is a 59 years old man, who works in the medical domain with a title of doctor. He changed his foodway in an important way 15 years ago, for health-related reasons. The main aspect of this change is that he importantly diminished the consumption of dairy products. What concerns meat and fish seems less central to him, however he also diminished his consumption. He currently has a consumption of products of animal origin that is much lower than the average. However, he did not stop to eat these products completely. The change was related to health problems that his wife had,

which made him start to gather information on the impact of diets on health. Thus, what started as a dialogue between his wife and her doctor, became a dialogue between his wife and him with the doctor as an absent other and lead to an intrapersonal dialogue in which Michel confronts the voice of his wife's doctor and his own knowledge. He will also enrich this intrapersonal dialogue with new voices as he gathers new informations mainly through reading. Over the last two years, he moved towards a diet that is even more based on fruits and vegetables, and he started to produce and transform more and more food by himself together with his new partner. Two themes are very present during the whole interview. The first one – illustrated by the motto of the case and which is also presented as the reason of the change - is health. The second dimension is the pleasure to eat.

As he is working in the medical domain, Michel has a quite precise understanding of the metabolic processes that are implied by the consumption of dairy products. He read many different studies and books on that topic which enrich his subjective landscape with new perspectives, but also expresses openness towards approaches that are less anchored in traditional occidental medicine. He has a quite pragmatic approach, valuing different types of knowledge, as illustrated in the following extract.

Extract 2.9.1: Michel, narrative interview

M: there is still (.) it's still you need a chance a certain curiosity, (.) to be interested in something °else. (.)

F: yeah

M: but well it's in general (.) if you want to progress or go further, (.) you are obliged to look a little bit at what's happening around you, and to understand that knowledge is: is universal (everywhere) there are lots of people who know lots of things (.) and most importantly it's not unilateral

It seems that this pragmatic approach allows Michel to conciliate voices and perspectives that might be seen as contradictory (traditional oriental and occidental medicine) and to navigate between them depending on the circumstances. This pragmatist approach itself constitutes another voice allowing him to somehow position himself epistemologically. It is however unclear where this voice comes from. He presents this openness as a general attitude that he also applies in his work, in particular when he encounters problems that resist to the approach he was formed to. Thus we can observe here how Michel overcomes a situation of failure when applying the knowledge he acquired during his studies through the introduction of new perspectives and new possible positionings (including new possibilities of action) anchored in another medical approach. He even took a training in nutritherapy and envisaged to study homeopathy. Spreading this information seems also important to him, as he presents this as his main motivation to participate to this study (he is one of the persons who contacted me after seeing the flyer in a shop), and also spoke about this with his family members, adding however

that he considers them as free to do whatever they want. In his trajectory, although both intrapersonal and interpersonal dialogue are certainly always present, it seems that there is a global change in the center of gravity. It starts with an interpersonal dialogue in which Michel identifies differences between his perspective and the perspective of his wife's doctor, which transforms into a more intrapersonal dialogue (however also nourished by diverse others) in which the main challenge for Michel seems to be to rework his own perspectives and positionings (confronting, integrating and sorting those he encounters), after what he is again more oriented toward discussing with others, explaining what he found and challenging their perspectives and positionings.

He is very clear about the fact that humans don't need dairy products, a certainty that is rather rare among the participants.

Extract 2.9.2: Michel, narrative interview

M: finally we don't need dairy products, neither to have strong bones, (.) it's completely useless

The reduction of meat consumption is presented as following the reduction of dairy products but based on similar knowledge. However, sometimes nutritional knowledge also leads him to consume meat rather than avoid it, as illustrated through the following extract:

Extract 2.9.3: Michel, narrative interview

M: apart from that when I practice sport, (.) I don't know if I do a marathon, (.) cross-country skiing or something like this, (.) then it's uh spaghetti to the maximum, the day before, (.) with olive oil, (.) a little bit of ham because we need proteins, (.) and that's it, I give myself a treat in addition to that a double ristretto in the morning me who drinks very little coffee, (.) because caffeine facilitates the burning of fats in comparison with sugars when you do sport (.)

This extract does not only illustrate that meat consumption is sometimes present and seems not to be experienced as problematic, but also the way Michel uses his knowledge in order to get very specific effect on his body. During the whole interview, he really positions himself as an expert with deep and precise knowledge, and relates this to a more general interest into well-being that is also expressed through sport practice. Thus, while his subjective landscape is very detailed and precise when it comes to nutrition and health issues, he can navigate it in a very subtle way depending on the context (a marathon vs everyday life) and his needs. This can be related to the discourse that health and nutrition are individual responsibilities (see section on health and nutrition, p. 77), but Michel appears to experience this in a quite positive way linked to an increased power to act on one's well-being (which corresponds to the perspective developed by Bertola and Munari, 1996). Moreover, this health dimension is not opposed to pleasure, as illustrated in the following extract:

Extract 1.4.1: Michel, narrative interview (already presented in chapter five)

M: all these approaches there [speaks about comparative studies in nutrition between USA and China] lead me to ask myself questions, (.) and to say well : maybe we need to eat in a different way, (.) but, (.) little detail the notion of pleasure, (.) it's there (.) all the time now

He insists repeatedly on pleasure, thus positioning himself as a kind of hedonist. His perspective on food is that it should always also be a pleasure, a perspective that is largely shared in this socio-cultural environment (see chapter three, p. 93; as well as several other participants such as Gaël or Léa). This might be a way to take distance from the image of the person following a diet that makes him unhappy and frustrated, an image that is frequently associated to veg* (see Larue, 2015). Firstly, this idea appears as related to act of eating, as in the following extract:

Extract 2.9.4: Michel, narrative interview

M: I give myself treats, (.) everyday really I'm not telling to myself oh but I would really like a fondue, (.) I would like a rib steak

F: [yeah

M: [and I can't eat it, (.) no. (2) I give myself treats, (.) I drink red wine, we make our own bread with my friend, (.) it's interesting to test different breads, things (.) well, (incomp.) I'm also not (.) let's take another extreme, (.) the ancestral diet, (.) Mediterranean diet, there's no dairy products.

F: yeah

M: essentially. (.) very few dairy products (actually). (.) ancestral diet, you also suppress cereals. (.) there are people who have very serious health problems such as certain autoimmune diseases, (.) who cannot eat wheat, gluten etc. (.) and that's °a pain.

In order to position himself during this extract of the interview, he actually contrasts two images of him – one as positive and one as negative – that interestingly display two different kinds of relations to oneself. Indeed, in the first one, *I give myself* treats, he expresses a relation to himself in which the dynamic seems to be rather pleasant, while in the second one (to which he does not identify) there is a frustration, between an *I* that would like something and an *I* that does not allow this. This is quite a clear illustration (through the example of an imaginary *I*) of the discourse of the frustrated veg*an mentioned above, from which Michel distances himself discursively. In addition to that, he also underlines the pleasure to cook and to produce food by himself (they have a garden).

The question of animal ethics, on another hand, seems to be completely absent from Michel's landscape. It is not mentioned by him at all during the narrative interview. The environmental impact of food only appears as he states that (in comparison to the pleasure to have tasty bread) he does not

care about it, which is in itself a quite interesting and to some extent contradictory movement: he mentions it (which indicates a form of importance or at least existence in his landscape), but qualifies it as unimportant to him (or at least not enough to care about it). This might be a way to anticipate the potential introduction of the theme by someone else (me for instance in the frame of the interview), or (and both are not exclusive) to show that he knows about these debates and thus to socio-discursively position himself as a well-informed citizen/consumer/eater, but still to take distance from the dominant perspective in the socio-cultural environment (which rather states that environmental issues are important). Economic aspects are mentioned from time to time, essentially under the angle of price of products and either to explain the restriction in the consumption of certain foods, either as a positive comment in relation to other foods.

To sum up, health and pleasure are the essential components of Michel's landscape. Regarding the nutritional dimension, his landscape seems very detailed and vast, and during the interview he positions himself as an expert in this field. It is essentially in relation to health issues that he diminished radically his consumption of PAO, and in particular of dairy products, towards which he positions himself as very critical. The encounter with his wife's doctor's perspective on health and PAO, which was divergent from his own, triggered dialogical processes regarding this issue and lead to a reorganization of his own perspective on and positioning towards PAO. However, both health and pleasure also lead him to consume PAO occasionally. Pleasure indeed represents another important part of Michel's landscape, where he tends to voice a quite hedonist perspective on food. He clearly positions himself as someone who enjoys eating, contrasting this position with an image of frustration. Regarding animal ethics and environmental issues, they seem to be almost completely absent from his landscape. The economic dimension is present in his landscape, but does not seem to play an important role in his positioning.

11. PIERRE

I understood the story of the animal, I said but it's logical if the animal uh. is dead, (2) and from which moreover we took the life and it develops in itself a toxin, (.) or toxins in nutrition itself, (.) well if we swallow it, in the long run it's obvious that (it's) poison

Pierre is a 47 years old man. He has an unstable professional situation and seems to survive with small insecure jobs that do not require specific qualifications. When he was younger, he used to consume drugs. He relates his becoming vegetarian to an apparition of Jesus that he had during this period of drug intake. He describes this event as deeply moving. He enters then a period of depression during

which he seems to try to make sense of this apparition. He explains that he was looking for Jesus. He finally joins a religious group and reads their texts, in which he reads that meat has a negative impact on human beings.

Extract 2.10.1: Pierre, narrative interview

P: I found in this text, (.) in these words uh words saying that uh speaking about meat (.) and saying that: uh meat makes people aggressive, (.) meat uh::: words saying that when you eat meat, your body will rot. (.) uh: then it spoke about the group of the animals, the animal groups, (.) uh that the gr- the animal group would have souls, and that (incomp.) I said well okay, in addition, I read the next text. (.)

According to these texts (or more precisely what Pierre reports from them), meat consumption provokes aggressiveness and rotting of the body. Drawing on this, Pierre starts to follow a strictly vegetarian diet. He adopts the discourse promoted by this religious group and, during the interview, does not show any divergent or critical perspective on this discourse. Thus, this encounter profoundly modified his foodscape by the introduction of new perspectives on meat and its effects. Pierre's positioning seems completely shaped by or constructed on the position of the religious group. Moreover, the discourse also introduces a new status for animals in Pierre's landscape, as *they would have souls*. Interestingly, while Pierre is never explicitly critical or reflexive about the religious discourse he encountered, the use of the conditional tense here still introduces a certain level of distanciation. He is vegetarian for 22 years at the moment of the interview. More recently, he also got engaged in fasting and tries to push further the healthiness of his foodway, avoiding foods that do not have a good energy.

Indeed, the impact of food on his body and more generally on his person is one of the central themes in Pierre's interview. It is articulated around the idea that some foods, depending on their origin and the way to prepare them, will provide more energy, or better energy. For instance, Pierre states that the sunlight has an energizing¹¹⁵ effect on food. This use of food as a tool to act on one's body is very similar to what Michel and Alexandre also do, although it is rooted in a different discursive field (religious vs medical), and when analysed through the lense of dialogism it is a form of relation to oneself (the / knowing about food and its effects and the / as a body). On the opposite, cooking is related to "the fire of death" and should thus be avoided, because it becomes "waste, toxins, poison", as illustrated in the following extract:

¹¹⁵ Pierre uses the French word "dynamisant".

Extract 2.10.2: Pierre, narrative interview

P: most importantly one should not cook, (.) heat up to so many degrees, (.) because if you cook more than so many degrees what actually is the light of the sun, uh: your food will be waste. (.) it becomes poison. (.) it's toxins. (.) so everything that is cooked, there is a lot of waste. So I understood, I said damn and it will be and you will put your foods in the sunlight. It's the sunlight, that energizes you (.) gives energy back to your: to your (.) to the elements you eat. (.) so I understood from there (from what we live) and actually why we die also because I could imagine to what extent food, uh produces also a stock of sediment, of toxins uh:::

On the opposite, fresh and almost untransformed food is highly valued and qualified as “alive”¹¹⁶. Meat is associated to death, heaviness, toxins. Moreover, eating little is also presented positively, and fasting is thus a practice that allows to clean the body and the mind. With this kind of vocabulary and positioning regarding food and meat, Pierre voices a perspective that is quite representative of the vegetarian discourse highlighted by Ossipow (1997) but that is rather rare among the participants in the present study (except Marilou who also voices it sometimes). Interestingly, while his discourse is very embedded in Christian religion, those ideas of energy and of fasting are also impregnated with elements from Hindu religions. He notably states that in certain conditions, it is possible to live from prana (Sanskrit word for energy/life-breath) alone. The idea of an evolution (both at the individual and collective level) is also present, as the more the energy principles of food are respected, the more the sensitivity develops, and it becomes for instance possible to feel the toxins. Finally, Pierre also attaches importance to thoughts and emotions while eating. Thus, his research is also oriented toward the control of emotions and thoughts, and not only the control of the food, which inscribes the food issue into a larger frame (see also Lamine, 2008; Ossipow, 1997). Doing so, he displays some forms of intrapersonal dialogues between and / that controls and observes and and / that thinks and feels. In the previous extract, the “I understood” also indicates some degree of intrapersonal dialogicity, with at least two contrasting positions between a (past) / that did not understand and the current one that understands, but also between the / that understands, and the / that is doing, living and dying.

Another interesting aspect of the previous extract (2.10.2) is the movement of generalization that appears at the end. Pierre relates the question of food to the issue of death by saying that understanding nutrition under the perspective of energy allowed him to understand *why we die*, which also constitutes a more general framing to his vegetarianism. It is of course, as already mentioned, part

¹¹⁶ In French: “vivant”

of a religious quest oriented towards Jesus, and to that extent it is an issue engaging the mission of the person in his or her life, the question of the meaning of life, as becomes clear in the following extract.

Extract 2.10.3: Pierre, narrative interview

P: and most importantly the wish for salvation I would say the the most important in this message, (.) it's that a human being tells himself, uh: what is my mission. (.) what do I do on this planet or who am I the most important, (.) it's that it's this question. (2) uh as long as we don't ask ourselves this question there will be no big impact on the levels of happiness or joy, or or a sincere engagement in this life. (2)

While Pierre clearly voices here a perspective on human beings and what they should do (moral positioning) that comes from the religious group he mentioned, this whole discourse is actually a statement about forms of intrapersonal dialogues that each person should – according to this religious perspective – perform in order to be truly human, which is also a way to position humans in a certain way in the moral landscape. Pierre partly answers those questions through a certain vision of the relations between different entities.

Extract 2.10.4: Pierre, narrative interview

P: the goal, (.) do good on this planet (.) so (.) that the hearts open, (.) that : the human, humanity thinks the human, thinks (.) about mother-earth, things (.) about what is precious, namely the earth, your brothers, your sisters, animals, and that we take care, all of us, of all this. In other words there is a perfect balance at the level of the divine, (.) the divine lives in every form of life that exists, (.) be it the chicken, the cat the tiger, (.) uh the man, the woman

Through this, Pierre clarifies a certain number of entities that are “divine”, as they are forms of life: different animals, human beings, the earth or mother-earth. Moreover, those relations are characterized by the ideal of harmony or balance between all entities, which is presented as the goal, and the “good” that can be achieved through the opening of hearts. Pierre thus depicts a landscape in which all living beings (apparently including the *mother-earth*) have a similar *divine* and *precious* status. Again, he is quite clearly voicing the perspective that he found in the religious group he met, this time (and in contrast with extract 2.10.3) without using any *I* pronoun. Pierre, then, conceives meat as part of a dead animal, whose consumption should be avoided.

Extract 2.10.5: Pierre, narrative interview

[I asked him what his reaction is when he sees other people eating meat]

P: I think about the animal I think about well, I I (.) I know he takes on a little dose of toxins, (.) in his body, beyond words, (.) but yeah it affects me somewhat and I tell myself but don't eat, (.) don't eat animals, (.) we can live completely differently,

In this extract, animal is used as an equivalent of meat. There is also the idea of toxins that is present, and it is seemingly directly related to the death of the animal. Finally, at the end of the extract comes the possibility of living “completely differently”, thus the idea (and probably hope) of a possible change towards more harmony between living beings. This might be analyzed as a form of collective and temporal dialogicity between an actual *we* in which the *I* but also possibly the other (eating meat) can be included, and a future alternative *we*, in which the other also stopped to consuming meat. However, it might also be a dialogicity between an actual and a fictional *we* in which the temporal dimension is finally not that important.

To sum up, Pierre’s landscape is deeply shaped by a Christian discourse with also some Hindu influence, which make his discourse quite specific and sometimes difficult to apprehend with the same categories (themes and sub-themes) than the others¹¹⁷. However, if we go over the difference in vocabulary, it becomes clear that the issue of the way food affects the person is central in Pierre’s landscape and deeply shapes his positioning towards meat, and this corresponds obviously to health issues. Moreover, when he mentions the forms of relations between humans and animals, this might be seen as a question falling under animal ethics, while when he addresses more globally the issue of the relations between all entities and notably *mother-earth*, this actually relates to what I called elsewhere environmental issues. Nevertheless, he has a very different way to speak about it and he does not mention at all the challenges and concrete issues that were presented in chapter three, thus it stays unclear to what extent these aspects are part of his landscape or not (nothing actually indicates that they are). Finally, regarding his positioning, what is striking is that nothing seems ever to go against his positioning as a vegetarian and the trust he puts into religious discourses. When he mentions difficulties to live in accordance with these recommendations, these are not related to meat. What is striking in his interview is the absence of alternative voices to the discourse coming from the religious group. While other participants who are also quite certain about their positioning as veg*an still voice other discourses, even if it is only to express their disagreement or the (emotional or rhetorical) difficulties they provoke, Pierre has a quite monological discourse in which other perspectives do not appear. Only a few others are mentioned during the interview, and all of them are linked to the religious group he encountered. Moreover, the whole interview gives a feeling of ventriloquism as if he was reproducing word by word – but this is only my impression – the discourse that he encountered. However and to nuance this, there are uses of *I* (I know, I think) that are discursively an elaboration of an individual position (voicing this religious discourse) as well as traces of intraindividual dialogicity (in extract 2.10.2) and distancing from the discourse (as in extract 2.10.1) although this does not lead

¹¹⁷ although this is to some extent also the case for Marilou and to an even lesser extent for Alexandre.

to a critic or disagreement. The fact that Pierre experienced a period of drug intake followed by a depression leads me to the hypothesis that currently, conflictual voices are still experienced as too threatening to let them appear in his own discourse. What this shows regarding the study of veg* is that this foodway does not necessarily come with a multiplication of perspectives or a higher level of dialogicity in which multiple voices interact in a more or less conflictual and/or constructive way. In this case, we can make the hypothesis that veg* (as a part of the religious discourse) had a structuring function during or after a period of crisis, but that – exactly in order to fulfil this structuring role – it needed to be something quite monological.

12. POSITIONING IN THE LANDSCAPE AND CHANGE AROUND VEGETARIANISM

After considering all these subjective landscapes and positionings, it is worth coming back to a more synthetic discussion about positioning towards PAO in the complex landscape of foodways, as a form of conclusion to this chapter. I will start this discussion with a few points regarding the use of the notion of positioning and its limits in the specific case of studying movements around veg* foodways. Then, in the second sub-section, I will consider more specifically what are the entities that play a role in the positioning process, and I will argue that it is necessary to move beyond a conceptualization of positioning as a merely interindividual process.

A. Positioning, landscape and veg*

I chose the notion of positioning because – as I argued in the theoretical part – it allows to consider both practices and discourses about these practices. I argue here that this notion indeed presents an important analytical power, as it allows to integrate practices such as buying meat during holidays, and the discourses about these practices, their potential tensions, support effects, conflicts. If we take, for example, Marilou's positioning towards activism, we can see some tensions emerging. She participates in some demonstration and other meetings, which implies a rather positive positioning towards activism. Moreover, these moments are reported as pleasant. On the other hand, she sometimes positions herself against the activist groups, qualifying them as sectarian. She even envisages positioning herself as radically against any communication about her convictions (this is tempered by a "maybe I should"). She expresses hesitations, which constitute another positioning regarding

activism, a position of doubt, or maybe even something that could be called an *a-position* or a suspension of the positioning.

However, bringing on the same plane different positions also implies some difficulties and limits. There is notably the risk to erase the specificities of different types of positions and positionings. For instance, a position evoked by Marilou with the words “maybe I should become more activist” does certainly not play the same role in her orientation system than the self-labelling as vegetarian over ten years. However, as the present analysis aims at providing an overview for each participant, introducing a more detailed discussion and analysis of different positions seems complicated or even detrimental as it would introduce too many details and we would lose the overview. Chapters eight and nine of the analysis will be the occasion to dive more deeply in some of the distinctions between different positions and positionings and to examine the way they articulate with each other.

A second limitation – that I will also address in the next chapters of the thesis – is the difficulty to combine “time and space” during the analysis. In the present “mapping” of the landscape and the positions, the processual dimension tends to be underrepresented. Indeed, it appears as very complicated to draw a precise and more or less complete representation of the landscape, while at the same time presenting the evolution of each of the regions of the landscape and, in addition to that, identifying potential past themes that might have disappeared. This is related both to methodological (and thus data) limitations and a specific focus during the analysis process. The time dimension might also have a somewhat distorting effect on the depiction of the person’s landscape. Indeed, something that is not very present in the interview, and is thus not identified as an important part of the landscape, might simply be considered by the interviewee as too obvious, taken-for-granted to be talked about much (as the buildings we pass in front every day and do not see any more). On the other hand, more time is dedicated to new elements or changing elements, because they still need to be integrated and made familiar. The analysis of trajectories in the next chapter aims at reintroducing a stronger consideration of the time dimension.

Nevertheless, I argue that the fact that positioning and landscape are very broad analytical concepts is also an advantage in the study of movements around veg*ism. Indeed, they are sufficiently open to address dynamics around unclear categories such as vegetarian, flexitarian or vegan without artificially reducing the fuzziness around these words, and without imposing definitions that are not those of the participants themselves. In particular, as the landscape is considered as subjectively experienced and at the same time socially negotiated and shared, it allows to describe the way individuals appropriate (for instance Laura), reject (for instance Alexandre), negotiate and question (for instance Lisa and Léa) socially shared notions such as “vegetarian”, and more broadly social discourses about meat, animals or health.

Moreover, the notion of positioning allows to describe the way a veg*an foodway develops in a way that takes into account the co-construction between the person and the environment, their dynamic interdependency. While the discursive tradition also highlights the importance of the broader context (in Benson's work, in particular through the notion of landscape) and of interpersonal interactions (in which positions are negotiated and attributed), the dialogical tradition allows to go slightly further, as it leads also to identify the way each person's positioning and voice are "made of" (more or less generalized) others's voices and are always constructed in a relational manner. When Gaël explains how he was pushed to learn about nutrition by the reaction of his interlocutors when he would present himself as vegetarian (see p. 210), he nicely illustrates this co-construction of the positioning. That others "provoke" positioning not only through what they say but also what they could say is also visible in several places, for instance when Léa expresses that she would not like to be perceived as an activist (see p. 218). At the same time, these are places where the importance of socio-culturally shared discourses and representations also becomes quite clear, as they participate to shape the content of what is said and perceived, and thus the unfolding of the interaction (for instance here the fact that people quite systematically ask Gaël about nutritional aspects or that Léa relates vegetarianism to a negative image of activism). However, more globally, the societal debates and discourses also constitute voices and display perspectives with which people interact, that they possibly reject, integrate, modify and use further to elaborate their positioning. While it is a challenge for the researcher to find a balance at several levels, in particular (1) between highlighting the role of the environment/the others and the way the person positions in a unique and dynamic way; (2) between highlighting who is speaking to whom and underlining what is the content or object of this voice (in other words what perspective is voiced); (3) but also to find a good degree of interpretation, which requires to go beyond what is explicitly said in the data but not to overinterpret (see also Grossen, 2010), the notion of positioning has the analytical potential to capture this co-construction between the person and her or his environment, and the dialogical approach in particular allows to address this issue without falling into a too important dichotomy.

Finally, the notion of positioning and the way it articulates emotions and thinking in the broader process of meaning making might also provide an interesting understanding of not strictly vegetarian behavior. Indeed, not strict vegetarianism is often interpreted as weakness, a kind of incompetence to be a real vegetarian. This interpretation relies on an opposition between a will to be vegetarian (rational or at least voluntary) and a moment of giving in to the pleasure to eat meat (thus something more emotional and uncontrolled). This is, for instance, reflected in Aurélia's discourse when she mentioned that she failed in her attempts to become vegetarian because she likes the taste of meat too much (see p. 204). However, this opposition cannot account for the complexities of the relations

between emotions, thinking, meat consumption and vegetarianism. It underplays the emotional dimension of vegetarianism as well as a possibly rational discourse defending the pleasure to eat meat. The reading of this situation through positioning allows a more nuanced picture, that is not anchored in the opposition between emotions/feelings and rationality. It allows to see that the different positions are anchored in different ways of making meaning, and that all of them might include some emotional tone and some rationality.

B. Positioning beyond interhuman interactions

The notion of positioning was traditionally (in psychology) centered on human beings and/or institutions. Harré and his colleagues look at discursive positioning in interactions, where rights and duties are negotiated between human beings. Dialogical approaches also are very centered on human beings and interactions between them. Internal I-positions are positions of a person, while others refer often to humans or to discourses conveyed by institutions notably when speaking about generalized others, but merely these are “human-originated” voices, sometimes condensed or mediated (by cultural resources), or maybe sometimes “divine-originated” voices. Gillespie and Martin’s approach as well is very focused on (more or less institutionalized) interactions among human beings. However, a more inclusive conception of dialogue and thus of positioning is possible, as suggested by Last’s reading of Bakhtin (Last, 2013). I suggest that, in order to understand people’s positioning as veg*ans, it is not only useful but essential to take into account what Latour (2005) calls non human actors, and not only as mediators or as tools but also as entities that change, interact, follow to some extent their own laws and thus resist to what we – as human beings – would like them to be or do. The nature of those actors, what actors should be included in the study and what are their relations cannot be taken for granted or entirely decided in advance by the researcher; identifying them and describing them is part of the research process (Latour, 2005; Schraube, 2013). Moreover, Schraube (2013) advises to start from the person’s perspective in order to identify the other socio-material actors. Thus, in what follows, I present several categories of actors that I identified as playing a role in the positioning and discuss the relation between the participants’ positioning and these actors (see also Figure 12). I draw mainly on the analyses of the previous pages, but also to some extent more generally on what I presented about the current situation in chapter three.

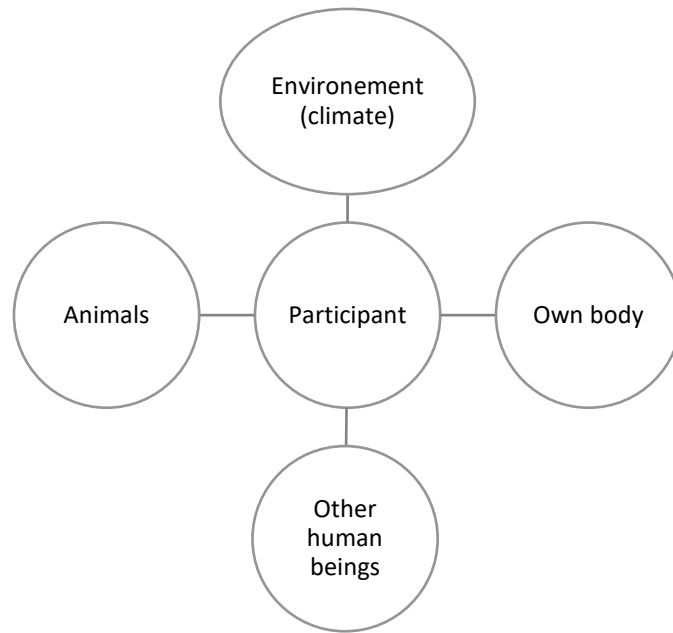


Figure 12 Main categories of actors playing a role in the positioning

On a broader socio-cultural level, human beings' position is currently questioned and challenged by climate change. Clearly, the manifestations of climate change such as typhoons, hotter and dryer summers or rise of sea levels deeply impact human activities and notably food production. The planet as a complex ecological system resists to the way we¹¹⁸ treat it, to what we would like it to be and to our attempts to understand it. In the debates around climate change, many voices point towards the need of a redefinition of the relation between the human and environment/nature/universe (see for instance Bourg, Roch, & Bastaire, 2010; Grinevald, 1966). In other words, they call for a repositioning of humans in relation to or inside of their environment. These discourses are oriented toward a very general level (humanity in general or people living in WEIRD countries). However, on an individual level, people also need to reposition in space-time (Piguet & Laczko, 2014), face the necessity of changing their practices and thus of acquiring new knowledge, which also questions their identity and thus their socio-discursive and moral positioning. For instance, a fisherman who must stop his activities because there are no fishes anymore might, at the same time, lose an important source of food, his main income, his social status in his community, his status as the man of the family (who brings the income). This is however an extreme example and at the time of this study, the effects of climate

¹¹⁸ A detailed discussion of who exactly is included in this "we" goes beyond this thesis. It seems established now that all human beings are already or will be affected by the effects of climate change, however in highly unequal ways. The responsibility for climate change is also unequally distributed, as some lifestyles and some systems of production are much less sustainable than others. Some authors propose the word "capitalocène" rather than the "anthropocène" proposed by Latour, in order to highlight these inequalities as well as their political and economic foundations (Moore, 2017).

change are not yet that strong in the Swiss context. For my participants, those changes are merely related through medias or other sources of information (see, for instance, Aline's case, who read information about the water consumption in meat production published on social medias). However, for some participants (in particular Aline, but Alexandre also reports adapting his habits depending on his environmental impact), this information is taken into account in the development of their foodway and leads to change practices. In other words, the environmental issues are occupying a certain place in the landscape and these participants position themselves towards these issues through their food habits (socio-material positioning) and their discourses – stating something like *environmental issues are important* (moral positioning), *I position myself as a person aware of these issues* (socio-discursive positioning) and *acting accordingly*. As underlined in the presentation of the results of the thematic analysis, this is however not an important part of the landscape for the majority of the participants. Nevertheless, I make the hypothesis that it becomes more and more important in the societal debates and thus in the subjective landscape of many individuals, notably because of the current climate strike movement, but also because the effects of climate change start to be visible and, more generally, perceptible also in the Swiss context¹¹⁹.

Animals constitute another category that plays a role in the participants' positioning. To that extent, debates around animal ethics can be understood as a negotiation of positions of humans regarding animals. For instance, when partisans of animal liberation claim for the animals right to live and thus for the human duty to respect this life and not to exploit and kill animals, this is a positioning process as defined by Davies and Harré (1990). These debates are however taking place in inter-human relations, sometimes including institutions (for instance when new laws are established). In this case, animals are merely the objects of the debates and sometimes they are introduced notably through pictures in argumentative process, but always by human beings in order to convince other human beings. This is the case in many parts of the interviews, where animals are mentioned by the participants to explain me their foodway. To that extent, we stay on an approach essentially focused on human social relations, denounced by the socio-material approach (M. Jones, 2013; Latour, 2005; Leonardi, 2013). But this is overseeing the resistance of animals to what we would like them to be or to do, and thus their actor status. For instance, through their behavior, diseases, screaming, animals resist to what is imposed to them in the production process, a process that aims at objectifying them (Porcher, 2003, 2011). Aline reports an episode during which she saw pigs that had to enter a van. She expresses that the animals were forced through electrical shocks to enter, which lets us guess that

¹¹⁹ The perception of these changes are of course mediated by discourses, for instance by experts who assess the average temperature during a summer – directly experienced as hot by the individuals – as an effect of climate change.

they were at least partly resisting to it. As Aline describes that there is not enough space, one can imagine that the animals express their discomfort and try to escape to that situation. This situation deeply affects Aline (who was vegetarian at that time) and reinforces her vegetarian commitment. Thus, in this case, the animals are really the main element towards which Aline positions herself (let us note that she could position herself in disagreement with the person or people working with the pigs, but she does not mention them). This example is particularly strong and explicit as it concerns an episode in which the person and the animals were *in presentia*. However, for several other participants (Lisa, Aurelia, Laura), the representation of the animal or of animals in general had an important impact on the trajectory. To that extent, they can be considered as actors in a Latourian sense, although they act on people in a mediated way (through images or descriptions).

Other human beings of course also appear as others/actors in the positioning. I won't go into details here as the point of this section is to examine non human actors. However, as they are important actors in the process, ignoring them completely would be misleading. As can be expected based on dialogical approaches, human others appear under different forms, and notably *in presentia*, *in absentia*, more or less generalized, and in relation to different aspects of the positioning (valuing or devaluing what I do/say, providing information, providing meanings, providing opportunities to act in certain ways or to get some objects.) The positioning analysis performed here actually works on a double triangle (at least): it is very often the narration of a past positioning process (for example, when participants speak about what triggered the change in foodway) or reports a more general positioning (lasting in time, for instance, when Marilou states that she is vegetarian for many years), a process during which different others appear more or less explicitly. At the same time, I – as a researcher interested in vegetarianism and a “not strict vegetarian” – am always present as an other to whom the narration is addressed and towards which they position themselves. Michel, for instance, produces a discourse in which he (also) clearly positions himself as an experienced expert in the field of medicine, nutrition and health. This type of discourse is of course partly the product of a social situation in which he speaks to me – a person that is much younger than him, has no professional background in medicine, has a much more recent interest in vegetarianism than he has, and is a woman. Thus each of the two triangles includes the person's positioning, the other, and the object (of discussion or reflection).

Food itself becomes a trigger for positioning when preparing and sharing a meal. Alexandre for example reports that his brother's friends laughed at him when he ate “only” salad during a barbecue. In this situation, the salad triggers the positioning of the people involved. What comes on the table and in the plate also triggers positioning processes (marked by uncertainties, hesitation and guilt) for Léa when her parents serve meat despite the fact that she announced being vegetarian. In these

examples, the object (salad or meat) are clearly triggers of positioning. The meat on the table “calls” Lisa for either affirming her vegetarian foodway or silencing this voice (at least for a while). The notion of socio-materiality is however probably more appropriate here than materiality in order to describe the participation of the food in the positioning process, as interhuman social relations (between Alexandre and his brother’s friends; between Lisa and her parents) and materialities are produced together and produce each other (see Law & Mol, 1995). Moreover, foods also to some extent constrain and resist to the participants positioning. For example, there is a tension between Alexandre’s wish to consume local food (for health and environmental reasons ; thus positioning himself as a healthy eater and responsible consumer), his wish to consume certain foods for their nutritional properties (we already see here the entanglement between material properties of the food in question and Alexandre’s positioning as a person taking care of his health) and the fact that these foods (in this case oranges) are not produced locally because of their material needs for growing. While Iannaccone shows how:

“ the dissonances between the ‘learner’s internal’ project of wanting to realize something and the ‘external’ difficulties or resistances presented by the ‘material’ tasks that must be realized can become real occasions for learning and questioning the individual and collaborative organization” ¹²⁰ (Iannaccone, 2017, p. 113).

I suggest that in a similar way, in this case, we can observe dissonances between the imagined project (a positioning that seems to work well in the person’s intrapersonal dialogue) and the resistance of socio-materiality – the meat that is still served during family meals, the oranges that do not grow locally – dissonances that question the person’s positioning and that may lead to a reorganization and to learning.

Finally, another potentially important partner in dialogue is the body. This might be considered as a specific type of intrapersonal dialogue on which the positioning is elaborated and in which it is expressed. Benson (2001) and Gillespie and Martin (2014) argue for a socio-material perspective on positioning, highlighting notably the importance of embodiment in human experience and development. However, they do not specifically pay attention to the body or one part of the body as something one can dialogue with. In my data, this is notably the case for those participants for whom health is important. Paying attention to the body’s performance, feelings, pains becomes a way to test

¹²⁰ Original quotation in French : « les dissonances entre le projet « interne à l’apprenant” de vouloir réaliser quelque chose et les difficultés ou résistances “externes” posées par les tâches « matérielles » à réaliser peuvent devenir de véritables occasions d’apprentissage et de remise en question de l’organisation individuelle et collaborative »

one's choices of foodways. Some biological or chemical states or processes of the body might also be tested medically, in other words the relation to the body might be mediated by medical instruments and specialists. For instance, one can observe a conflict between Alexandre's knowledge and position of expert in nutrition and health on one hand, and the injury at the ankle that he is unable to cure, and that kind of invalidates his positioning. Another example comes from Marilou's interview, when she reports feeling very bad (almost passing out) once she ate meat by mistake a few years after becoming vegetarian. She uses this story to demonstrate that her body became more sensitive and thus rejects meat, considered as toxic. Thus, her body reaction to meat acts as supportive of her positioning valuing a strictly vegetarian diet and her perspective on meat as something toxic.

I see now a terminological issue. Are these "elements" that take part in the positioning process actors or others? These two notions raise a series of question regarding the properties of the different parties in dialogue, as well as regarding the way to categorize them. I suggest that they are both, depending on which aspect one wants to underline. The word "other" (as used in dialogical approaches) emphasizes the strangeness (what is alien to me) of the entities we interact with (Last, 2013). The notion of actors (with reference to Latour's ANT; see Latour, 2005) highlights the active dimension of each of them, and is an attempt to resist to a view that would *a priori* consider non humans as passive. In addition to that, there is, in the actor network theory, the attempt to consider all actors independently from the issue of intentionality, as a reaction against a tradition of thinking that is too heavily centered on human. I suggest here that indeed, to the extent that all those entities play a role in the dialogue, they must be considered and included in the research, as parts of the landscape that constitute the person's reality. Moreover, those entities are not passive but have their own dynamics, resistances and affordances, which, as I underlined in the previous paragraphs, act upon humans. To use the navigation metaphor: the water, the wind and the properties of the boat (which are some of the most important components of the relevant landscape for the navigator) move according to physical laws, their specific properties and in interrelation to one another. Thus, one important contribution of socio-material approaches drawing on ANT is to highlight that the landscape in which the positioning happens is not a dead, inanimate, static or passive place. I would add, however, that positioning, as it implies an intentional move (goal-oriented), is restricted to some of these actors.

Moreover, all these entities might appear in the dialogue as more or less generalized others. When climate change or environmental impact of meat production are evoked without further specification (as it appears in many participants' discourse, see for instance Aurélia), it represents a quite general and abstract entity. When Aline refers to the number of liters of water that are used for producing a steak, it is already a more specific and concrete entity (pointing to a more general problem). I make the hypothesis that in the case of environmental issues it stays quite general because of the nature of

the issue. Mostly, this entity is *in absentia*, however when Alexandre mentions the pesticides used in the Seeland¹²¹, it is already a more proximal scale. Regarding animals, they are also mostly present in the dialogue as a general categorie (animals in slaughterhouses, animals in the industrial production) and as others *in absentia*. It is possible that in the documentaries mentioned by Léa and Aline, there was a focus on one or a few animals in particular (this is one of the strategies used in pro-veg* activism, a strategy of subjectification of the animal; see Manceron, 2012). In this case, the animal would be a more specific other, but still *in absentia*. Finally, when Aline and Marilou mention the sheep and cows they saw while having a walk, they encounter this time a specific group of animals *in presentia*.

Finally, this relation to the entities that are part of the landscape and with whom a certain form of dialogue might take place is of course always mediated, notably by the perspective the person has on the world and thus of the relations between him or herself and the others. This understanding thus plays also a fundamental role in the positioning. For instance, if the issue of animal ethics is first of all a problem related to productivity (Léa) and overconsumption (Aline), then the person is positioned by this system first of all as a consumer. He or she can than of course always to some extent negotiate that position and what he or she does from that “being positioned” – for instance stop buying meat, or find activities or strategies that allow to escape from the productivity/consumption logic. In relation to this, it is also noteworthy that many participants frame the question of PAO consumption as part of a broader issue or understanding of the world. Gaël for instance frames his anti-speciesist positioning as part of a broader communist/anarchist positioning, and explicitly states that it is not what he considers as the most important; Pierre spends a lot of time during the interview speaking about religious issues that do not have a clear relation with meat or even with food; and Laura also shows that environmental impact and health are issues that orient her food choices in general and not only in relation to PAO. This reminds us that although PAO consumption is at the center of this study, it is only one part – and maybe a rather small and peripheric part – of the person’s subjective landscape.

¹²¹ Region of Switzerland that is important for its agriculture.

CHAPTER SEVEN: THE TRAJECTORY: POSITIONING ON THE ONTOGENETIC SCALE

In this section, I will take a developmental angle of analysis that is, by definition, more anchored in the temporal dimension. As its aim is to uncover the qualitative details of the process, this kind of analysis requires to consider the unfolding of the change. Thus, I concentrated on three case studies, selected because of their diversity in terms of trajectory of food habits and also because the changes in food habits are experienced very differently in terms of ruptures/transitions. Firstly, I will focus on Aline's trajectory, because of the length of her engagement with vegetarianism (since childhood) and the high number of changes in her food habits over the years. Moreover, her story is particularly interesting because of the relation between changes in her life context and changes in her food habits. Secondly, Léa was selected because her engagement with vegetarianism is very recent and was particularly sudden. The friend who put me in contact with her stated that this change was very surprising. Among all the participants, she is the one who has the "clearest" trajectory in terms of food habits related to meat consumption. Finally, Lisa has an "intermediary" length of engagement with vegetarianism, as the first change took place five years ago, when she was already adult. Like Aline, the changes in foodway happened in relation with changes in life context, however, in the way she experiences the rupture/transitions, she seems to be closer to Léa. Thus, although all of them are among the younger participants to the study (all of them are younger than 40), they have very different trajectories regarding vegetarianism.

The question I address is the following: how does positioning evolve over the person's food trajectory? Within the precedent section of the analysis, I highlighted the way in which each participant has a positioning that is more or less clearly defined, coherent or hesitating, but which is always taking place in the socio-cultural landscape she or he lives in. At the same time, although the socio-cultural environment is shared to a large extent, each positioning is unique and the way the landscape is perceived and lived through is particular. However, although I integrated a few elements about each person's story, these subjective landscapes and positions are like a picture of the person at the moment of the interview that does not really offer a comprehensive and deep understanding of the ontogenetic construction of the positions. It is the aim of this chapter to dive deeper into the temporal dimension, in order to understand how exactly positions change, are questioned, emerge, are stabilized or not, always in this co-constructive interaction between the person and her landscape.

1. ALINE: CHANGE IN RELATION TO THE ENVIRONMENT

Aline's story was already presented in the previous chapter (see p. 200). I will therefore only provide a little reminder, linked to a schematic representation (Figure 13) that figures her food habits trajectory in the form of an approximate timeline. We will observe that in her case, changes in the foodway go along with changes in the social and geographical environment.

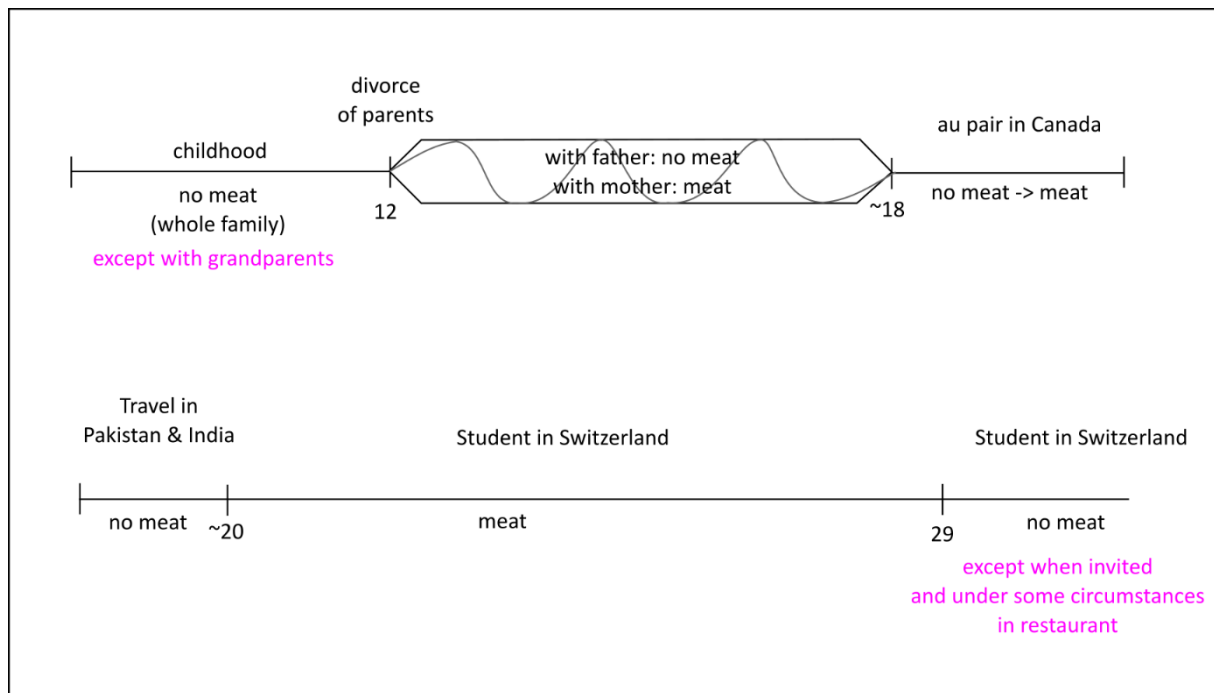


Figure 13 Aline's trajectory of foodway¹²²

During childhood, home is related to strictly vegetarian diet¹²³, while occasional meat consumption (cordon-bleus) happens at the grandparents' place. At the same time, her foodway is different from that of the majority (in Switzerland), but it is not even sure that she was aware of that. She insists a lot that to them (her brother, her sister and her), it was just the normal way to eat.

Extract 3.1.1: Aline, narrative interview

A: in fact it has always been very normal and well we know: my father with his work-related stories well he told us a little bit, why he did that, but then well it was never a problem really never never never and- again as I believe in my family we like yes meat but we are not really fans, well it was never a problem

¹²² Presented at the ISCAR conference 2017, University of Laval, Québec city.

¹²³ Or, to be more precise and as already mentioned in chapter six, it is actually a pescetarian diet, but Aline uses the word vegetarian, which I kept here.

During the few seconds of this extract, she emphasizes how normal it was (to have a vegetarian diet) and insists by mentioning it twice, that it was never a problem. Moreover, the few friends she remembers with whom she sometimes ate seem also to grow up in vegetarian families. Thus, three positionings – I as a vegetarian, I as a child in a vegetarian family and I as a friend in a vegetarian social environment - seem to cohabite in a quite harmonious way. In terms of ruptures and transition, perceiving something as normal corresponds to take it for granted, which characterizes periods of relative stability in the trajectory (vs rupture/transitions). After her parents' divorce, meat consumption becomes regular at the mother's place, while with the father the vegetarian regime continues. As it was the case with eating at home vs eating at the grandparents' place, different places and interpersonal relations are related with different diets. In this case, the social position as a daughter determines the diet. Although there is a clear change in terms of food habits, and the meat consumption becomes much more frequent, there is no report of feelings that would characterize a rupture related to this change in food habits.

Extract 3.1.2: Aline, narrative interview

F: and so when they divorced and you started to eat meat at your mother's place but not at your father's, do you remember whether this made you ask yourself questions about why meat here and why not there, or it just continued normally

A: yeah in fact, it continu- (2) yeah in fact really I mean my father, we know at his place one doesn't eat meat, in fact it's really not the same. [...] and then, at my mother's place, yes we ate some, that changed but after, there are many other things that also changed, because she started to work, (incomp.) I mean you see it was also a lot of pre-cooked meals: etc so (2) there are many other things that changed, that were much more shocking for us than the change in food. I think. At that time.

There might of course also be a methodological issue related to the question of distance in time between these events and the interview, and the end of this extract ("I think. At that time.") invites to prudence in the interpretation. Nevertheless, there is no indication that would justify the interpretation that it was a rupture. She reports that during this period, she alternatively considered herself as vegetarian and as non vegetarian. A few years later, she will change completely the environment she lives in when moving for one year to Canada to work as an au pair.

Extract 3.1.2: Aline, narrative interview

A: well I spent one year in Canada there I ate meat, at the beginning I didn't eat meat, I remember (.) and then: I started to eat meat because there, I think that they make everything with meat ((laughing))

F: ah yeah ?

A: yeah : well in my family at least I was au pair they : they ate a lot and this I also started to eat,

It is interesting to notice here, that at the beginning of her stay, she did not eat meat, but will start to consume it while her host family consumes a lot of meat. This means (and it seems to be the first time) that there was during a certain period a discrepancy between her foodway and the foodway of the people with whom she shares the daily life (and meals), and obviously also with the foodway of the majority of people (in Canada). However, this discrepancy will not last, and she will align her socio-material position on the one of the people she lives with. We can make the hypothesis that the difference in socio-material positioning was experienced as a tension. After Canada, she also spends six months in Pakistan and India.

Extract 3.1.3: Aline, narrative interview

A: then I was in Pakistan and in India and there actually (.) you don't eat meat, then it was for 6 months, well there is little because it's also very expensive and, in India there are quite a lot of vegetarians well the cuisine is quite vegetarian, so I ate meat extremely rarely,

In this case, she seems to adapt her diet totally to the local habits, with very few episodes of meat consumption. Later she will add that, in these countries, meat is consumed on celebrations. What is new here (at least in her way of narrating it) is that she does not refer to any closer group of people with whom she would share her daily meals, but only refers to the national habits. In that sense, there is a kind of growth in the environment that is relevant to her foodway. When she comes back to Switzerland, she starts to eat meat regularly again, as the majority of people does in this country and as the boyfriend with whom she lives at that time does. It is in this context and in this environment that the last noteworthy change in her foodway happens (except that she is now married and that her partner is not the same person anymore; however, her husband also eats meat).

While she continues to live in the same place and with the same person, she decides to become vegetarian again, or at least to strongly reduce her consumption of meat. As a reminder (again, see chapter six, p. 200), it is the reading of a post on social networks about the amount of water necessary to produce a steak that acts as a trigger for that change.

Extract 3.1.4: Aline, narrative interview

A: and they put: two or three: facts: facts related specifically to consumption from an ecological perspective,

F: yeah

A: and (incomp) I know well I already knew but in fact it's when seeing that that I thought yes but it's really- it's really stupid you see

F: mhm

A: And moreover we are students: with uh my husband and : thus we don't have a lot of money
(.) basically what we were buying all the time was- was chicken and the conditions are not but
already well we eat meat but it's never steaks, we never: eat this kind of things because we
don't have the means, uhm: (.) then well it's at that moment that I told myself, .h (.) for what
we eat well we can absolutely replace it and it's stupid to eat meat in these conditions well (.)

What we see in this extract is that the meaning of meat consumption changes and becomes tainted negatively. According to her, there is nothing new to her in this information. In other words, there is no new element in her landscape, however her positioning towards meat consumption radically changes as the perspective on meat consumption changes (or even better: the dominant perspective among several possible perspectives changes). This change could be interpreted as the internalization (personal meaning) of a sense that is socially shared (on social medias) about an object (Zittoun, 2008a). In other words, the voice conveyed by social media will receive a more important place in her intrapersonal dialogue, important enough for her to change her socio-material and socio-discursive positioning. This can be related to the importance of emotions as a compass in the navigation process pointed by Benson (2001). Interestingly, it is the first time in her trajectory that the changes in foodway does not happen together with a change in social and spatial environment, but is triggered by an information related to the environmental consequences of meat consumption. In that sense, the geographical scale of what is relevant to her – what becomes part of her subjective landscape and plays a role in her intrapersonal dialogue – changes from a more proximal to a more distal one.

What allows her that move? Here I can provide only hypotheses. A first aspect that might play a role is her trajectory through different settings in which she experiences that meat consumption can be more or less important (in terms of amounts – from not at all to everyday) and have different meanings (not interesting in her family, a component of the meal that can be very diversified and prepared in sophisticated manner in her ex-boyfriend's family, a meal for celebrations in Pakistan,...). In other words, in her trajectory she encountered many perspectives and went through a variety of positions regarding meat consumption (as a daughter, as a friend, as a girlfriend, as an au pair, as a tourist/guest, as a user of social media,...). This is certainly a ground for not considering meat consumption as taken-for-granted. Thus, if any of the forms of meat consumption (or non-consumption) can not be taken-for-granted, then she should have the space for positioning herself not according to what should be because it is taken-for-granted in a particular social environment, but based on other reasons.

Also, and maybe more fundamental for my argument in this thesis, Aline is taking a more active stance. In previous changes, the context was the leading element of the change in foodway, and Aline was mostly adopting the foodway that was habitual in her (more or less close) environment. The last

change on the opposite is a way to position herself not as a participant in the dominant way of doing. Her positioning is anchored in the belief that her choice as a consumer matters, because the products she decides to buy or not to buy do have an ecological impact. This can be related to the “vote with your fork” discourse evoked in chapter three. In other words, her last positioning is anchored in a form of intentionality and in a representation of her power to act that seems to be absent or less fundamental in the previous ones. In short, three points seems to characterize her recent (re)positioning: a shift in the meaning of meat (mainly on the emotional dimension), the scale that is part of the subjective landscape, the fact that she takes an active stance. However and to nuance the distinction with the previous changes, these three points can all be related to current discourses existing in Aline’s socio-cultural environment and that can be formulated in the following way: meat is bad for the environment, climate change requires to shift towards a global approach of our ecological impact, the consumer can influence the market through the choice of products. I argue nevertheless that there is still a difference in this more recent repositioning which is that it takes place in a field of debates of which Aline is aware and in which she positions herself, while the other changes seem rather to be the result of following the socio-material positioning of the people in her environment.

In terms of ruptures and transitions, there are no reasons, based on the interview, to state that the earlier changes in food habits were experienced as ruptures by Aline. As already mentioned, this might be a methodological effect. However, in relation to the contextual changes highlighted in her trajectory, I also make the hypothesis that the fact that she followed what seemed to be taken-for-granted in the particular context she was living in was probably an important support in overcoming very quickly the possible small uncertainty experienced with the change. Another hypothesis, related to what she says concerning her parents’ divorce and that there were many other changes that probably were more disconcerting, is that this “not centrality” of meat related issues probably also concerns the other changes reported. Moreover, as this vegetarian diet was just the normal diet of the family when she grew up, and exceptions were never a problem, she probably did not really construct a strong vegetarian identity that would have been put at stake during the different changes. It might rather have been like someone eating only few root vegetables in her family while growing up, and then experiencing different contexts where root vegetables were much more used.

Concerning the last change, although it seems not linked with an important feeling of uncertainty, it is clearly the case that the taken-for-granted meat consumption that she shared “in action” (thus as a socio-material positioning) over the last few years in the context she lives in now (with her husband and, more globally, in the “meat-eating-Switzerland”) is questioned. Through her activity as an eater and a consumer, she goes against that taken-for-granted consumption. However, as I said before, through her trajectory, she probably already integrated the relativity of meat consumption. Thus,

although on the socio-material plane she shared the local “taken-for-granted” meat consumption over the last years, her personal perception regarding this taken-for-granted/relative meat consumption is very probably different. However, several times during the interview, it seems that she is confronted with uncertainty and a feeling of helplessness regarding environmental change and socio-economical phenomena (overconsumption, the limits of labels in a capitalist system). Thus, there might be a form of rupture regarding these issues. In terms of transition processes, there is a movement of socio-discursive repositioning as she now calls herself vegetarian, however, the identity of “vegetarian” is not in itself new to her, neither is the idea that you can shift from a vegetarian diet to meat consumption depending on context, as she currently does (eating meat at the restaurant or when invited). There is also a change in meaning-making, as I noticed above, around the consumption of meat that becomes “too stupid”. This change equates with the adoption of a different perspective on meat. In addition to that, the interpretation of meat consumption she makes in terms of overconsumption (see chapter six, p. 202) is also to a large extent a meaning-making process, which relies however as well on learning processes (she had a course on economy at University). Regarding the change towards vegetarianism itself, however, there seem to be no important learning processes involved. Thus, this is quite an “intermediary” situation where I hesitate to speak about a rupture/transition process. Some dynamics of a transitions are indeed there, but it is in any case a very gentle transition, as Aline has a lot of experience and knowledge that help her to handle this change towards a vegetarian diet.

2. LÉA: STUCK IN THE TRANSITION?

While Aline’s transition was rather smooth, engaging almost no uncertainty, Léa is in a rather opposite situation. Her “story” of her relation to vegetarianism is also much shorter. As a reminder (see chapter six, p. 215 for more details), Léa is a student, 25 years old. She lives with her boyfriend, who eats meat. She used to eat meat regularly until six months before the interview, when she saw a documentary on meat and milk industry, which acted as a trigger for change. Since then, she tries to avoid meat without however refusing it in all situations, and she continues to eat fish. Thus, as in Aline’s case, we can observe that it is the encounter with a specific discourse highlighting the problematic dimensions of meat production, and thus voicing a certain perspective on meat, that leads to a repositioning. In terms of food habits related to PAO, her trajectory of food habits is therefore quite simple, as depicted in Figure 14.

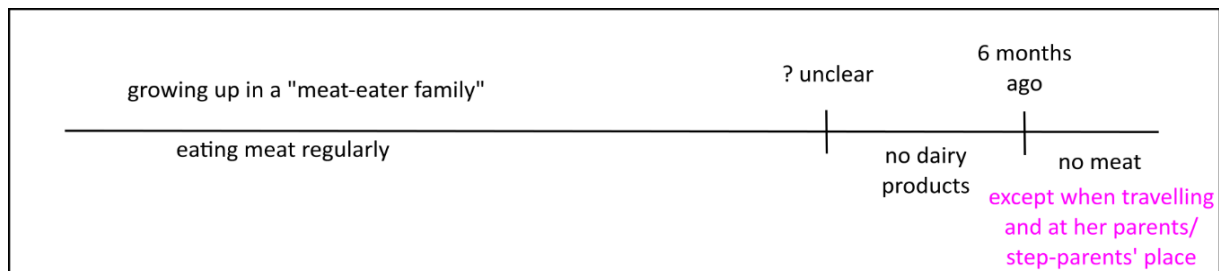


Figure 14 Léa's trajectory of foodway

She starts the narrative interview by presenting herself as coming from a meat-eaters family, which she explains by the nationality of her mother.

Extract 3.2.1: Léa, narrative interview

L: so I come from a meat-eating, family. (.) but really. (.) uh my mother I believe that : she thinks that a meal without meat it's not normal. (.) it's: she's South American, : Uruguayan, : meat it's well it's always on the table, I mean (.)

Doing so, she sets the frame of her trajectory and brings to the center the I as a daughter position. What we can imagine is both to what extent meat has been an important part of her own food habits, as something "natural" that must be a part of any meal, and how difficult and complicated it can be to become a vegetarian in such a context. At the same time, she presents eating meat as characterizing a certain group: the South Americans and, more specifically, the Uruguayan. Thus, she directly puts to the foreground the identity dimension of meat consumption (I as a member of a meat-eater family and daughter of a South American woman) which is implicitly in tension with the I as a vegetarian. She even gives voice to the perspective of the mother for whom "a meal without meat it's not normal", which clearly represents a perspective from which Léa takes distance.

Concerning the cessation of dairy products consumption, she only mentions it when I ask about the existence of some organizational issues, in order to let me know that she tends to forget to buy milk for her boyfriend. I then ask a bit more about that change, an exchange presented in the following extract.

Extract 3.2.2: Léa, narrative interview

F: but milk so it's also these lasts months that
 L: no that's for a longer time. (.) but it still happened quite suddenly, (2) but uh:: it's funny (.) because my mother it did exactly the same thing to her, well from one day to the other (3) not possible any more what
 F: and you noticed that the digestion
 L: yeah (.) but so this I had to stop
 F: yeah (.) so there it was not really a choice

L: no

F: it was more your body

L: yeah (.) but: uh I don't miss it I really don't miss it. (.) because it's also my body that rejects it so finally I think that I don't want to: psychologically it followed. There is no (incomp.) well for fondue yes because I still take medication in order to be able to eat from time to time

This change in the food habits is presented as easy, smooth, "logical". Interestingly, the "limit" imposed by the body is accepted as non-negotiable, it is a fact that can be countered sometimes through the use of medicine, but is otherwise taken as a reality to which one (in the behavior and the "psyche" – "*psychologically it followed*") has to adapt. The only difficulty she mentions somewhere else in the interview concerns the fact that she still likes milk. There is no trace of questioning this positioning, the exceptions (eating fondue) is not presented as problematic or dilemmatic. This contrasts strongly with the change toward a (mostly) meatless diet that is at the core of the interview. Thus, it seems that there is a tension between an / as someone who likes meat/member of a meat eater family and an / as vegetarian for ethical reason, that makes the socio-material positioning difficult (I will come back on this difficulty later). On the opposite, there seems to be no experience of tension between different positionings related to dairy products consumption, as it seems that the danger for health and the experience of disgust came together (excepted for fondue, where to possible tension is solved by the use of medication).

Regarding meat consumption, the element that she presents as the trigger of the change is the viewing of a documentary on meat and milk production that she found on the internet.

Extract 3.2.3: Léa, narrative interview

L: when I saw this: this report I was: I was really disgusted I even think that it made my stomach turn and it was about all what is animal it was about milk uh cows chicken uh but I could not give you the name anymore, (.) the name of the report, I'm sorry but (.) but uhm: it's true that it's something that (.) uh(.) it didn't open my eyes, because I think yes. I knew but. But yes. It was the trigger

In a similar way than in Aline's case, there is a change in the meaning of meat that cannot be reduced to information (as she states that she already knew). Again, the emotional dimension seems to play a decisive role as the disgust is the first aspect she mentions when speaking about the documentary. Her explanation about her reasons not to consume meat anymore allow to go a bit further in the understanding of this change of meaning.

Extract 3.2.4: Léa, narrative interview (partly overlapping with extract 2.6.2)

L: what bothers me in fact is uh (.) it- it's mainly uh the way animals are treated, (.) let's say, uhm: (.) it's the fact of producing meat like plastic in fact it's like one would produce uh shoes or t-shirts or whatever uh: so uh there is this whole production line that come back uh as profitable as possible, (.) and (that's) still uh living beings, (it's that mix/that's what bothers me) I have difficulties, (.) it's a bit that that (had an effect on) me, so I think that everyone knows (.) but really to see these images it uh (.) it really shocked me, it made me yeah think about it, (.)

In this extract, Léa presents meat as the result of a production system of transformation of animals, therefore an entity that comes from a living being. Actually, in this extract she seems to use “meat”, “animals” and “living organisms” without establishing differences between them. This meaning contrast with the meat as an object for the system of production, which is treated in the same way as any other (non-living) object. However, it also contrasts with the meat as representative of a shared culture, of a group identity. Maybe this first meaning (in temporality) could be compatible with the idea of meat as a transformed living organism, or with the idea of meat as a product equivalent to any other product. However, the tension between both seems unbearable to Léa and, thus, questions the taken-for-granted nature of meat consumption. In other words, there are here different perspectives on meat that seem incompatible and that imply different socio-material positionings. Moreover, this tension is strong enough to put at stake the role of meat in the identity construction. It is that undermining of the taken-for-granted meanings and practices around meat that constitutes the rupture in Léa's trajectory. In other words, this rupture was triggered by the encounter with a voice on the interpersonal level mediated by a documentary, which reinforced the strenght of this perspective (*meat is problematic because of its implications for animals*) in Léa's intrapersonal dialogue sufficiently to question her previous socio-material and moral positioning (considering meat consumption as acceptable). Thus, the trigger of the rupture is situated mainly on the “meaning” top of the transition triangle, and the meaning making processes continue after this initial rupture. Firstly, this meaning-making concerns the documentary itself.

Extract 3.2.5: Léa, narrative interview

L: finally am I obliged to watch television in order to realize things, or should I rather go and observe by myself, from time to time dive into it myself (incomp.) that's what bothers me a little bit in the reports. (.) it's that still, well it's guided. You are brought uh: (.) well (.) yes we are critical but it's still someone who constructed it or whatever. And uh: it's a bit that that bothers me.

In this extract, we can see that she constructs a distance with the content and the message of the documentary, by referring to the construction process that crafted it as well as to the intentionality of its author. Doing so, she does not simply produce a ventriloquy of the discourse voiced by the documentary, but critically questions the content and intentions behind it, probably drawing on the tools and habits she developed as a student. This certainly participates to transform the feeling of disgust that the documentary initially triggered. However, she also links what she sees in the supermarkets to the documentary, as the way meat is presented in these places is the outcome of the process targeted by the documentary. In other words, the experience in the supermarket refrains this movement of distancing with the documentary.

Secondly, she is also engaged in meaning making of the meat industry and of her role in relation to that system. The reasons she gives to explain her change already illustrated this (see extract 3.2.4); however, she continues this elaboration in other parts of the interview, as in the following extract:

Extract 3.2.6: Léa, narrative interview

L: well still I think that we should know the things that we have around us, and (take into account) nature, (.) we are part of the things that we should respect more well I think. We are in: in systems of life, of consumption uh (.) that make that well things changed quite a lot,: and: things I mean it's quite good to know uh (.) to well I am still happy that I could see these images what. (.) well to become aware

In this extract, although her discourse is slightly confused or unprecise, we can observe that she extrapolates from the question of meat industry to the place of human beings in *nature*, in *systems of life*, and economic systems. Moreover, she also skims over the historicity of the current situation (*things changed quite a lot*), as well as the question of knowledge about these systems. It is unclear where and how she encountered these discourses and how she started to draw on them in order to elaborate her own positioning, however they can clearly be related to elements presented in chapter three. This meaning making of the system also includes some meaning making of her own role.

Extract 3.2.7: Léa, narrative interview (partly overlapping with extract 2.6.1)

L: I found it really really shocking, (.) and: I don't want to give money to these people, I don't want to: uh (2) yeah I don't want to spend my money like this.

Here, Léa conceptualizes herself mainly as a consumer, someone who gives money to some "people" in exchange of some products. This could reflect a conception of the consumer as the one who can "vote with his fork" (Gilson, 2014). There is an implicit contrast between the Léa of the past who gave her money (a past socio-material positioning), and the wish not to give money anymore (oriented toward the future and that also involves a moral positioning). Through this, the meaning making

process articulates with the identity construction (Zittoun, 2007), in the sense that the identity is also constructed through the definition of what I can (including morally) do or not (Benson, 2003). And, indeed, Léa is also engaged in a renegotiation of her identity, in a quite important and sometimes painful way.

Extract 3.2.8 : Léa, narrative interview

L: I have to say that I don't really consider myself to be a vegetarian because I still eat meat from time to time, (.) I don't buy anymore, (.) but uh: it's true that when: (.) well when I'm invited,: it's true that well I won't: I won't say ah no I don't eat meat, I'm vegetarian,: (.)

The difficulty in the identity construction might be explained through the definition of oneself as a certain kind of person who does certain kind of things and not others, as highlighted by Benson (2003) in his theorization of the boundaries of the self. There are different interrelated questions that appear simultaneously: how do I define myself (for myself)? How do I present myself (to different others)? What do I do (do I eat meat or not and do I buy it or not)? While the two first questions are mostly related to socio-discursive positioning, the third one is more related to socio-material positioning, and the moral positioning stays rather implicit although it is also very present (what should I do, what is better?). In this interview extract, that comes from the very beginning of the interview, Léa (1) makes a statement about how she considers herself (not vegetarian) and why (eating meat from time to time), but interestingly (2) she directly adds "I don't buy [meat] anymore" which is a way to position herself as different from the person who simply buys and eats meat, this time based on a definition of identity as what one does or does not do. And finally, she adds something about the way she presents herself to others (here, when she is invited), a more socio-discursive positioning. So, this first presentation of herself is clearly the one of a non-vegetarian, with a slight nuance (not *buying* meat anymore). It might be the case that this first positioning as non-vegetarian is to a certain extent related to the frame of the interview. She might have the expectation that as a doctoral researcher interested in vegetarianism, I must be interested in "real" (and thus strict) vegetarians, and thus positioning herself in this way would be a way to avoid misunderstandings. Her participation to the interview would nevertheless still be justified, given the nuance she introduces. However, we will see in the development of the interview that this positioning (as non-vegetarian who does not buy meat) is actually not that clear or not very stable. In the following extract, she continues her presentation/exploration of what she is and how she presents herself.

Extract 3.2.9: Léa, narrative interview (partly overlapping with extract 1.1.9)

L: I don't say that I'm vegetarian, (,) yeah I don't define myself as a vegetarian. (.) well I like meat now (.) frankly, uh: it's (.) it's a food with which I was nourished during my whole life, and that I like to eat really uh (.) and uh: (2) and uh well I simply don't buy any anymore, well (.)

but well even in the restaurant I don't order any anymore, (,) but uh vegetarian I would not say that. And also well I eat fish, (.) so there I don't know I don't know the definitions but I think (it doesn't fit with the definition) but uh: I also heard nice stories, about that, but uh; (3) but I don't know no I'm more sensitive to the cause of cows and : and uh well of mammals, but uh not seafood I could not do without on the other hand, (.) I eat some regularly, (.) but that is a food which- well it is the meat that replaced red meat let's say, (.) fish

F: fish?

L: yeah uh: (.) after that it's true that: I tell myself that (it makes up for) the fact that I don't eat meat anymore, (.) well I still eat eggs, (.) I don't know uh: I'm not a vegan [slightly despising tone of voice]uh (.) well I could not really say what I am. (.) but uh (.) but just no I don't want to buy meat. I don't want to participate in that: (.) in that process actually (.) in that (.) it's just uh that (.) uhm well, (.) I've already been speaking for 6 minutes so ((laughing))

In this extract, Léa is engaged in an attempt to identify “what” she is. She provides several reasons why she does not present or consider herself as a vegetarian (thus, why she does not position in that way on the socio-discursive level). Firstly, her taste for meat seems for her to be opposed to “vegetarian”. Secondly, the statement that she has been eating meat all her life indicates that she considers meat consumption as a part of her identity. Moreover, saying that she has been fed implicitly introduces a “by someone” which brings the group affiliation in. Thirdly, eating fish is also presented as opposed to vegetarianism. Moreover, what she also mentions in another part of the interview is that she does not want to be considered as an activist. So there seem to be lots of reasons for her not to consider or present herself as a vegetarian (and even less as a vegan), in other words there are lots of positions (I as a meat-liker, I as a member of a meat-eater family, I as a fish eater...) that are in tension with a possible I as a vegetarian. Moreover, we can observe how she draws on different perspectives regarding vegetarianism that circulate in her socio-cultural environment (does it include fish? does it imply activism?). However we can feel that to some extent she is not satisfied with the positioning as a non-vegetarian. Indeed, she mentions several times that she does not want to buy or order meat anymore, as a kind of counter weight to the discourse presenting her not as a vegetarian, and she expresses this feeling of *not knowing what she is*, how to define herself. We could make the hypothesis that this “not knowing” is related to the fact that there is no common way to define a “meat eater” in an equivalent way as the use of the term “vegetarian” (when you register for some event, it is actually very common to label the menu that is not vegetarian - or glutenfree or casher - “normal”; see the discussion about omnivore and carnist in sub-section “who are they?”, p. 99). However, the fact that she insists so much on the fact that she does not buy or order meat anymore invalidates this

hypothesis, as she clearly positions herself as different from the “normal” (average) eater. This will become even clearer later in the interview.

Finally, the way she closes that reflection also deserves some attention. She jumps very suddenly to the amount of time she is already speaking, without reaching a conclusion on “what she is”. This looks like a way to escape to the uncomfortable feeling of not knowing by simply changing the subject. However, this question will reappear several times in the interview, notably after she explained that she eats meat at her parents and grand-parents place, which is the following extract.

Extract 3.2.10: Léa, narrative interview

L: but actually what bothers me the most is exactly when uh when I don't take, (2) to have to define m- in fact to define myself as uh meat-eater or not meat-eater or not in fact. (.) and uh: (2) that's why I cannot answer the question of whether I'm vegetarian or not, I- in fact, (.) I don't know what people like me are called. ((laughing)) I cannot answer that ((laughing)) sorry that

Here it becomes very explicit that Léa's feeling of discomfort is related to the fact that she perceives herself as being in front of a binary alternative (meat-eater vs vegetarian), and that none of them corresponds to her acts and wishes. In other words, she cannot position herself in this opposite pair. The laughing, nuanced by the sorry, certainly represents a way to deal with that discomfort. Léa comes back once more on the difficulty to define herself just after elaborating on moments when she eats meat with her family or her boyfriend's parents.

Extract 3.2.11: Léa, narrative interview

L: well they [her boyfriend's parents] prepare something to eat and there is just meat that is : (2) in fact they are people who tal- who ask a lot of questions, °and it pisses me off to have to justify myself all the time° because I don't want to eat meat, and: it's true that it happened once, twice, the meat still came on the table, and finally well: (2) well you eat it a bit, (.) but you pull a face hoping that next time there won't be anymore, ((laughing)) but yeah there is that all the time or whatever.

Extract 3.2.12: Léa, narrative interview [after I asked her in which situations she eats meat]

L: somewhere it hurts me to tell my mother stop preparing meat for me I don't like this anymore ((laughing)) because uh: (2) it's not a question of education uh but it's (3) well uh yeah (2) well to her it will be: (.) I don't want to bother her with my stories of no meat anymore no meat, (.) do as you are used to doing it and uh: it's fine I'll manage ((laughing)) but well. (2) that's it. (.) so yes, it's often when I'm invited to the parents' place be it my boyfriends', or my own parents or whatever.

These extracts show that Léa seems to have difficulties to position herself in front of her parents (especially her mother, who seems to be the one who is cooking but who is also more strongly related to meat in Léa's discourse in relation to her South American origin) and of her step parents, who she considers as very close. On one side, she underlines the uncomfortable situation of having to justify herself (with the step parents), and on the other side she seems unable to ask her mother not to prepare meat anymore. Interestingly, she produces a beginning of perspective taking (*for her it will be*), in an attempt to express how it would feel for her mother, however she does not complete the sentence, and what follows is rather an undermining of her choice (and its reasons) not to eat meat¹²⁴ and the idea that she is the one who should adapt (*I'll manage*) to the others' habits without disturbing them (*do it as you are use to do it*). Similarly, in the previous extract (3.2.11), Léa is the one who adapts to the circumstances without being able to change them according to her new (wished) foodway. Thus, if her positioning concerning animal ethic would rather lead Léa to adopt a vegetarian diet, she also seems not to want to be the kind of person (to borrow Benson's words, see Benson, 2003) who is bothering others, especially close members of the family, and this might also be more broadly related to the wish not to be identified as the annoying vegetarian. Interestingly, during the interview, thus a frame where she is explicitly invited to present her perspective regarding meat and that is probably perceived as a place where critical perspectives on meat are welcome, she is clearly able to voice what she dislikes in meat production. This seems not to be the case in the (traditionally meat-eating) family frame, which illustrates the importance of context and others in the possibility to voice certain perspectives. However, it is unclear to what extent her family did reject this perspective and to what extent Léa anticipates and preventively avoids a possible reaction of rejection.

In the transition, identity processes are also related to learning and knowledge (Zittoun, 2007), and indeed knowledge seems at stake in Léa's change towards a meatless diet. Surprisingly, it is quite difficult to find traces of learning processes in Léa's interview. When she speaks about the documentary, she says that she *already knew*, but that it *opened her eyes*. If we define learning as the acquisition of new knowledge, skills or competences, as Zittoun (2007, 2009) does, then there is no learning in this case because there is no new knowledge, neither a new skill or competence. The relation to this knowledge (how animals are treated in food industry) or maybe the place of this knowledge in Léa's psychological organization fundamentally changes, however this would rather enter into the meaning-making processes. There are, however, a few dimensions on which there seems to be a lack of knowledge or skills. Notably, Léa is uncertain about what is the exact definition of vegetarian (does it include fish? See extract 3.2.9) and what kind of label she should use for her

¹²⁴ « Mes histoires » is difficult to translate, but in French it really refers to a whim.

positioning, which are issues of definition of certain specific terms coming from a field with which she is not really familiar, the different veg* diets. Moreover, she also mentions that she would like to speak with a nutritionist.

Extract 3.2.13: Léa, narrative interview

L: I'm still uh I mean at a point where I ask myself could I well could I continue like that, well because (3) well buying fish, it's expensive (.) it's true that I don't know maybe I should take the time to go and see a nutritionist and uh see uh: in fact the diet that would be the most suited, what (2) to replace uh meat

F: to replace,

L: yeah yeah (.) because I still feel a lack now and it's true that fish I cannot buy it all the time (.) and uh

F: how do you feel a lack? Is it tiredness?

L: it's tiredness yeah (.) and uh (2) yep: also to see all the time in the yeah I'm also not a very good cooker thus to see in your plate either starchy food or yeah dietary fiber yeah it's (3) it's a bit frustrating (.) but there I think that it's rather the food habits that I used to have it was really a bit the meal with meat. You could feel it arrive I mean for me it meant that it's time to eat also I think

Léa evokes a lack of knowledge essentially concerning the nutritional dimension. She evokes the feeling of frustration and of lack that she has and makes the hypothesis that this is related to habits. Thus, Léa feels a need to clarify what are the different possibilities and constrains in her situation, including also financial and temporal limits, as well as the constrain that she is not a good cook (according to herself). This is a limit which could certainly be changed with the learning of new skills, however this possibility is not mentioned. Interestingly, she adds later in the interview that she looked for information about nutrition on the internet, but that she was unsatisfied and that she did not trust the information she found, and would prefer to speak with a professional. This indicates that she already engaged in some activities in order to address the felt lack of knowledge, however this process was unsuccessful (or only successful to a limited – and unsatisfying – extent). Another area in which a lack of knowledge or skills could be identified is argumentation. Indeed, having to “justify” in front of others or being perceived as an “activist” seems to be felt as very uncomfortable by Léa. Nonetheless, and in contrast with the lack of knowledge about nutrition, here Léa does not mention anything about feeling not doing well enough or not knowing how to do.

To sum up, Léa has quite a lot of difficulties to position herself, and this is both the case in situations that she reports (especially in front of her parents and step-parents) and in front of me during the interview (saying she does *not know what she is*). The documentary triggered a rupture as it put at

stake her taken-for-granted habit of eating meat (and her identity of meat eater and member of a meat-eater family). However, it seems that she did not yet find the resources allowing her to go through the transition and to enter a new period of relative stability; she is still having a lot of doubts, and none of the three processes of transitions (learning, meaning-making, identity processes) has a stabilizing effect on the others.

3. LISA: TO BE OR NOT TO BE A FULL VEGETARIAN?

As in Léa’s case but unlike Aline, Lisa decided to change her meat consumption as she was already an adult. She has however a slightly longer story that implied several changes. While she followed a strictly vegetarian diet during a while and even got interested in veganism, she is now in a similar questioning than Léa regarding her status of vegetarian. As for the other cases in this chapter, Figure 15 summarizes the main changes in Lisa’s food habits and the most important contextual aspects that are mentioned along a temporal line (again, on Lisa, see also chapter six, p. 219).

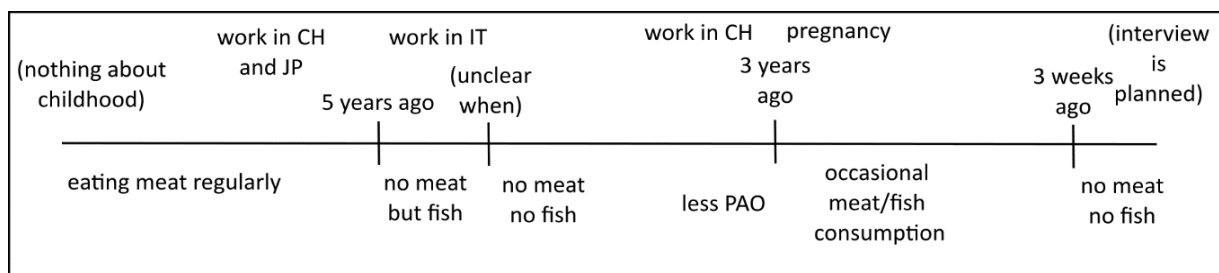


Figure 15 Lisa's trajectory of foodway

Lisa took the decision to become vegetarian on the first of August, the national Swiss holiday. She says she remembers well that day and the moment when she told herself she could become vegetarian. As there was a traditional cow fight taking place, she received a little flyer promoting animals’ rights (she is not very sure anymore about the actual content of the flyer), which acted as a trigger to her change. However, she says, she was already sensitive to animal ethics issues for longer time. It was also not the first time she thought about vegetarianism, however – she explains – she did not try because of the practical obstacles and the health issues that she thought she would encounter. Thus, as in Aline’s and Léa’s case, it is the encounter with a discourse in a mediated way (social media, documentary, flyer) that is the trigger of the change, a discourse that is already known but that seems to occupy somehow a different place in the intrapersonal dialogue after this encounter (a form of interpersonal dialogue). This first change seems not to be experienced as a rupture in itself. However, she mentions that it was taking place in the frame of another change, namely moving back from Switzerland to Italy (where she

grew up). Regarding this change, she mentions a few elements that indicate uncertainty, notably regarding whether her boyfriend would move with her or not and that she was rather thinking it was the good moment to definitely establish in Switzerland, as appears in the two following extracts:

Extract 3.3.1: Lisa, narrative interview

L: and I was thinking ok this is the time in which I can (.) decide to stay (.) in Switzerland. (.) I can stay in Switzerland work in Switzerland and I can move here

F: mhm yeah

L: definitely. (.)

Extract 3.3.2: Lisa, narrative interview

L: I was uh organizing with my boyfriend because we had to see:: how we move, (.) if he's gonna be moving with me or not

It might thus be that in this situation, becoming vegetarian (and at the same time starting to have a more healthy diet in general, as she mentions) was a way to get a feeling of control and of clearer orientation through one particular field of activities in her life. Furthermore, she also mentions that during the same period she started to practice yoga, which can also be seen as a way to increase the control on oneself.

Interestingly, after the change towards vegetarianism, she started to read on animal ethics.

Extract 3.3.3: Lisa, narrative interview

L: the reason behind that was that I have been thinking about becoming vegetarian, (.) based on ethical reasons, (.) basically, (.) because I: uhm: (2) what I think is (2) an- it was not really based on: knowledge. (.) because I didn't have so many information I didn't read so much I started read after I decided to become vegetarian like you know reading like euh I read even a book uh of a psychologist explaining

F: ok

L: how it happens that we divide like (.) animals for food and animals for uh pets you know [...] but it was based more on kind of euhm: reaction that I used to have when I was euh when it happened to me to watch the television like for example some: images of animals that uhm are in the slaughter house, (.)

F: yeah

L: hum and uh the way they are treated the way they are killed the way they are uh you know transformed into food

The reading is clearly part of a learning process. If we consider that learning processes answer to a feeling of not knowing (especially when it is not institutionally organized learning, as here), and thus

of uncertainty, then the hypothesis of a rupture appears again. However, it seems that the rupture, as a questioning of the taken-for-granted meat consumption, does not happen in the moment of change in foodway but relies rather in what Lisa mentions in the previous extract besides the reading, namely her encounter with images from slaughterhouses. In that sense, the moment of deciding to change the foodway would be rather a part of the transition than of the rupture. However, this also leads me to the hypothesis that other feelings than uncertainty could be indicators of a rupture. Indeed, although it is not mentioned explicitly, I imagine that in this case disgust is the dominant feeling when seeing these images. Indeed, later, regarding slaughtering and the treatment of animals, she describes the following:

Extract 3.3.4: Lisa, narrative interview

L: it's a: like a: (.) it makes a reaction on m- me: , (.) like physical reaction when I think I feel very (.) bad

F: mhm

L: I can't explain how, (.) but I feel just bad ((en riant))

In this sense, the becoming vegetarian would be a way to reposition herself (identity process) in order to handle that *bad feeling*. Moreover, reading about the process and concretely changing her food habits (no meat but also healthier food, going to the organic shop rather than the supermarket) imply also learning and meaning-making around that foodway. It seems that the transition was quite successful as she states that:

Extract 3.3.5: Lisa, narrative interview

L: I can do something (.) you know

F: mhm

L: without uh (.) without making mistakes I I can really do it well. And I can avoid, to do that. [...] for long time I could. (.) and I was really happy with me,

In this extract, it is clear that the difficult feelings (be it uncertainty or disgust) were overcome, there is a satisfaction expressed but also a form of stability. Moreover, she also insists later in the interview that at that time, she was very strict about her diet, that she was “really vegetarian”. Thus, we can see here that she draws on a perspective on vegetarianism that would consider as real vegetarians only those who make no exceptions (see chapter three, section three), a perspective that she voices quite frequently during the interview. More globally, this is part of a period that she describes very positively. Then comes a period of life that was more difficult because of professional reasons, however her foodway stayed stable or even moved towards veganism.

A change happens in her foodway when she learns she is pregnant. On the way back from the doctor, she eats ham, and then consumes meat from time to time. Concerning that first consumption of ham, she states that:

Extract 3.3.6: Lisa, narrative interview

L: I still have my picture when I have this sandwich I actually (don't feel) so good about that but I was feeling good at the moment

F: mhm

L: and after that, uhm I cannot say that I have eaten so much meat during my pregnancy but I started eating some from time to time

Again, it seems that this change in foodway was not experienced as a rupture (and again, the pregnancy was probably much more central in her life than the question of foodway at that moment). However, there are again some traces of uncertainty, as appears in the following extract:

Extract 3.3.7: Lisa, narrative interview

L: I also believe that it is not so import- I mean I also have friends that they are vegetarian they were really vegetarian also during pregnancy. (.) and also during the: the breastfeeding period

F: yeah

L: but I:: I didn't want to: explore more if it was true or not I just said ok you know what for a while I can do it. (.) uhm I'm not exaggerating anyway, so (.) ethically speaking I'm not you know (.) like: (.) worse,

In this extract, she expresses some uncertainty whether it would have been possible to stay strictly vegetarian, and the *I'm not exaggerating anyway* indicates the meaning-making work that took place with this change towards a diet that occasionally includes meat. Globally, it seems that the fact that Lisa does not want to take any risk regarding her daughters' health is stronger than her refusal of meat for reasons related to animal ethics. In other words, the I as mother position is more central in the organisation of her socio-material positioning than the I as vegetarian for ethical reasons. Thus, during pregnancy but also breastfeeding, she would eat meat herself for her daughter to get the nutrients. Later, she would allow her daughter to eat meat at the childcare and her husband would also cook some occasionally. During this period, she has to position herself regarding debates on vegetarianism and health that stay quite controversial in the society (see chapter three, p. 77) and that she notably encounters as a conflict between the perspective of her doctor and the perspective of some of her friends. She seems not to have the wish (or time) to investigate these issues to intensively, which again reminds us that sometimes food related issues are not necessarily at the centre of people's life, thus

she opts for what appears to her to be the less risky socio-material positioning (and, as we saw in chapter six, to follow the advice of the doctor).

Currently, however, as she is not pregnant and does not breastfeed anymore, the reason she had for her occasional meat consumption is not valid anymore; however, she continues to eat meat from time to time (except the three last weeks). This new situation seems to come with some uncertainties and feelings of guilt, as appears in the following extract:

Extract 3.3.8: Lisa, narrative interview

L: I have some some meat (from time to time) because when we buy or my parents come and bring salami, (2) I- I said ok one is fine,: from time to time, it's not a big deal,

F: yeah

L: although I: I think it's not a big deal in terms of you know: the planet, uh and ecological reasons, but uhm ethically speaking I don't feel good, cause I think (.) ok. still an animal that he has died for me,: for just my pleasure to have a small piece of salami it doesn't change my life this small piece of salami,

In this extract, it is clear that Lisa currently experiences a tension between her commitment to animal ethics that would lead her to position herself as a strict vegetarian, and her current socio-material positioning as occasional meat-eater (which she also relates to pleasure). This tension is also anchored in specific social situations as well as in particular discourses (notably on animal ethics, on environment, on the right for pleasure, on being a good host). In this extract (3.3.8), the feeling experienced seems rather to be guiltiness (the pleasure to eat something while knowing that this harms animals), while elsewhere she also mentions more knowledge related uncertainties:

Extract 3.3.9: Lisa, narrative interview

L: since then I had some uh some fish seafoods in my alimentation. From time to time also because I couldn't really be able to to to replace hm in a good way (.) the the lack of uh I still don't understand if it's actually true scientifically that if you don't eat meat you will die. Or you have I don't know:

Interestingly, during the interview she is starts to explore what she should do (moral positioning), which is a way to deal with that uncertainty and these tensions.

Extract 3.3.10: Lisa, narrative interview

L: maybe I have to decide I'm a vegetarian or not. (.) Because at some point I cannot say to people yes I'm a vegetarian but than I (.) I don't know I invite people over and so we serve salami and before they arrive yes I can just have one but not in front of other people so I mean it doesn't make sense

In this extract, Lisa is clearly engaged in a process of meaning-making about what it really means to be vegetarian, in relation to herself and in relation to other people, and in particular what are the concrete practical implications. In other words, she explores the relations between a socio-discursive positioning (calling herself vegetarian) and a socio-material positioning (eating meat or not). Doing so, she also voices a particular perspective on vegetarianism, namely that it implies being strict (see chapter three, section 3). When I ask her, at the end of the interview, whether she wants to add something, this is also the issue she mentions. She then also explores it by speaking about several people she knows; some of them being very strict in their foodway, others stating that exceptions are needed. Thus, in this case, the different perspectives on vegetarianism are related to and exemplified by different specific others she knows. Drawing on this knowledge she has about other people, she is engaged in making meaning of these differences and trying to position herself regarding these various perspectives on vegetarianism, as for instance in the following extract:

Extract 3.3.10: Lisa, narrative interview

L: but, (.) I don't know I- I found also being so (.) strict (2) is not normal because so it's like well you don't have any ambiguity so you are just like a machine or what

F: yeah

L: I don't know. (.) but anyway but I would definitely (inaud.) but still I would identify myself as a vegetarian (.) and I would become one very serious ((laughing))¹²⁵

[...]

L: I don't want to become so: you know extremist,

In this extract, Lisa really moves from (1) positioning herself against a very strict diet by describing this as unhuman ("like a machine"), (2) positioning herself as a (again, in the future) serious vegetarian (implying here, she would stop to make exceptions) and finally (3) taking distance again from a position that is perceived as too strict, "extremist" (although here she speaks about a person she knows who is crudist¹²⁶).

All in all, Lisa went through two important changes in her food habits: from carnist to strictly vegetarian, and from strictly vegetarian to vegetarian who occasionally eats meat and fish. These changes themselves do however not appear as ruptures, although there are clearly elements of uncertainty and other negative feelings as disgust, as well as movements of meaning-making, of

¹²⁵ Lisa's laughing seems to play an interesting role here in terms of positioning. My hypothesis is that it allows her to keep a certain distance with the evoked position, and thus to explore positions that are maybe felt as too distant, strange or dangerous to be adopted or expressed "seriously".

¹²⁶ Term used by Lisa. It refers to a diet that consists into eating only raw food.

repositioning and of learning around them. In the first case, I argue that the elements indicating a rupture are rather related to (1) professional and geographical movements in the same period and (2) videos denouncing animals' living and dying conditions that she saw earlier. The change in foodway seems rather to be a part of the transition process (in a similar – but less extreme - way than in Pierre's case, see chapter six, p. 231), and more precisely a repositioning that follows these ruptures and allows her to enter a new period of relative stability and (she says) happiness. The second change in foodway appears as related to her pregnancy. In this case, there are traces of uncertainty and feelings of guilt that appear much later than this change in foodway, when she is already not breastfeeding anymore. These traces of a rupture appear, I argue, not because of the change of foodway but because what allowed her to make meaning of this change, namely her responsibility regarding the health of her child during pregnancy and breastfeeding, disappeared with the end of breastfeeding. Currently, she is thus experiencing a tension between two divergent positions, one of strict vegetarian (that she should adopt based on her meaning making of what is a real vegetarian and of what animal ethics imply; a socio-discursive and moral positioning) and one of vegetarian who makes exceptions to this diet from time to time (which she adopted in practice; a socio-material positioning). Thus, she is engaged in a work of exploration and meaning-making regarding these different positions.

4. (UN)STABILITIES: ARTICULATING MICRO AND ONTOGENESIS

While Aline seems to be in a period of relative stability, Léa and Lisa are currently still engaged with defining her positioning. Aline's (last) change, went in a very smooth way, to the extent that the notion of rupture seems exaggerated, while there are clear traces of uncertainty, but also of disgust and guilt in both Lisa and Léa's interviews. Aline and Lisa have longer trajectories related to vegetarianism and thus more experience than Léa for whom it appears to be a really new issue. Lisa has the experience of a (approximately two years) period of strict vegetarianism, while this appears not to be the case for Léa and Aline. What can be said about these trajectories and more particularly about positioning process in these trajectories based on these analyses? This is the question I will address in this last section. In order to do so, I will more particularly discuss the following points: the articulation between microgenesis and ontogenesis, the articulation between socio-material positioning and socio-discursive positioning, the importance of the (past) trajectory on the current or recent change, and the articulation between change in foodway and ruptures/transitions.

Globally, what seems to be at stake can be formulated in terms of an articulation between on the one side microgenesis, that implies questions such as how do I present myself in a specific moment, what

do I say to this interlocutor, what do I eat right now, and, on the other side, more ontogenetical dimensions (Duveen & Lloyd, 1990) that would imply a certain stabilization of positionings and would take the form of more general statements such as *I am vegetarian*, *eating meat is bad*, or *eating fish is fine*. This question of articulation notably appears when Léa wonders what to do in the particular situation in which her mother cooked some meat for her. On the microgenetic level, she will on this particular occasion eat it or not. However, this cannot be separated from a broader attempt of positioning as a vegetarian, of refusing to participate to meat consumption in general. Thus, in the microgenesis, she might position herself in a way that actualizes and thus reinforces the more global positioning she adopted, or there might be a contradiction between both (as it is actually the case). This stabilization is at play both in relation to oneself and in relation to others (parents and partners in particular). Regarding the relation to oneself, we might wonder why, as all three of them present themselves as vegetarian and in practice make exceptions, Aline seems to be fine with this situation while Léa and Lisa experience it as uncomfortable. This is probably related to the definition of vegetarianism (or perspective on vegetarianism) as well as to the reasons to become vegetarian. Regarding the definition of vegetarianism, the question of what it means to be vegetarian (or even a real or full vegetarian) is never mentioned by Aline (who also uses the notion of flexitarian once to define herself). It seems that, to her, there is no necessity to define or discuss a border between what is vegetarian and what is not. On the other hand, both Lisa and Léa discuss that issue and wonder whether their practices enter into the category vegetarian, whether they can call themselves vegetarians. The different personal meanings they constructed based on the socially shared sense of vegetarianism, as well as the urge to discuss it or not, might be related to the different experiences they had during their trajectory. In particular, as I already mentioned, in Aline's trajectory the socio-discursive positioning as vegetarian never implied a completely strict diet (a perspective that was shared first of all in her family). Léa does not have such a background on which she could rely on for her meaning making around vegetarianism, and she still seems to be struggling with different perspectives she probably encountered in her socio-cultural environment. Lisa constructs her meaning making of vegetarianism around the perspective that "real" vegetarianism implies the complete elimination of meat and fish from one's diet. In her case, I make the hypothesis that the elaboration of this particular perspective is related to the role of vegetarianism as a stabilizing dimension in a period of (professional and geographical) transition. Moreover, regarding her last change towards vegetarianism, Aline mentions environmental issues as a trigger, while Lisa and Léa essentially evoke

animal ethics. The two themes certainly don't have the same moral connotations¹²⁷ (which could explain the feeling of guilt and disgust, see Shweder, Much, Mahapatra, & Park, 1997), and animal ethics is known for implying more often strict veg*ism and generally a stronger engagement than other reasons (Maurer, 1961/2002).

Beyond the articulation between microgenetic and ontogenetic, I also identify here an issue of articulation between socio-material positioning and socio-discursive positioning. Indeed, in Aline's case, the exceptions are part of her habitual way of "being vegetarian", and thus they also have a form of stability. Similarly, Lisa and Léa also make exceptions to their vegetarian diet rather regularly (by regularly, I do not want to emit a judgement about that frequency, but I want to point the fact that it happens more than once) and this is also a form of stability that goes beyond microgenesis. Thus, I argue, the question here concerns the articulation between a socio-material positioning (what the person does, what does she or he eat and how regularly?) and a socio-discursive positioning towards herself and towards others (does she or he call her or himself vegetarian? What is her or his understanding/definition of vegetarianism? Does she or he conceptualize a limit between veg*an and non-veg*an and where/how?). In particular, it seems that social situations in which they have to position themselves socio-materially (which usually also implies socio-discursively) - in particular situations of shared meals, as a guest or as a client in a restaurant, are crucial in the sense that the tensions become very manifest. I argue that this is the main problem with which Lisa and Léa are struggling: the felt discrepancy between these two positionings. Again, this leads back to the different perspectives on vegetarianism on which they draw and that I described in the previous paragraph. Obviously, the moral positioning is also involved here as both socio-material and socio-discursive positioning are tidily related to the question what should [I] do? In Léa's case, there is indeed also an uncertainty regarding the articulation between what I should do (moral positioning) and the two others forms of positionings, which appears notably when she mentions the famous situation at her parents' place. In Lisa's case, the fact that she uses the frame of the interview to think about different future possibilities of positioning is also a way to elaborate a moral positioning (what should I do).

Coming back to the trajectory, it appears clearly that past experiences play an important role in the way to handle the current or more recent situations, questions and possible ruptures. I highlighted in Aline's case the role of her moves through different socio-cultural and geographical environments as well as different familial contexts, making the hypothesis that those shaped a relation to meat

¹²⁷ However, the current climate change crisis might also affect this (in comparison with the moment the data was gathered), as there seems to be – but this is my perception - an increased moral dimension also related to these issues. One example of this would be the phenomena of flight-shaming (or in Swedish: Flygskam) that was reported in medias over the last months.

consumption as something that cannot be taken-for-granted, but also to vegetarianism as a practice that allows exceptions without them being considered as something bad or problematic. This seems to play an important role in her current quite relaxed way to handle the change in foodway. In Lisa's case, there is also a longer story in relation to vegetarianism. Here, the fact that she has a past experience of successful strict vegetarian diet and, moreover, that this experience is reported as a satisfaction and related with happiness, probably participates to the difficulties she currently experiences in relation to the exceptions she makes to her vegetarian diet. Indeed, she knows it is possible to her to follow a strictly vegetarian diet, and (when stopping breastfeeding) she lost the reason not to do it. Concerning Léa, her lack of experience, of skills and of knowledge, and thus the "amount" of novelty she needs to handle with this sudden change in foodway can only participate to the importance of the feeling of uncertainty that she experiences. As I highlighted (see p. 263), it seems that none of the three processes involved in transitions provides her a source of stability, and this is very probably an effect of the shortness of her trajectory in relation to veg*ism. Moreover, she also mentions that she has only one person in her closer entourage who is vegetarian (however, not strictly), and thus she might not find in her social relations the resources that would help her to go through the transition; in contrast with Aline and Lisa who both have relatives and friends who are veg*ans.

Finally, I proposed this analysis with the assumption that changes in foodways could (sometimes) be experienced as ruptures. However, it appears both on the empirical and the theoretical level that this is not an ideal way to conceptualize it. Indeed, on the theoretical level, if the change in food habits is conceptualized as a repositioning (that might be socio-material and/or socio-discursive and/or moral), which I do in this work, then it must be considered, as an identity process, as part of the transition rather than part of the rupture (Zittoun, 2006, 2007). While the socio-discursive and moral repositionings clearly appear as identity processes (am I vegetarian or not? Should I be vegetarian?), some might wonder about the inclusion of socio-material repositioning in the identity processes. However, what a person does, could do or could imagine doing, and on the other hand also what she does not do, could not do or could not even imagine doing are a very important part of her identity construction (Benson, 2003). If I turn to the data, it appears that while the rupture (when there is one) is rather taking place in another domain of life (such as the parent's divorce or geographical movements in Aline's case, the new job and geographical move in Lisa's case or her relation to her child) or in relation to images or information regarding meat (the documentaries Lisa and Léa mention), the change in food habits itself rather appears as a part of the transition process, as a way to actively handle the difficulties engendered by the rupture and reposition in a new way that might participate to construct a new form of stability. In addition to that, regarding the theorization of ruptures and

transitions and based on this data, I would suggest considering disgust and guilt as possible candidates for the status of indicators of a rupture, in addition to uncertainty. While uncertainty is largely related to knowledge and skills, disgust and guilt are more closely related to moral issues (Rozin et al., 1999; Shweder et al., 1997). In this case, the rupture (and necessity to transition towards a new organization) would rely mainly on the feeling that something is wrong.

All in all, combining the notion of positioning (in particular Benson, 2001) with the notion of trajectory, and particularly with Zittoun's model of rupture/transition (Zittoun, 2006, 2007) allows (1) to address the temporal dimension of positioning, more specifically its inscription in the ontogenetic trajectory and (2) to articulate positioning with meaning-making and learning (knowledge), as I considered here (based on Zittoun, 2006, 2007) that positioning is one way to address identity, and that in transitions, identity, knowledge and meanings are evolving in interrelation. I highlighted that tensions, and thus difficulties in the transition process, might emerge in the articulation between the microgenetic level and the ontogenetic level, as well as between socio-material, socio-discursive and moral positionings. I highlighted the role of past experiences, and thus of the unique trajectory of the person, in the way she will experience and handle the current or more recent situations, and finally I argued that rather than a form of rupture, the change in foodway is a part of the transition process, in particular related to the identity dimension of the process.

As an opening towards the next chapter, I propose to consider these trajectories under the angle of processes of self-creation. Benson (2001), drawing on J. Glover, defines self-creation as the conscious shaping of our characteristics, which "involves forming an idea or image of the sort of person I want to be" (p. 84). Partly, those trajectories are certainly emerging from and are shaped by these kinds of ideas and images. Again, what comes from the environment and what comes from the person can not be clearly separated, as these images and ideas are nourished by socially shared discourses. One example of these images is Lisa's statement, while exploring the question of strictness in the foodway, that she would become a very serious vegetarian again (extract 3.3.10, p. 268). Of course, there are many other dynamics that interact with these ideas and images and participate to the fact that to some extent, the trajectory "escapes" to the person (and this is the aspect the first works on trajectory would insist on, see Riemann & Schütze, 1991). This is clear in Léa's case, where the image of herself as a vegetarian not participating anymore to the system of production that disgusts her encounters some resistance. Moreover, the guiding images might also concern the world and thus the wish to change this world certainly plays a role as well in the unfolding of the trajectory. In that sense, the trajectory unfolds as a co-construction between the person and his or her environment, a co-construction in which the dynamics of both are interdependent (at least regarding the proximal environment) and participants clearly engage with ideas and images of themselves in the future. To that extent becoming

vegan or more globally changing one's foodway might be an act of self-creation, as well as it might involve creativity oriented toward a transformation of the world.

CHAPTER EIGHT: RESPONSIBILITY AND POSITIONING

I closed the previous chapter on the idea that the development of a veg* foodway might be – to some extent – a process of self-creation, in which the person follows “an idea or image of the sort of person [he or she] wants to be” (Benson, 2001, p. 84). Benson showed that this process of self-creation is notably based on personal or self-responsibility. On another hand, the notion of individual responsibility in the case of meat consumption (or food consumption more generally) is highly debated (Austgulen, 2014; Driver, 2016; Gilson, 2014). I developed elsewhere (Gfeller, accepted), through an analysis of the data produced in the frame of this project, the idea that the construction of responsibility relies on five interrelated dimension, namely 1) who bears responsibility, 2) for what, 3) towards who/what, 4) based on what knowledge and 5) with what power to act. I would like here to come back on the question of responsibility, but addressing it on a more ontogenetic scale, in the continuity of the previous section. Thus, while keeping these five dimensions in mind, I will dive deeper into the way they participate to the positioning dynamics of the person, again through case studies. I chose to focus first on Gaël, because I identified in his case a quite important and diversified work of negotiation of responsibility, mainly around the transition from vegetarianism back to carnism. Aurélia’s data will provide the material for the second case study because, in her case, the movements of negotiation of responsibility appear to be much smaller; however, I argue that they played an important role in the unfolding of the trajectory. In both cases, I draw both on the narrative interview and on the dialogical experiment. Through this, the aim of this chapter is to examine the role played by responsibility in positioning regarding PAO.

1. GAEL: LEARNING TO LIVE WITH CONTRADICTIONS

While Benson (2001) highlights the fundamental role of self-responsibility in self-creation, and thus underlines its positive role in the person’s development, I chose as a first case study a trajectory in which responsibility seems to play a role that appears as more complicated or difficult, namely the story of Gaël. As a reminder (see chapter six, p. 208 for more details), Gaël is a former vegetarian who adopted this foodway for ideological reasons. He expresses his agreement with anti-speciesism, and more globally he describes becoming vegetarian as a way to be coherent with his political, ethical and

ideological convictions, a way to be upstanding¹²⁸. He is not vegetarian anymore, a change that he presents as a necessity to cut himself some slack¹²⁹ for the sake of his psychological health. I propose to analyze his case through the lens of responsibility, because although he never mentions this term, he produces an important justification, in the context of the interview, for his current practices.

My posture as a researcher interested in vegetarianism certainly appeals some explanations, and my aim is not to present the interview as a neutral situation, however I consider this as one social situation among others in which the person feels the requirement to account for his or her practices. Moreover, although the interview situation appeals these justifications, it is also a fact that Gaël responded in a quite extensive way to this call (which was not explicitly encouraged by myself, my own interventions are mainly markers of attention such as “ok” and “yes” when he speaks about his going back to a carnist diet). This extensive justification might however be linked to a socially shared discourse presenting vegetarianism as a better foodway (see also chapter three, section three). In that sense, going back to a carnist diet requires more explanations, as an anticipation of a voice presenting this “going back” as a regression or a failure. It is this “giving account” for his practices that leads me to identify an issue of responsibility in Gaël’s interview, as according to Benson (2001), self-responsibility is “acknowledging and holding my-self accountable for the consequences of actions initiated by myself” (p. 132). Here, Gaël is mostly providing accounts for his actions rather than their consequences, however as his convictions involve issues of justice towards animals, I assume that behind these accounts lies a need to justify his participation as an eater to a system having consequences on animals with which he profoundly disagrees. In what follows, I will go through several strategies of negotiation of responsibility that I identified in the narrative interview and in the dialogical experiment. I focus on the change he made from a vegetarian to a carnist diet, which I consider as part of a rupture/transition process, as the narration of this period allows to identify both uncertainties and “the end of a mode of adjustment” (Zittoun, 2009, p. 409) that characterizes a rupture, as well as a reorganization of the identity/meaning-making/knowledge-skills triangle that characterizes a transition.

A. “I blew a fuse”

During the narrative interview, when he arrives to the moment of narrating the change from a vegetarian to a carnist diet, he describes the change of food habits as part of a broader crisis in his life.

¹²⁸ The word he uses in French, “intègre”, is the adjective deriving from “integrity”.

¹²⁹ The word he uses in French: “lâcher du lest”

Extract 4.1.1: Gaël, narrative interview

G: so after five or six years I finished my studies in Belgium, (.) and uhm I had health troubles but not due to vegetarianism, that's something I have to say, uhm: in fact in a nutshell I blew a little bit a fuse, (.) and then uh well I had little uh little issues uh of health uh not very well in the head that's it

F: yeah

G: and and well so, it was a big a big questioning of many things, (.) in fact, and well the lifestyle,: uh the life (uh) all these things went together also, (.) and, in fact uhm:: that where I realized that well while working a bit on that, that (2) for me, it was uh still a uh a privation. (.) to be well. uh it was a process that was very uh: philosophical, (.) that was uh so that was uh (2) yeah that was really a mental process, I was not disgusted by the taste, it was rather even the opposite, I always liked uh good food, uh a good meal, (.) [...] given that: (still) a set of situations where in your head it's not going very well you tell yourself that you still need to cut yourself some slack in relation uh in relation to certain things in relation to constrains in relation to things (incomp.) and uh (.) and in fact well I I I progressively also cut myself some slack in relation to in relation to that.

While it has been highlighted (see Ossipow, 1997) that a change towards vegetarianism is often part of a broader transition in the person's life, it is interesting to observe here a similar situation as the change goes the other way around. Bringing in the issue of mental health frames this change as a necessity rather than a choice. What Gaël is basically saying here is *I had to change something, I could not continue as I did, I had to cut myself some slack - and eating meat is one way to do that*. In terms of responsibility, this is an interesting movement. Indeed, if the attribution of responsibility relies on choice, on the possibility to act differently (Benson, 2001; Frith, 2014), then this underlying meaning *I had no choice, I had to give up my vegetarian diet* is a way to reject or reduce the responsibility of not being a vegetarian. So while Benson (2001) identifies beliefs about responsibility as allowing self-creation, in this case we have a different movement, which goes the opposite way: *I cannot create myself just as I wish, there are constrains, thus I am not (that) responsible for my practices*. We might interpret this movement as a form of resistance to a neoliberal discourse of the "self-made man" that would place a lot of responsibility on the individual level. Paradoxically, this movement, although it questions the possibility of creating oneself freely, constitutes also an act of self-creation, as it allows Gaël to reconcile two relatively opposite perspectives: a first one stating that vegetarianism is better than meat consumption for ethical/ideological questions and thus that meat consumption should be avoided, and a second one that presents meat consumption as acceptable or even positive when it is presented as a pleasure, be it for the taste or for the commensality moments that it implies. Both

perspectives are to some extent opposed as they imply different moral positionings regarding meat as well as different socio-material positionings.

B. Learning to live with contradictions

However, this seems not to be enough for Gaël to account for his non-vegetarian practices in this interview, and he will develop several other points. Just after the previous extract, Gaël explicitly highlights that to him there is a contradiction between his convictions and practices, as we see in the following extract (that is partly overlapping with extract 2.4.4, p. 211).

Extract 4.1.2: Gaël, narrative interview

G: I live a little bit with this contradiction, (.) now, (.) and in fact it's something that (.) that I learned to do a little bit, (.) if you want, that I was not necessary- that I was not necessarily aware at the beginning, well (.) you tell yourself ok well I need to be as coherent as possible, (.) as upstanding as possible, (.) thus you try to put things on the side in order to be the most uh (.) well to be the most uh:: yeah::: a care¹³⁰ about integrity well but ok, (.) and well:: after a while I had to notice that: (.) well we all have a little bit incoherencies what. (.) and that we all have a little part of (2) of of of:: (.) yeah, (.) well the environment makes a lot and how we were raised makes a lot too, and that's it. (.) so: (.) it's a bit: it's a bit like this that I realized that that (.) it was not worth that I: well that I force myself to really make efforts if it doesn't makes me that happy (.) so, (.) and uh well so now I live with that contraction and I assume it more,

After highlighting his attempts to be *as coherent as possible* and his worrying about integrity, the first discourse he elaborates consists into stating that everyone is (to some extent) incoherent, and that he learnt to live with this contradiction. The reference to *all of us* implies a form of social comparison which has been shown playing an important role in moral judgement, as researchers highlighted that unfavorable social comparison on moral issues are particularly threatening for the self (Monin, 2007). And indeed, what Gaël says here is something like *I am not worse than the others*. Moreover, presenting it as a learning is a way to frame the change in how he considers coherence and contradictions positively; in a sense, this means that he now has a better understanding of human beings. The question of coherence and contradictions also appears regularly in the dialogical experiment. For two on the total of three chairs he pulls (thus three themes, with each time two

¹³⁰ The French word used (*souci*) can be translated both by care and by worry.

divergent positions – one on each paper¹³¹), his first reaction after summarizing the content is to highlight that he (partly) agrees with both papers:

Extract 4.1.3: Gaël, dialogical experiment [reaction to the papers related to health]

G: what I would tell them, (2) uhm :: (.) in fact, (2) in fact it's quite difficult because it's rather as if I agree with both, in fact.

This seems to indicate a broader tendency to try to understand all the different points of view at play, which indeed puts him into a delicate situation when he is asked to position himself. However, both in this case and in the case of the papers on animal ethics, after this initial statement he engages in a quite long and serious discussion on the papers in which he notably considers their implications. Later, Gaël even uses coherence as a way to undermine a statement.

Extract 4.1.4: Gaël, dialogical experiment [reaction to the papers related to animal ethics]

G: the other person is extremely into coherence, (.) right to the end, (.) too much into coherence, [...] so in order to be coherent you must give up on everything, (2) uhm:: (.) while while well, and uh (.) and both of them you have the impression that they:: (.) exactly (.) there cannot be any contradiction in their uh in their uh (.) mode of reflection or whatever. (.)

Although it is not very evident why or how, Gaël clearly presents the fact to be *too much in coherence* as something problematic. Thus, interestingly, in a social situation where he is asked (by me) to position himself regarding the statements he reads, he starts to question the necessity to be coherent. I make the hypothesis that he might perceive this coherence as a prerequisite or underlying assumption of this dialogical experiment (which would be just one example of a more generally shared discourse, see when he speaks about the social pressure to be coherent in chapter six). Discussing it in this way might be a way to address this issue indirectly and to negotiate what positioning oneself implies, in particular to what extent one should develop a coherent positioning.

If we come back now on extract 4.1.2, a second argument Gaël advances is that *environment and education have an important impact*. This can be understood as a way to propose a reduced conception of agency, and thus responsibility, by placing the cause of the behavior in the environment rather than in the person. Although in a socio-cultural perspective we would not oppose both, in Gaël's discourse, the context allows to understand that the emphasis on the environment and education is implicitly responding to a discourse supposing the person to be free and thus responsible of his or her food choices (which echoes the solitary navigation mentioned by Levenstein, p. 78, and more generally the neoliberal conception of the consumer). When presenting Gaël in chapter six (see p. 208), I highlighted

¹³¹ See chapter four, p. 133 for more details about the experimental setting.

that the regional context is a recurrent theme in his interview, and the present argument is part of it. Beyond the agency question, there seems to be a tension between different positions that would imply different foodways, and notably between positioning as a member of the rural community or as person living in the mountains (meat is valued – socio-material positioning as a vegetarian) or as a member of the punk/anarchist milieu (which is also somehow related to the region, see footnote 108, p. 209) and thus someone who dislikes injustice, including speciesism (meat is refused – socio-material positioning as a carnist).

Finally, another point he mentions in extract 4.1.2 is that it is not worth making so many efforts if it does not make him happy. Elsewhere (notably in extract 4.1.1), he also mentions the pleasure he has to eat good food¹³², including meat. Happiness and pleasure thus appear as opposed to his vegetarian diet. In other words, there is a tension between a hedonist / and a vegetarian /. Interestingly, it is not strictly in an individualistic perspective as the sharing of meal is mentioned as a part of this pleasure. This issue appears again during the dialogical experiment, where pleasure to eat is presented as a way to resist a hygienist discourse that is negatively connoted.

Extract 4.1.5: Gaël, dialogical experiment [reaction to the papers related to health; he states that one paper takes a hygienist position, I ask him what he means by that]

G: uhm : (2) well let's say that there are people who become vegetarian exactly (.) because it's a healthy lifestyle, (.)

F: yeah

G: so, (.) uh what is very good, (.) I'm not saying otherwise, uh (2) m:ysself aft- but after it's really my view on the thing, it's that I have the impression that (.) that: more and more, (.) uh we live in a society, (.) that controls more and more these kinds of things.

F: yeah

G: that's it. (.) we have a healthy lifestyle, (.) thus (.) you have to feel better in your body okay, (.) but uh (.) I have the impression that (.) well maybe we miss out on some things, (.) while having a lifestyle that is maybe a bit (.) too (.) healthy

Through this discourse, Gaël develops a point of view that is opposed to hygienism. In terms of responsibility, hygienism could be defined as encouraging individual responsibility of one's health towards society (see section on health and nutrition, p. 77). Thus, Gaël is here resisting this conception of health and responsibility, and the resistance act in itself might be seen as a responsibility for promoting other (important) *things* we might otherwise *miss*.

¹³² The words he uses in French : "la bonne chère"

C. “It is not the fundamental battle”

Another interesting point regarding the construction and negotiation of responsibility is the place given to the issues of vegetarianism/anti-speciesism. Indeed, towards the end of the interview, Gaël presents them as being a kind of peripheral issue, not a fundamental one.

Extract 4.1.6 : Gaël, narrative interview

G: I come from a very very working-class milieu, [...] there is something (.) that makes that: it's not the: (.) well in my mind, it's not the (.) fundamental important battle if you know what I mean. (.) that's it. I mean that. It participates to a global (.) fight (.) it can, (.) no. it participates it- (.) I was going to say it can participate but it participates to a global fight, (.) uh: but just like feminism and: (.) and uh anti-racism and well many other things. (.) that's it. (.) but: it's not uh: it's not the essential component.

Through this movement of resituating anti-speciesism among other issues, he plays down the consequences of not having a vegetarian diet by stating that is not that important, as it is only one aspect among many. Furthermore, it is not a central aspect and is presented as much less shocking than racism and homophobia. Thus, without denying the problematic aspects of meat consumption and without denying that his own behavior might have an impact, what he is acting on here is the place that this issue has in the moral landscape. If we relate this to the necessity to *cut himself some slack*, which implies that one cannot fight all the battles simultaneously and perfectly, then we understand that the energy should be kept for more central battles. A similar movement of displacement can be observed in the realm of food related activities, where he presents his current habits as a continuation of vegetarianism, based on the same convictions and questions.

Extract 4.1.7: Gaël, narrative interview (partly overlapping with extract 1.2.4)

G: I try to (.) to eat what comes from the region, (.) rather than avocados that come from from the depths of Peru, (.) it's a bit moronic, I would say thus uh (.) well I try anyway to uh to be careful with that what (.) I try to have (.) an ethic in what I eat but slightly in another way. [...]

F: what are the reasons that push you to (.) to eat more local?

G: [...] well one of the reasons could be that when I stopped eating meat, it was also for environmental reasons, [...] for me yeah the question of how we would do for all of us to live (2) uh (.) because clearly we could not all of us the whole planet be nourished by eating meat so uh (.) [...] so while looking a little bit I told myself that this aspect I could change it uh (.) into:: well into eating seasonal things that don't come from (.) that don't come from super far away or that haven't come kilometers by ship or plane, (.) uh even when eating when trying to

eat meat that comes a little bit from the region, as much as possible, (.) fish from the lake or things like that, (2)

Doing so, he maintains the idea of being a responsible consumer who takes into account environment, social justice, animal well-being, thus a positioning that is socially validated in the socio-cultural frame of this study, but applied to food consumption in general and not focused on meat as something to eliminate. Thus, the change in foodway is framed as a displacement of responsibility rather than a reduction.

D. Self-, other- and collective responsibility

Finally, another interesting element in the interview that follows the expression of the feeling of contradiction appears in the following extract:

Extract 4.1.8: Gaël, narrative interview

G: well it's maybe a bit stupid but I still did five six years and that's already not bad, ((laughing)) if everyone could do the same at least that that would be cool

The fact that he does not really develop this argument (compared to others) and that he starts with undermining it ("it's maybe a bit stupid") indicate that he is probably not considering it as a very strong argument, nevertheless he still mentions it. At the core of this statement lies an issue of distribution of "what should be done", with Gaël estimating that what he did is already *not bad*¹³³. Doing so, he simultaneously values what he did, although it is in the past, and points towards others-responsibility by stating that they (everyone) should make their part. Thus, the responsibility is reframed here in a collective way which allows Gaël to present his own contribution to the movement in a positive way, and to point towards those others who did less as those who should maybe now do their part.

2. AURÉLIA: WE WILL NEVER BE PERFECT BUT I DO MY BEST

In contrast with Gaël's trajectory, Aurélia has a rather steady trajectory of progressive elimination of PAO. During the interview and the dialogical experiment, she is one of the participants who gave me a strong impression of being deeply and calmly convinced that eating PAO is wrong and should be avoided, without however displaying any animosity against an opposite point of view (which might be a way to protect herself against a possible classification as the annoying and moralizing vegetarian). In

¹³³ The words he uses in French: "pas mal"

contrast to many other participants, she also stayed (emotionally) quite neutral when mentioning episodes during which her convictions and her behavior (thus her moral and her socio-material positioning) entered into contradiction. As a reminder, she became and is vegetarian mainly for reasons related to animal ethics. It is a progressive and collective change of foodway, as she and her boyfriend became pescetarians four years ago, vegetarians three years ago, and now she is tending towards veganism for the last year (she does not mention whether her boyfriend also entered into the vegan* part of the trajectory; for more details on her trajectory and positioning, see chapter six, p. 204). The conviction that it is wrong to eat meat because of the way animals are treated and the fact that this led her to adopt a veg* diet can be translated for the purpose of this analysis as a statement about responsibility. Indeed, she enacts the individual responsibility of avoiding meat consumption because this consumption implies negative consequences for the animals, thus echoing through her behavior the “vote with your fork” discourse. To that extent, it is evident that her conception of responsibility had an important impact on the development of her foodway trajectory. This conception seems very stable, at least over the last years, however there are still some traces of movements in and around it in the data, and in the following I will present and discuss the main ones.

A. Becoming vegetarian, a few failures

First of all, a few movements take place before the moment that she presents as the point where she became vegetarian. At the very beginning of the interview, she narrates the following:

Extract 4.2.1: Aurélia, narrative interview

A: I was always quite sensitive to that because my brother [...] uh he's been a vegetarian since he was small, (.) [...] but it's later that really I : I get interested in : (.) I tried to stop in fact. (.) to ask myself questions about why (.) why are there vegetarians, and (.) and he: he also told me a little bit, he gave me well he explained to me a bit and uh: that's when I became more aware, (.) I made several attempts, tr- trying to become vegetarian, (.) but it always ended in failure, ((small laughing)) because: uh the famous excuse meat is too tasty:

She starts by narrating that although she was confronted to the question of vegetarianism since her birth, she started to get interested in it and more sensitive to these issues only later. This can be seen as a way to state that she is not responsible for not having turned vegetarian earlier, because of a lack of knowledge. Later, she will also mention that although she knew about vegetarianism, she did not really realize, and this goes into the same direction of lowering responsibility or not assessing there is responsibility in case of not realizing. In addition to that, she then mentions *a few failures* in her trials to become vegetarian, with the indication that it was because she liked meat. The formulation she

uses, *the famous excuse*, clearly undermines this reason as a valid argument for eating meat (a point of view that she will repeat during the dialogical experiment). Thus, she narrates here a situation where she had the responsibility not to eat meat (as she tried, it means that she had the knowledge now to be considered as responsible), but she *failed* in assuming this responsibility. The fact that she laughs when saying that might be the expression or construction of a certain distance, as a way to signal that she is aware of the contradiction and of the weakness of the pleasure argument. Similarly, she mentions that she and her boyfriend still try some specialties containing meat when traveling. When mentioning a trip during which they really ate too much meat (according to her), she simply states:

Extract 4.2.2: Aurélia, narrative interview

A: we weren't proud but there you go,

Although in this case her behavior clearly goes against what she considers to be her responsibility, she simply notes their past feeling of guiltiness and concludes "there you go"¹³⁴, which is a way to pass to another subject without really resolving this contradiction. This reaction might be better understood in light of the following extract:

Extract 4.2.3: Aurélia, dialogical experiment [related to the papers on environmental impact]

A: I used to eat avocados, [...] people who eat meat in general they say yes, (.) but avocados, (.) it wreaks devastation in Mexico, because: (.) it's not wrong, now but (.) I have the impression that (.) as a vegetarian we never do well enough, (.) and we always have uh: we will never be perfect in fact in fact they expect us to be perfect

F: yeah

A: while we just try to: to be a bit: more a bit more kind and to do good around us, but it's never enough,

F: yeah

A: and if it's not at the level of food one will say that we take the plane, and that this is polluting, and that we have a car and so we will never: we will never be perfect also [...] I do my best, well I try to I try to separate: [waste] I try to not to consume too much well then it's a approach uh (.) well I try to do uh (2) to do uh as much as possible, [...] after there are things I don't know yet that it's maybe not good,

F: yeah

A: but there I try to stay informed: (.) about all that,

¹³⁴ In French: "voilà"

This extract might be read as a negotiation of responsibility. She explicitly points to the discourse that underlines the incoherence of veg*ans in order to undermine their position, which it seems she encountered several times in past social interactions, answers by an affirmation that she does *as much as possible*, and highlights what she or rather vegetarians in general already do (*to be a bit more benevolent and to do good*). Doing so, she reassesses the value of the responsibility she already assumes as a vegetarian, rather than highlighting the moments when her behavior is not in accordance with what the perceived responsibility would imply. Moreover, she also implicitly points towards some limits as a human being: can she be hold responsible for something that is more than it is possible for her to do? Thus, what she is evokes here in order to defend her positioning are different perspectives on the human being, and in a similar way than Gaël, she distanciate from the perspective of human beings as creating themselves in a completely free manner. Interestingly, she brings in the issue of knowledge again, a way to lower her responsibility for “acting badly” in cases where she does not know. This issue of knowledge is the object of the next sub-section.

B. “It’s maybe not exactly the truth”

The issue of knowledge already appeared in two extracts from Aurélia’s data (extracts 4.2.1 and 4.2.3), in both cases in a movement of lowering or deconstructing responsibility on the ground that she did not know. At the same time, she mentions several readings and seems to be well informed about animal ethics and veg*ism. Thus, she enacts in a sense a responsibility of learning and staying informed, as appears in the following extract:

Extract 4.2.4: Aurélia, narrative interview [about her relation with her brother]

A: we had discussions with where : we spoke about animal farming in fact how it works, (.) especially these topics. (.) and now uh later, (.) I did some research because it’s a topic in which I’m interested and now it’s almost me who teaches him things and he is vegetarian he is not: (.) he didn’t go further in his reflection, he continues to eat cheese and everything so: (.) I’m glad to share with him the reasons why it would be good (.) well to stop too

In this extract, it becomes clear that Aurélia does not content herself with learning from others who take the initiative to explain her something, but that she engaged actively in finding more information and learning about animal farming. Thus, a debate that was initially imposed to her by her brother then became a topic on which she nourishes her own internal dialogue as well as her resources to argument with others in particular through reading. This learning about the issue seems to have an impact on her trajectory. As she learns more, she discovers that meat is not the only problematic

product regarding animal ethics, but that all PAOs are. Obviously, this leads her to orient her food habits towards veganism. In addition to that, she also cares about the quality of that knowledge.

Extract 4.2.5: Aurélia, narrative interview [about articles she finds on the internet]

A: there are some where I think well the tone used is not very (.) it's a bit strange so I would be careful with what I read there, (.) but it's true that I won't check the sources all the time

Although she admits that she is not very consequent with the verification of information, she still affirms on a general level that it is important to be critical regarding the information found, which is also a form of responsibility of the reader (unlike a situation where the whole responsibility for the information would rely on the writer's shoulder, in whom the reader could trust blindly). Another extract also illustrates this epistemological responsibility:

Extract 4.2.6: Aurélia, dialogical experiment [related to the papers on nature/culture; she explains why she does not use arguments relying on physiology anymore]

A: these are arguments that I already used, now the fact that we have an intestine like this that it is because of that

F: okay

A: but afterwards when inquiring more I realize that (.) maybe it's not exactly the truth and (.) I prefer not to use them anymore

In this extract, there is a similar statement regarding a responsibility in relation to knowledge than in extract 4.2.5; however, what is specific here is that it concerns an argumentative situation, and thus implicitly another person (at least). This points also to changes in her positioning in social interactions. In other words, Aurélia takes it as her responsibility not to voice discourses that she is not sure to be true.

C. Responsibility towards others and other-responsibility

This leads me towards the next sub-section of Aurélia's case study, which concerns more specifically social interactions and the relation to (human) others. Extract 4.2.6 shows that Aurélia cares about the quality of the arguments she uses when interacting with others, and in the interview (see for instance extract 4.2.4) she also mentions liking to discuss about veg*ism with others, as long as they are not completely closed to her arguments. This is a form of enactment of responsibility towards others, that can be seen as an extension of the importance to be informed that she applies to herself. It might also be a way to trigger the other's responsibility, and indeed at the very end of the encounter, when I ask her if she wants to add something, she states that

Extract 4.2.7: Aurélia, after the dialogical experiment

A: well in fact if people would realize they could not [implicitly: continue to eat meat]

Interestingly, she also tries to make sense of the fact that this is not the case, and refers to cognitive dissonance (thus drawing on a socially available discourse allowing her to make sense of people's psychological processes). In a same movement of understanding why people are not vegetarians, she also mentions contexts in which it is a matter of survival, or for elderly people because – she says – it is too difficult to them to question the way they always did and that they do not realize that something is wrong with the way animals are treated. Interestingly, through these movements of perspective taking, she is deconstructing the others' responsibility for eating meat.

There is an interesting movement also regarding choice, which (see chapter two, section on responsibility, p. 45) is a condition for responsibility. At the beginning of the interview, when she explains me her trajectory, she says the following:

Extract 4.2.8: Aurélia, narrative interview

A: well the first year we still occasionally ate meat once or twice, (.) because there were certain occasions where (.) where sometimes we didn't really have the choice, (.)

F: yeah

A: well we always have a choice but yeah

Thus, in order to explain situations where she and her boyfriend ate meat although they already "started" to be vegetarians (thus a discrepancy between the socio-material and the socio-discursive positioning, constructed around the perspective of vegetarianism as a strict diet), she states that there was no choice, which is a way to reject the responsibility for this behavior. When, during the second phase of the interview, I come back on this point and ask her which situations she thinks about when saying *we did not really have the choice*, her answer is: when your host cook meat for you because he or she did not know you are vegetarian. In this case, it seems that the responsibility toward animals and the responsibility towards the host are in conflict. However, just after that she mentions that now, when she gets invited, she will inform the host that she is vegetarian but add that it is not necessary to prepare something special for her. This is a way to solve this conflict of responsibilities by anticipating it. The fact that she adds that no specific replacement of meat is needed can again be interpreted as a way not to position oneself or be positioned as an annoying vegetarian who disturbs the carnist order.

Finally, another way responsibility towards other humans appears is illustrated by the following extract:

Extract 4.2.9: Aurélia, narrative interview (partly overlapping with extracts 1.1.2 and 2.3.1)

A: precisely there is not only the ethical aspect there is also uh the health aspect that I'm interested in, and ecological, and: and even human, because I think that the people working (.) in these sectors in the slaughterhouses and all that it must not be easy for them, (.) well yeah there are all these aspects that are interesting.

F: yeah

A: but maybe the ethical aspect comes first,

She underlines here that another reason to her not to eat meat are working conditions in slaughterhouses, thus she performs here a position of responsibility towards the workers. Implicitly, she does not want to encourage this through consumption. In this extract, we can also note a movement from responsibility towards animals (the "ethic" in the first line refers to "animal ethics"), to responsibility towards one's health (body), then towards the planet, and finally also the workers in slaughterhouses. In comparison to what was said until this point in the interview, this is clearly a movement of extension. The extract however finishes on a movement of hierarchisation of these elements, as responsibility towards animals is put in front.

D. "What's the point?"¹³⁵

Finally, this question of who "convokes" the responsibility is tidily linked to the one of the impact of one's behavior. It is because my acts have an effect on something that I am responsible in front of this something (this is based on Benson's definition of responsibility, see p. 47, but with a more important accent on the addressed dimension of responsibility). This question of the impact appears clearly only twice in the data from Aurélia.

Extract 4.2.10: Aurélia, dialogical experiment [in the reaction to the papers on health, speaking about her incoherence]

A: well do what I say not what I do and that's it ((laughing)) but that's it I have moments where I'm more lucid than others, moments where I tell myself ah what's the point

F: yeah

A: and moments (.) where I know exactly why I don't eat any,

The central point in this extract is the "what's the point" (the literal translation would be *for what [is it] good?*), which points to her doubts about the fact that her refusal to eat meat changes anything. Interestingly, it is opposed to "lucidity" and knowledge about "why" she does it (which is not further

¹³⁵ Her words in French: "A quoi bon"

developed). Thus, she explains here her occasional meat consumption (when her behavior goes against her discourse about veg* and animal ethics – “do what I say but not what I do”) as related to the feeling or idea that it does not change anything, a voice that echoes the debates on responsibility in meat consumption highlighted in chapter three (see p. 116). If she does not have a real impact, then – drawing again on Benson’s definition – there is no reason to state she is responsible. These moments of doubts are opposed to moment when *she knows why she does not eat meat*. A similar idea is also expressed in the following extract (already presented in chapter six, p. 206):

Extract 2.3.2: Aurélia, narrative interview

A: it’s not because I don’t like it that I stopped. (.) it’s really for ethical reasons, what. (.) so uh I still find it tasty,; when I go to the restaurant and that (.) that there is meat cooking I find that it smells good,; I’m not disgusted

F: yeah

A: I would like, to be disgusted but: (.) but it’s fine it’s also not a frustration

F: yeah

A: I know why I do it

There is an interesting movement that I propose to formulate in the following way: *I know why I do it thus I can do it (without exceptions / without frustration)*. Thus, this movement can be read as an impact on one’s own behavior through knowledge; in other (vygotskian) words, there is an action (and a control) on one’s mind and behavior through signs. This power to act on oneself implies responsibility, as it implies both the position of agent and the possibility of choice given that one can affect oneself in different manners (see Benson, 2001; Frith, 2014). This opens also the possibility for understanding some movements between positionings on a discursive and moral level (what I know, what is important to me and how do I consider responsibility/feel myself responsible) and socio-material enacted positionings (eating meat or not). In Aurélia’s case, these dynamics seem to develop over rather long periods of time (months and years), during which, through collecting information and learning on the topic, she progressively accumulates reasons to be veg* and thus *knowledge about why she does it* that will provide a kind of semiotic ground to sustain and orient her behavior in food habits.

3. NEGOTIATING RESPONSIBILITY ALONG THE FIVE DIMENSIONS

What can be highlighted through Gaël’s case is the important work on responsibility around the transition from the vegetarian to the carnist diet. It takes place in the frame of a felt contradiction

between “his principles and himself” (his words, which nicely illustrate an intrapersonal dialogical tension), a contradiction that emerged in the transition from a vegetarian to a carnist diet. I identified several movements in this work on responsibility: a lowering of self-responsibility (notably related to mental health, education and environment, social comparison and statements on human nature), a redefinition of what is really important (and thus on which a responsible individual should concentrate) and a small beginning of redistribution of responsibility among “everyone”. These movements are anchored in several socially shared discourses, through which Gaël negotiates his own positioning and perspective in sometimes subtle ways. In Aurélia’s case, the strong conviction that veg*ism is right and logical, the important place occupied by learning and knowledge as well as a certain nonchalance in the way to handle *failures* regarding her veg*an foodway are the most striking aspects that come out from the analysis. Her responsibility, in particular towards animals, to avoid meat seems to constitute an important and quite solid background on which her foodway develops and changes, in relation with the knowledge accumulated regarding notably animal ethics but also other aspects of a veg*ism and PAO consumption (environment, health, working conditions). It seems also that this background allows her to engage in interpersonal dialogues where she argues for a vegetarian positioning in a rather calm and confident way. Despite of this relative stability, movements of negotiation of responsibility can also be observed in her case. In order to take some distance from the particularities of each case, I propose now to discuss these movements under the lens of the five dimensions involved in the construction of responsibility.

As a reminder, these five dimensions are who bears responsibility, for what, towards who/what, what is the power to act in that situation and what does (one) know (Gfeller, accepted). On the first dimension, in Gaël’s case there is a clear reduction of personal responsibility when he assesses that education and context make a lot, with a shift of this responsibility towards a generalized other. There is also a shift of the responsibility from “I” to “others” when he says that if everyone could be vegetarian for five or six years this would already be great. In this case, it is both a redistribution that is more collective (*how would it be if everyone does a little bit and not just me alone?*) and towards more concrete others (each and every single person) than “education” and “environment”. In Aurélia’s case, her own responsibility seems to be conceived as an evidence and rarely questioned by herself, except maybe in the *what’s the point* (see p. 288). A negotiation can notably be observed in extract 4.2.3, where she defends herself against a discourse saying that she – as a member of the group *vegetarians* – does not well enough, which is a way to give more responsibility to the members of this group. As an answer to that, she values the responsibility vegetarians already assume.

To the question for what is one responsible for, a shift can also be observed in Gaël’s case from not eating meat to eating local food. Moreover, when he places anti-speciesism not as a core issue, he

introduces discursive activities (take a racist standpoint) as a fundamental action for which one is responsible. For Aurélia, there is a shift during her trajectory between being responsible for not eating meat and being responsible for not eating PAO. Besides of that, responsibility for learning and knowing occupies an important place. Thus, in both cases the circle extends, but in Gaël's case, the centre of gravity of "for what one is responsible" moves, while in Aurélia's case, it stays at the same place. These different categories of activities for which one is responsible imply different entities towards which the person is engaged. From a dialogical point of view, these entities can also be considered as others that ask for certain "responses" (which relates more specifically to an ethical tradition of dialogism, see section on dialogism, p. 13) and in this sense they certainly play a fundamental role in the dynamics discussed here. In Gaël's case, there is an initial move of extension from humans (feminism, anti-racism) to animals (anti-speciesism) that is related to the change from a carnist to a vegetarian diet. In the part of the interview related to the current food habits, there is a backward movement that places humans again more at the center of the "fight" than animals, while simultaneously he introduces ecological issues, thus adding the planet or the ecosystem (my words) to the entities towards which there is responsibility. Importantly, when taking into account his own health, Gaël is also including himself in the beings toward which he has a form of responsibility. If previously this relation to himself was mainly framed as a necessity to be upstanding¹³⁶, to live in accordance with his ideological convictions, the crisis he lived through transformed his relation to himself, now also presenting himself both as someone who needs to deal with constraints (education, environment) and who has a right for pleasure and being happy. In Aurélia's case, at the beginning of her trajectory, responsibility towards animals is the trigger for a vegetarian foodway. Through her readings about the subject, other entities seem to progressively appear as elements towards which/whom she is also responsible, notably herself (health), the environment and workers. These seem to play the role to give a larger ground and thus more solidity to her responsibility not to eat meat and other PAO. She also introduces a hierarchy between these elements, keeping animal ethics at the center. Thus, both in Gaël and Aurélia's case, the movements on this dimension imply expansion, complexification and hierarchisation. Moreover, in Aurélia's case the extension of her field of responsibility also plays an important role in her successive changes in foodway (from carnist to vegetarian and then towards a vegan diet), which are clearly related to the idea of what she considers as a better state of the world, where animals would not be exploited. In other words, as she feels more responsible towards the animals, the planet or the workers, she changes her foodway with the idea that she does not want to participate to the system that produces what appears as problematic to her, a change that is also tidely

¹³⁶ His words in French: "être intègre" (see footnote 128, p. 276)

related to the idea that the world could be different. This shows that responsibility is not only related to self-creation but also very tidely to creativity oriented towards the world. I suggest that we might expand Benson's argument and state that responsibility is not only a condition for self-creation but also for creativitiy as a transformation of the world. However, this world creativity seems to be sometimes a slightly problematic or difficult aspect of the positioning, and this is what I will discuss in the next paragraph.

Interestingly, Gaël never really mentions the issue of the possible impact of his actions and choices, in other words the power to act stays largely unaddressed and implicit. The ideologies he refers to (anarchism, communism, anti-speciesism,...) are clearly oriented towards understanding and changing the social world, in other words transformation of the world. When mentioning them as a reason (see extract 2.3.1), he designates the relations between human beings and animals as relations of exploitation, which clearly implies one category (of which he is part) affecting the other in a negative way. However, the reason itself he gives to his becoming vegetarian, namely being coherent, is already much more turned toward an individual level. It is a matter of being coherent with oneself, of according one's personal practices with one's personal beliefs. Moreover, the categorization of these human – animal relations imply affecting the world as meat eaters, but do not address the possible impact of vegetarianism. While the relation between human and animals is an intergroup relation and is formulated in a general way, the issue of the personal power to act takes place on another scale – both more individual and more situated in time and space, and the links between the different levels cannot be taken-for-granted and are not addressed by Gaël. Thus, as with the issue of coherence, we stay here at the level of the individual without addressing the issue of the impact of the individual on other entities in the world. This can again be related to a neoliberal construction that considers individual responsibility as important, but neglects or overlooks that the individual action has no effect on the system. This question is nevertheless skimmed over twice by Aurélia. One time is when she mentions sometimes wondering *what's the point* of being vegetarian, and thus in relation to the idea that there is no impact (and this seems to be an idea from which she tries most of the time to distanciate). The other time is when she mentions that vegetarians (including her) *only try to do good around them*, thus underlining their intention to have a positive impact. However, for both participants, the issue of the impact stays largely unaddressed, which is rather surprising as it is, as mentioned, central both in the discussions on responsibility (Benson, 2001; Frith, 2014) and an important point of debate regarding veg*ism and meat consumption (Austgulen, 2014; Driver, 2016; Gilson, 2014).

After these five dimensions of responsibility, let us now come back to our participants' trajectory. I will briefly discuss a few interpretations of the broad evolution of their positionings (from vegetarian to carnist for Gaël, towards less and less PAO for Aurélia) in the light of what has been presented in this

chapter. The first point follows what has just been said on impact of actions and choices. Given the importance for health of the capacity to affect the world (Clot, 2008; Winnicott, 1986), a possible hypothesis here is that the relative invisibleness, as indicator either of a difficulty or an absence, could be related to the personal crisis Gaël mentions, or at least partly explain the return on a carnist diet. Indeed, why should one make efforts that don't *make us happy*, if they don't change anything? However, what then makes Aurélia's case different, as she does not return to a carnist diet despite of her occasional doubts about the impacts and the fact that she likes the taste of meat? One hypothesis could be that she already addresses the issue slightly more than Gaël; she doubts about it and assesses the intention of an impact. Another (more important) difference, which is not related to the issue of impact anymore but could provide some explanations on the difference in unfolding of their trajectory, lies in their relation to integrity or coherence. Aurélia displays a relation to this issue that is rather relaxed, she laughs about it, ironically states *do what I say not what I do*, but underlines doing her best. Gaël currently also seems to have a rather relaxed relation to incoherence, stating that it is part of human life and that we need to learn to live with it. However (and the learning points to that aspect), he went through a quite complicated history of relation with coherence, where it seems that it rather was a weight. What is the relation between incoherence and responsibility? On one side, there is of course a responsibility to be coherent that is negotiated (with oneself and with others). On the other side, what appears through the data is that this relation to or conception of coherence mediates or colors the relation to other responsibilities. For instance, in Gaël's case, his current position regarding coherence allows him to manage the conflict between responsibility implied by anti-speciesism (which he agrees with and defends on a discursive level) and responsibility toward himself (to respect his needs and limits). Finally, one aspect that is repeatedly pointed to by Gaël during the interview is his relative isolation as a vegetarian in his social milieu. This might also be a way to explain why the transition from carnism to vegetarianism did not work very well, as social recognition play an important role in the processes of transitions (Zittoun & Grossen, 2013). On the contrary, Aurélia and her boyfriend decided to become vegetarians together, they seem to have the same type of "not strict vegetarian diet", and this might play an important role in the quite steady unfolding of Aurélia's trajectory towards less PAO. This is closely related to the question of who bears responsibility. Indeed, if the responsibility is carried alone, or if the others' or collective responsibility is never mentioned or questioned (notably because it is a matter of individual choice, or because there is a fear of the other's reactions or of hurting), the risk of being or feeling isolated seems to be much higher, than if there is a possible discussion (and the recognition does not necessarily mean agreement).

To conclude this chapter, what are the main points that came out from this analysis? Firstly, it is interesting to observe that movements of negotiating responsibility can be observed both in a situation

in which the general positioning towards veg*ism is rather stable and in another trajectory were much more changes in that positioning can be observed. Aurélia's case notably illustrates that while her feeling and conceptualization of responsibility might be rather stable, it seems rather to be in the interactions with others that it is challenged and that she needs to discuss it and redefine it. On the other hand, Gaël seems to be much more engaged within an internal dialogue that notably engages a discursive pro-veg*an positioning and a socio-materially enacted not-veg* positioning. Thus, a redefinition of the positioning such as in Gaël's case seems to imply a renegotiation of the responsibility in dialogue with oneself (which does not exclude dialogue with others and justifications in front of them, however he does not really mention these types of dialogue in the part of the interview related to his current situation), while a stable positioning does not exclude a negotiation of the responsibility in interpersonal dialogues, but at least in Aurélia's case, it seems not to fundamentally question her understanding of responsibility. Finally, one of the most interesting points that comes out from this analysis under the lense of responsibility is the positioning work regarding coherence (in Gaël's terms) or perfection (in Aurélia's terms). Through this, both of them discuss what is actually possible (perfection and total coherence are not) and what should be done (do one's best / accept incoherence), thus voicing different perspectives on human beings. This allows them to integrate tensions between divergent positionings (for instance between socio-material and socio-discursive positionings) and make them acceptable.

CHAPTER NINE: CREATIVELY SHAPING THE FOODWAY BETWEEN SHOULD, COULD AND WOULD

In the previous chapter, I examined the way participants construct and negotiate responsibility in food related activities, and how this relates to the development of their positioning (see also Gfeller, accepted). This led me to discuss issues such as the perception of coherence or the way self and other's responsibility are understood and change. As I underlined in chapter two, this notion brings the focus on socio-discursive positioning, although it is related to concrete choices of action regarding the material world as well as moral issues. In this chapter, I will focus on concrete everyday activities in which people act in and on the socio-material world. In order to do so, I will draw on the notion of creativity which, at least within the conceptual framework I am referring to here, is concerned with the engagement of a person with the surrounding socio-material and cultural world, an engagement characterized by transformation (of the world and through this, of the person). Thus, this notion of creativity highlights in particular two dimensions of human activity. On one side, it is concerned with human activity as it implies a form of agency on the side of the person, a future-oriented behavior affecting and transforming the world and negotiating conflicts and tensions in valuable and novel ways. On the other side, this notion (again, regarding the conceptual frame used here) leads me to focus on the concrete engagement with and transformation of the socio-material world. In this sense, the notion of affordances is a useful theoretical complement in the study of creativity. In this chapter, I propose a case study in which I draw on these two notions, and more particularly on Glăveanu's model of creativity as an interplay between normativity (should), intentionality (would) and materiality (could), which I relate here to the notions of (moral) positioning, perspective and affordance. As it is the part of data in which the engagement with the socio-material world is at the heart, I will focus in particular on a filmed observation. I decided to concentrate in particular on Alexandre's case, as he is a participant who was particularly innovative in the changes he brought in his foodway. Thus, in what follows, I will start with saying a few words more about Alexandre and the salad he prepares, as a general context for the analysis. Following that, I analyze more particularly the socio-material dynamics in the recorded activity. In order to do so, I will first discuss the main affordances I observed in the video, and secondly, I will analyze and discuss three selected sequences, drawing on the "should-would-could" model. The aim is to understand how the preparation of a salad, as a socio-material and symbolic activity, participates to the creative shaping of Alexandre's foodway.

1. ALEXANDRE AND HIS SALAD

I already provided some information about Alexandre in chapter six (see p. 195), thus I will only remind here a few central elements about his case and give a few additional information that allow a better understanding of the analysis that follows. The reader might go back to chapter six for more details about his story. Alexandre's change in foodway is based on health reasons. It was prompted by a knee operation from which he had difficulties to recover. He started to eliminate dairy products, and later also meat. However, he does not have a strictly vegan diet, and he does not call himself vegetarian or vegan. Over the five last years, he progressively modified his food habits in a deep way, eating mainly raw food, avoiding gluten and oil, and currently aiming at diminishing sugar. Health comes out as a major theme in the interview, as well as his regret that, on average, we know so few about nutrition, and that we should learn more. Environmental issues are also presented as important, although in the interview it is less clear how this affects his foodway. Moreover, he states that it is important to take time to eat properly and to prepare one's food, which he relates to a broader critic of the current average pace of life. I asked him whether I could contact him for a filmed observation because he seemed enthusiastic to participate to the study during the first encounter but also because of the important changes he brought to his foodway in – what I estimated to be – a creative and original way. As I explained (see chapter four, sub-section on filmed observation, p. 137), I asked him to prepare a meal that was something usual to him. He thus chose to prepare a salad. He explains that he usually eats salad for lunch, and that the ingredients he uses variate depending on seasons (what is available as seasonal products) and on his desire. During the interview, he already told me about these salads, explaining that he sometimes discusses the best combinations of ingredients (in relation to health) with his chiropractor, who is vegan. Thus, the salad represents a meal that is very present in Alexandre's everyday life, but it is also a product that is recreated on everyday basis depending on the foods that are available and correspond to his criteria, and it is elaborated over time based on new information as well as personal experience. The preparation of the salad lasts approximately 20 minutes; however, he did already cook the rice, quinoa and lentils that he integrates the evening before (which he also does usually, and each time enough for two or three days). He also uses parsley and chives that were cut in advance in important quantity and frozen. Thus, his main activities during the video recorded sequence are cutting the vegetables (for most of them, not entirely but only a part of them), eliminating the parts that he would throw away, showing me the vegetables and speaking to me.

In his trajectory, the development of the salad constitutes a way to conciliate different positions, notably that of the sportsman, the positioning as a healthy eater (more precisely the positioning as someone who knows meat and dairy products are unhealthy and acts accordingly) and the positioning as an environmentally responsible consumer who favors local products and knows what he eats (where it comes from and how it is produced). Diverse forms of interpersonal dialogue, in particular reading (books and on the internet) and discussions with the chiropractor, played a role in the elaboration of the salad, notably when it comes to gathering information about the nutritional value of certain ingredients or combinations. Through this, Alexandre repositions himself (as a healthy salad eater) while his relation to the salad as a habitual meal (thus the perspective he has on the salad) changes. In this sense, the salad is a socio-material creation through which Alexandre elaborates his new positioning as a healthy, informed and responsible eater.

As a preparation of the data for the analysis, I watched the video several times and elaborated a written account of the video. More precisely, I made a table with the following entries: time, description of action visible on the video, transcription of what is said, which I completed for the whole video. I then selected some sequences that were particularly interesting, and added columns in the table for the description of the “should”, “would” and “could” that I identified in each sequence, as well as possible tensions.

2. THE AFFORDANCES OF VEGETABLES (AND OTHER FOODS)

I will now come closer to the video data, through the presentation of the different types of affordances I observed, focusing in particular on vegetables as they constitute the main socio-material elements with whom Alexandre interacts. The vegetables seem to present two major types of affordances, which are tidily connected to the social situation of filmed observation and the instructions I gave. I will mainly concentrate here on the second, but will start to say a few words about the first that appears chronologically in the video.

First of all, vegetables are showed and pointed to. In this sense, they are at the heart of the social situation, and constitute a tool for self presentation and a central object of interpersonal communication. In this frame, vegetables afford to be pointed to, grasped, turned, exhibited, discussed, moved from the crate to the table and back, touched, or even shaken in the case of the celery (in order to show that it is floppy and thus not fresh anymore). This kind of affordances is particularly present at the beginning of the video, before the preparation of the salad really started. Socio-discursively, this allows Alexandre to position himself as a knowledgeable person who is able to

name the vegetable, to select those who are seasonal and to evaluate their value based on their material aspect (for instance the celery that is judged as too floppy and thus not fresh anymore). However, this type of affordance is not my central interest in this analysis, as it does not directly participate to the creation of the salad (but rather to the creative elaboration of the relation and of the socio-discursive positioning in the relation). Nevertheless, they remind us of the pervasive presence of the audience in any creative process (Glăveanu et al., 2019) and more generally in any psychological process (Marková, 2003). I will turn now to a second group of affordances that is more strongly connected to the preparation of the salad.

In the frame of the preparation of the salad, the vegetables also present a variety of affordances, some of them being overlapping with the previously mentioned ones. I don't aim here at providing an exhaustive list, which would be superfluous in this frame, but rather to list the main affordances that are important in the unfolding of the activity and the transformation of a certain number of vegetables into an object called salad. The first contact in presentia between the vegetables and Alexandre happens before the observation, when he chooses and buys them from the market gardener. In this frame, the vegetables probably afford to be viewed and to some extent touched, weighed and smelled in the frame of an estimation whether their quantity and quality is worth the price asked. According to what Alexandre says about these moments, he would also talk about the vegetables with the market gardener, thus the manipulation of the vegetables is again taking place in a frame where interpersonal socio-discursive positionings are at play. From the angle of materiality, the vegetables would afford much more, such as biting them, maybe squeezing some of them or throwing them, but the normativity of the situation prevents these actions to take place. From Alexandre's perspective, they are first of all products, while he is occupying the social position of a consumer. This phase in particular illustrates a self – other interdependence as those highlighted by dialogism, not only at a symbolic level but very concretely in the possibility to get access to food. Then, the affordance of the vegetables to be carried allows them to arrive on the table where the observation takes place. This is facilitated by the affordance of another object, namely a crate. This is the moment when the observation actually starts. From this moment on, the vegetables afford to be grasped, lifted, teared, squeezed, cut, thrown away, depending also on the kind of vegetable or the part of the vegetable (leaf vs basis, skin vs flesh). Here they interact with the affordances of other objects (especially the knife, but also the table) and of parts of the body (different fingers, palms of the hand). From the perspective of Alexandre, the vegetables are now foods that needs to be transformed into a meal. In other words, he acts on the vegetable in order to create a new affordance: to be eaten, and more precisely in this case to be small enough to enter the mouth and be chewed. Socio-materially, the position he occupies is obviously a place in the kitchen that allows him to act on the vegetables in a comfortable way, while socio-

discursively, the position could be described as that of a knowledgeable and skillful cook who knows how to prepare healthy and tasteful salads. On the level of the moral positioning (which also corresponds to the normativity in the creativity model used here), we can see this activity as an enactment of the discourse that health and pleasure in eating are important.

I need to add here that a few foods (rice, lentils and quinoa/parsley and chives) underwent a slightly different path of transformation as they were cooked or frozen (before the observation). Thus, some other affordances were used by Alexandre. This is also related to affordances these foods do not present: rice, lentils and quinoa notably do not afford being eaten raw. Thus, through cooking, he transforms the affordances of these foods in order to make them edible. Finally, during a post-video phase, the newly created affordance of the salad was used by Alexandre and myself; the salad was eaten, an activity in which we occupied the positions of eaters (which also implies, to some extent, a position of evaluators of the work done previously). Interestingly, the socio-material position during this activity was different than during the other moment: while we were standing during the preparation of the salad, we sat down in order to eat. This activity also implied the use the affordances of plates, which, interestingly, are not essential from the material point of view for this kind of salad, but are highly important from the normative point of view. This can be related to the role of food in the construction of identity (as human beings vs animals) and sociality (the food is shared; I am invited to eat with Alexandre) which were highlighted in chapter three.

Thus we can observe that different affordances of the foods play a role in different moments, but also that the affordances are progressively transformed by Alexandre. Simultaneously, Alexandre's perspective on the foods changes, as well as the positions he occupies. However, I argue that the moral position stating the importance of health, knowledge and pleasure is pervasive to the whole activity, participates to guide it while it is at the same time reactualized through the choice of products (seasonable and untreated vegetables, but also foods he enjoys eating) and their preparation (cooking as few as possible). However, this was a rather broad description of the dynamics involved in the preparation of the salad. In order to enter more deeply the dynamics of the articulation between these different dimensions (positions, perspectives and affordances), I will present now three particular situations in which the "should, could and would" interact in particularly interesting ways. These situations are particular moments of the recording, but what (also) makes them of interest here is the way they relate to other extracts of the data and broader dynamics in the person's foodway, thus I also mention these elements when they are relevant for the analysis.

3. SITUATION ONE: WHAT PARTS OF THE VEGETABLE CAN BE USED IN THE SALAD?

The first situation I will present comes from the beginning of the preparation of the salad, when Alexandre just finishes to slice the first vegetable (Chinese cabbage) and slices the second one, a carrot. Table 5 provides a description of this situation, as well as elements of analysis in terms of “should, could and would” (Glăveanu, 2016).

Table 5 First situation from the video

Time	Description of action	What is said	Should
3'02-3'15	Finishes to cut the Chinese cabbage. Grasps the carrot in the crate, shows it to me and cuts it over the bowl (nothing for the compost)	A: so here I cut in broad strokes. Really very basic. And then you see I take a carrot and I cut it uh I put everything in [the salad]. Without peeling it without nothing F: and you wash them generally or A: no, (1) no never	Use everything (Alex's positioning) vs eliminate the less tasty parts (norm) Not wash them (Alex) vs wash them (norm)
Would	Could	Tensions	Comment
Use the whole carrot for the salad	Every part of the carrot affords to be eaten (unusual affordance)	Between personal positioning and norm in the socio-cultural environment	The unusual affordances of the carrot and the perspective on it (everything can be eaten) lead to a positioning (environmentally and economically responsible consumer) that encompasses a should that is different from the norm of the environment

What I found interesting in this situation is the fact that Alexandre uses the whole carrot for the salad, without throwing anything away. The carrot didn't have leaves anymore, but still had the base from which the leaves come out, which is usually cut and thrown away. Most of the people would also peel the carrot or at least wash it, which is not Alexandre's case. Thus, he exploits affordances of these parts of the vegetable (skin and bases) that are usually not employed. In other words, he acts outside of the "normativity" realm as socially defined. The materiality of this part of the carrot does not need any further transformation than being cut in order to be eaten. It is Alexandre's perspective on it that, for a reason that is unknown to me, must have changed at a certain point in his trajectory, moving from a perspective considering this part as not edible and thus as waste, to a perspective according to which this part is edible and can be used for the salad. Through this, Alexandre enacts a particular position, for which any edible part of a vegetable should be integrated in the salad, which could be related (my interpretation) to a position condemning food waste for environmental reasons, a discourse that is increasingly present in the socio-cultural frame of this study.

Interestingly, Alexandre highlights verbally that he "put everything in. without peeling without nothing". The fact that he mentions this might be an indicator of his awareness that this is unusual. Moreover, this might be a way to "defend" the unusual way of doing in the interaction, as an anticipation of my (as an observer) possible disapproval based on the norms. However, he doesn't give me any explicit reason to his action that would constitute an argument for it. Moreover, during the interview and qualitative experiment, Alexandre insisted a lot on the fact that his foodway is unusual, that he is often not understood by others, and that the environmental and health aspect of food are very important to him. Taking in account this broader positioning, the choice not to throw away any part of the carrot is not really surprising. Thus, it might be the case that Alexandre estimates that he already provided me all the reasons for his action.

To sum up, the main tension I identify through this example is situated between the normative way of preparing a carrot in the socio-cultural environment (normativity) and Alexandre's way, which can be seen as an unusual way to exploit the carrot's affordances ("could"), based on a particular perspective he has on some parts of the carrot (this is edible; I "would" eat it). Thus, in this case, it seems that Alexandre found a way, to some extent, to harmonize the would, should and could at the individual level. However, the fact that he highlights it verbally might indicate a certain apprehension of the other's judgement on this action, and thus tensions at the interpersonal level, which can be related also more globally to the fact that Alexandre mentioned in the interview that the most difficult in the change of foodway was the other's point of view (see p. 198). Finally, this action to use the whole carrot in the salad might also be read as a form of socio-material (enacted) positioning that relates to a specific moral positioning (which I already highlighted above), while the socio-discursive positioning

relates to the challenges on the level of interpersonal interactions. In that sense, the tension here appears as located between the socio-discursive positioning and the two others types of positioning, and the statement *I make it like this* without any further explanation might be an attempt to prevent a question or comment on it, while avoiding a more deep discussion.

4. SITUATION TWO: DATES FROM THE SUPERMARKET

The second situation comes from the 12th minute of the video, thus approximately the middle of the recording. It was chosen because I identified a tension between some statements made elsewhere and what he shows and mentions during this sequence. Indeed, earlier in the interview, he mentioned in a very assertive way that he didn't set foot in the supermarket anymore. More generally, in the interview, the dialogical experiment and during the filmed observation, he insists a lot on the importance of buying local and seasonal food, and on buying food directly at the market gardener. However, in this part of the salad preparation, he is adding dates to the salad which are definitely not local. As he mentioned previously that he received them from a friend, I thought that this was maybe exceptional and that he wouldn't use dates usually. Nevertheless, as I asked him about that it came out that dates are (with figs) a habitual component of his salads, and that he buys them at the supermarket. Again, Table 6 provides more information about the situation and some elements of analysis.

Table 6 Second situation from the video

Time	Description of action	What is said	Should
11'05-12:00	Starts to cut a date with knife (others are in hand palm), stops to show it to me and continues to cut it (quite slowly; each piece that is cut falls in the bowl). Squeezes it with thumbs in order to get the stone out of it, throws the stone in the compost, finishes to cut the date.	A: And now I add dates, F: do you also buy dates sometimes or now it's only because you received them? A: no no I also buy yes. (1) but it's true that it's the only thing I buy at [name of supermarket]. (4) I buy organic ones or sometimes not, well. (1) it's better to do everything by yourself if you	(stated earlier) one should avoid going to the supermarket (not good products, not seasonal) Buy seasonal and local (dates are not...)

	Separates two dates and starts to cut one, the other stays in hand palm. Turn it to find a better angle to cut it. Again pushes the stone out of it with two thumbs, and puts it in the compost. Finishes to cut the date. Same with the 3 rd date.	really want it to be organic after you should also not be (2) too extremist (3) but from these I add maybe 4 (2) and that's a little bit the thing that brings you the sweet taste (1) it's always nice to have a bite with uh dates , and exactly with the lemon it's so: it lifts the taste. It's so good, dates with good taste and lemon	Importance of pleasure to eat, taste
Would	Could	Tensions	Comment
Add dates and figs from the supermarket in the salad	Dates and figs are available at the supermarket Dates and figs are sweet (act as sweeteners)	Between should and would Between different should's	"resolved" with the argument of taste + it's the only thing from supermarket (implicitly: it is ok to make a few exceptions, for taste)

In this situation, there is a discrepancy between Alexandre's socio-material positioning (using dates bought at the supermarket) and the socio-discursive positioning adopted before (statement that he avoids going to the supermarket and that he buys local and seasonal products). This socio-discursive positioning is related to a moral positioning (*I should be a responsible consumer – responsible relating here notably to environmental issues - and I should eat healthily – which also implies favouring local, seasonal food bought at the market gardener I trust*; we can recognize here several discourses present in the socio-cultural environment). The "should" expressed by this moral positioning comes into competition with an affordance of the dates highlighted by Alexandre, namely their sweet taste, which leads him to use them as sweeteners in the composition of the salad. This affordance can be related to another positioning, namely considering that the meal should be tasty and eating a pleasure. This position appears explicitly in Alexandre's discourse in the presented situation as it is mobilised in the frame of socio-discursive positioning.

These tensions are also reflected in the diverse perspectives that are present. While in general, Alexandre would buy local and seasonal foods at the market gardener (socio-material positioning) as in his perspective, these are proper or good foods, in the particular case of dates and figs, he would buy them at the supermarket (socio-material positioning) as in his perspective, they are good sweeteners for his salad. Another element, related to this distinction between *in general* and *figs and dates*, seems to play a role in the way Alexandre negotiates this tension. Indeed, he states that “it’s the only thing I buy at [name of the supermarket], I buy them organic [...] you should not be an extremist”. Three different arguments can be identified in this short extract, which participate to justify or make acceptable his socio-material positioning of buying dates at the supermarket: 1) it’s the only thing, thus in terms of quantity it is insignificant; 2) they are organic, thus it is quite acceptable both for environment and health (or at least more than not organic ones); and these two first arguments can be understood as ways to anticipate arguments based on the idea that the food one buys at the supermarket has negative impacts on the environment and on health; and finally 3) you should not be an extremist, which is a way to undermine the (possible) attack of his action based on the argument that he is not coherent or not enough consistent. Thus, interestingly, with this last argument, the tension is again negotiated thanks to the introduction of an alternative “should”, while with the two other arguments, it is rather a matter of reassessing the implications and reframing of his socio-material positioning, showing that it is actually less in conflict with the above mentioned “should” that it seems at a first glance.

5. SITUATION THREE: RAW FOOD

The third “situation” actually groups two moments from the video data, but as both are quite short and as they illustrate a similar aspects of the data, I decided to integrate both of them in this analysis (see also Table 7). The first moment comes from the beginning of the video, while the second moment happens slightly before the middle of the video. These elements were chosen as they relate to Alexandre’s habit to eat food that is as raw as possible. This was already mentioned during the interview, and he mentions it again three times during the observation. It is framed in Alexandre’s broader discourse on healthy eating, but also, as chewing the raw vegetables takes time, in his critique of the current average pace of life.

Table 7 Third situation from the video

Time	Description of action	What is said	Should
2'20-2'30	Grasps the cauliflower and places it behind the crate. Grasps a knife and a fork, puts the fork down again	A: and in fact, well it's a salad that is raw. I mean everything is raw, (1) except the rice but otherwise	Norm in the socio-cultural environment: cook vegetables (cauliflower, broccoli, cabbage) (normativity)
9'51-10'15	Detaches a leaf from the red cabbage with the fingers And a second leaf, first with forefinger then with thumb, then with fore-, middle and ring finger Puts the rest of the cabbage back in the crate, keeps the detached leaves in the left hand, lines them up and tears them with both hands	A: it's true that in the beginning, it's maybe a bit different from what we usually eat, first of all because it's raw, (1) at the beginning it was also more difficult to digest F: to digest also you felt? A: yeah. But after gradually it (1) you get used to it, (1) now there is no problem, (1) in the beginning it's true that I was maybe a bit tired, to eat only raw things,	Healthy eater (some): eat raw – Alex's positioning
Would	Could	Tensions	Comment
Eat raw vegetables	Raw vegetables afford to be eaten raw vegetables hardly afford to be digested the body affords to adapt to raw food through habituation	Between should (socio-cultural norms) and would Between different should's Between would and could (difficulties to digest)	Let the raw vegetable transform the body's abilities through habituation

As in situation one, there is a discrepancy between the socially shared norm assessing that vegetables should be cooked and Alexandre's way to prepare them. In fact, this concerns in particular some of the vegetables that are used in the salad, notably broccoli, cauliflower, chard stalks, Romanesco, celery and kale. While this particular socio-material positioning is verbally highlighted by Alexandre when he mentions that the salad is raw, he never explains the reasons leading him not to cook the vegetables. However, it is framed in a broader discourse on healthy eating, that relates to a moral positioning stating that *one should eat in a healthy way*. Thus, we can see here again the tension that emerges between two "should's" that lead to divergent concrete actions. Again, how he developed this particular socio-material positioning is unclear, but I make the hypothesis, based on the interview, that he encountered this unusual perspective on these vegetables in interpersonal interactions notably with his chiropractor or in books.

In a similar way as in situation one, Alexandre tends to use affordances of the vegetables that are outside of the realm of (the socially shared) "normativity", in this case the fact that although they are usually cooked, these vegetables can be eaten raw (they are not toxic). In this sense, they are different from the rice, lentils and quinoa which, although they are not toxic, are much less "edible" when not cooked and can in all likelihood not be digested. These properties lead Alexandre to cook these foods (another option, consistent with the as-raw-as-possible position, would be to avoid them completely). Nevertheless, although they present the affordance to be eaten and digested, Alexandre mentions that in the beginning (when he started to eat them raw regularly), the digestion was more difficult (then with cooked foods), thus highlighting the limits of this affordance of the vegetables to be digested. This represents a slight tension between the vegetables' affordances and Alexandre's positioning (eat as raw as possible for health reasons) and perspective on the vegetables (they are edible and healthy). The way he resolved it is very interesting, and contrasts with the other ways of resolving tensions that appeared in this data, that were mostly based on discursive strategies, negotiation of meanings and creation/adoption of alternative "should's" to the dominant ones. Indeed, in the present situation, Alexandre mentions that he got used to it. In other words, he let the material properties of the vegetables act on his body on the long run (regularly "putting them in touch" through the consumption of raw vegetables), until his body, in particular the digestive system, adapted to this kind of food. Thus, Alexandre's intentionality (eating raw food and maybe intentionally also getting used to it although it provoked uneasiness at the beginning) led to a transformation of what his body can afford. This can be seen as a particular example of intra-individual dialogue in which the body occupies a central place, thus illustrating that dialogicity is not only about semiotic dynamics.

6. CREATING THE FOODWAY: DYNAMIC INTERPLAYS BETWEEN SHOULD, COULD AND WOULD

According to Duveen and Lloyd (1990), the microgenesis is the place where ontogenesis and sociogenesis articulate and are actualized. I selected here the preparation of a meal as one particular moment of microgenesis during which the person's foodway is shaped and actualized. Moreover, I assume that this is a creative process and, as socio-materiality plays an important role in food related activities, this chapter aims at giving it a central place in the analysis. What do these analyses show about this microgenesis and in particular about the role of socio-materiality in the elaboration of the foodway? I will present here the main points that appear through the analysis of the video of Alexandre's preparation of a meal.

First of all, the two different kinds of affordances illustrate the dynamic interplay between the person, the other and the object, an interplay that is also mediated by signs. Indeed, I showed that Alexandre uses the affordances of the vegetables to be grasped, showed, turned and so on in order to present them to me and how through this, he also presents himself as a knowledgeable person in the field of foods. On the other hand, the affordances of the vegetables are used also in order to create a salad and thus, to get the required nutritional intake. Through the different steps of the preparation of the salad (from buying the vegetables to eating the salad), Alexandre moves through different socio-material and socio-discursive positions. Those are also related to diverse perspectives on the foods, as well as different contexts and different interlocutors. The moral positioning seems to be more stable, and articulates around the idea that one should eat in a healthy way, that one should know what one eats, that one should be an environmentally responsible consumer and that eating should be a pleasure (which all reflect discourses that can be found in the socio-cultural environment of this study, see chapter three). It seems that these moral positionings play a role in the diverse moments of the food preparation, and thus they are also reactualized during these moments. This whole process of interaction between Alexandre and the vegetables implies a transformation of the vegetables affordances from being manipulated, hold, cut, squeezed and so on to being eaten. Semiotically as well, the end product of this transformation is not any more "vegetables", but a new entity called "salad". This transformation of the affordances of the vegetables happens through the contact with other objects presenting their own affordances (such as the knife) or the person's body (especially the hands). Interestingly, the final "transformation" of the salad, namely eating it, consists into the use of the affordances of the salad in order to act on one's own body – one feeds it. In terms of self-creation, this represents quite an interesting situation where the person acts socio-materially first on the world,

in order to act on her own body. Thus, this situation definitely falls under Glăveanu's (2012b) definition of creativity as the transformation of the affordances in materially situated activities. However, the whole procedure of elaboration of the salad (from the choice of products to the moment of eating it) can also be understood as a reactualization of the person's positioning. During the whole process, transformation of (elements of) the world and self-creation are tidily intertwined.

If we turn now to the three situations presented in the second part of this chapter, it becomes clear that positioning, perspectives and affordances are tidily related in every moment of the elaboration of the foodway, and that they interact dynamically. The socio-discursive and moral positioning appear to be essential in order, for the researcher, to understand the more specific and situated socio-material positioning of the participant. On the other hand, moral and socio-discursive positionings stay abstract as long as they are not actualized on the socio-material plane. Indeed, the socio-material positioning, as the positioning form that is the most anchored in time and space, requires to make choices (cook the vegetables or not, go to the supermarket or the market gardener, etc.). As highlighted by Gillespie et al. (2012), while at the semantic/symbolic level, many positions can be adopted simultaneously and contradictions can be more or less tolerated, time and space reduce the possibilities of positioning. At some point, something must be realized, especially when it comes to activities such as eating. Alexandre might for instance produce many discourses on the importance of buying local and seasonable foods, as well as about the healthiness or taste of some ingredients, at a certain point he needs to decide whether he will buy dates or not for his salad. This might be related to the notion of resistance of materiality (see Iannaccone, 2017), however in the present case it seems to me that constraints of physical space-time would be a more relevant formulation.

It is interesting to notice that very often, tensions can be related to different "should's". Mostly, the normative (socially shared) should's stay rather implicit, they are not highlighted by Alexandre, however he seems to some extent to dialogically anticipate them. Thus, it seems that Alexandre usually finds a way to harmoniously articulate the should, could and would (or moral positioning, materiality and perspective) through the reference to should's that constitute alternatives to the normative one (or more precisely the socio-culturally shared norm). In both the first and the third situation, he uses affordances of the vegetables that are usually not exploited in the normative way of preparing them. These uses constitute the socio-material positioning through which Alexandre elaborates his foodway and these positionings dynamically interact with the moral and socio-discursive positionings. Indeed, Alexandre very often explains (and thus positions himself socio-discursively) his socio-material positionings through the reference to moral positionings. This would imply that moral positionings are the more stable aspect of the foodway, and that socio-material acts are elaborated according to them. In that sense, they act like compasses that allow the person to orient him or herself in the landscape

and to define his socio-material positioning in concrete situations. Moreover, it is also mostly the transformation of the material world (vegetables into salad) that can be observed in this video. Thus, while it is often the stabilizing quality of socio-materiality that is highlighted by researchers (see Law & Mol, 1995), in this case it is the socio-materiality that is transformed based on more abstract and lasting moral positionings (which corresponds more to what authors such as Branco & Valsiner, 2012; Zittoun, 2008b – see also chapter two, p. 46 – underline when they speak about systems of values as guiding action or as rather stable motivational dispositions). However, when tensions appear between the should, would and could, they are most of the time resolved on the discursive plane, by reframing the importance or meaning of the socio-material positioning, as for instance in situation two when Alexandre specifies that he buys only very few products at the supermarket. In other words, it is the semiotic and symbolic that is transformed according to what is socio-materially already there at the moment of the observation. However, an interesting exception to this dynamic is the transformation of the capacity to digest through habituation to raw food. Thus, the temporality might play a role in the kind of dynamics that can be observed. It could notably be the case, but this is only a hypothesis, that in the time frame of the observation, where the socio-material elements are already (to a large extent) defined as they were bought earlier, the observation of adjustments at the semiotic level is more likely, while adjustments of the socio-material positioning based on socio-discursive and moral positionings are more likely to appear on a broader time scale or maybe also in other frames (for example during shopping).

To sum up, there is a dynamic interplay between the different types of positionings, and the moral positioning seems to play an important role in the general orientation of the person's activities. If microgenesis is the place of the reactualization of ontogenesis and sociogenesis, it is also the place where, in its concrete socio-material dimensions, some elements are stabilized, and some choices must be done. To some extent, the dialogical interaction also asks for socio-discursive positioning that will be evaluated and more globally to which the other will react. In its socio-material dimensions, the creative shaping of a meal and through it, of a foodway, can be described as a process of transformation. The person transforms the products in order to make a meal out of them, and thus to act on her own body. This process of transformation implies an interplay between the person's perspective on the foods, the person's positioning regarding notably what is important or not regarding food, and the affordances of the products he or she prepares. One particular example of this interplay is the use of raw food, that implies the habituation (and thus transformation) of Alexandre's own body.

CHAPTER TEN: CONCLUSION AND OPENINGS

At the end of this journey, it is time to have a look back – with some perspective – on what has been said in the previous chapters, to take stock of the current situation and also, finally, to have a look on possible future directions. Indeed, many different aspects of foodways and of positioning were discussed in these pages and the overview is not always easy to construct. Moreover, while I addressed all the sub-questions of research in chapter five to nine, I did not yet address the main research question directly. Thus, in this last chapter, I will first of all come back on each research sub-questions, summarizing the main points that were highlighted, before addressing the main research question. I will then highlight the main contributions of this work, as well as the main limits. Finally, I will discuss a few possible openings.

1. BACK TO THE RESEARCH SUB-QUESTIONS

In this section, I will briefly summarize the main elements of response to each research sub-question and, based on that, formulate a response to the research question.

What are the constitutive elements of the foodscape of the participants and how are they organized?

While socio-cultural and dialogical approaches highlighted that the individual's psychological processes are nourished and shaped by what happens in social relations, and notably that the contents of their cognitive processes and their externalizations are constituted by others' words and ideas, with this first question, I examined what exactly from the discourses I noticed in literature as well as in the social debates and discourses was indeed mentioned by my participants in this study as relevant to them. In order to do so, I used the material collected through the narrative interview and did not include yet the data produced in the frame of the dialogical experiment. Unsurprisingly, all the themes that I identified in the interviews were part of the debates I previously noticed. However, the proportions in which they appeared comprised a few surprises. First of all, the theme of pleasure and of health appeared extremely frequently. On the contrary, environmental issues as well as the nature/culture debate appeared surprisingly little. Animal ethics occupied an intermediary place regarding number of occurrences, but at the same time seemed to play an important role as a reason to be or even trigger to become veg*an. In addition to that, the participants also very frequently mentioned elements related to what I called the conditions of navigation, namely comments and reflections about knowledge, about easiness and normality, and about coherence. Regarding

positioning dynamics, the importance of these aspects in the interview highlights that what is constitutive of the subjective experience of navigating the foodscape are not only the reasons and motivations (for and against a certain foodway), but that the way participants relate to these issues is also very important. Whether the foodway is experienced as normal and easy appears to be quite important for the participants, as well as issues related to coherence (is what I do coherent and to what extent should it be?) and to the epistemological dimensions (what is true or not, where can I find information and how can I know, who can I trust).

What are the constitutive elements of the subjective foodscape of each participant and how does the participant position him or herself in this foodscape?

This sub-question allowed me to highlight the unique way in which each participant navigates and positions in the foodscape. In contrast with the previous sub-question, I presented the subjective foodscape for each participant, thus illustrating empirically what Benson states theoretically about the fact that, although the landscape is shared and negotiated, it is also experienced subjectively by each individual. With a semiotic perspective, this diversity can be understood in terms of relations between socially shared meanings and personal sense, in which each person elaborates a personal sense of categories such as vegetarian or vegan based on the meanings that circulate in the socio-cultural environment. This allowed to bring together in a same picture different forms of positionings (more or less stable, socio-material/socio-discursive/moral), and thus to draw a rather complete picture of the person's foodway. Moreover, it allowed to show empirically how the participants' positionings develop through different forms of dialogue and thus emerge from the interaction between the person and her or his socio-cultural environment. The way some themes become central for a specific participant while other issues seem not really relevant seem to rely on a complex interplay between the person's story (for instance Alexandre's injury), interpersonal encounters and relations (as between Aurélia and her brother), the broader socio-cultural frame (as the importance given to health issues and the idea that it must be difficult to have balanced diet if you are vegetarian – see for instance Gaël) but also the unique unfolding of her or his intrapersonal dialogue. The main point that comes out from this analysis is that positioning dynamics, I argue, need to be conceptualized in a broader frame than interpersonal relations. Indeed, while other humans certainly play an important role, the positioning process is also a matter of relation to the world and to the diverse elements that constitute it or more precisely that are subjectively relevant to the person at a certain moment.

How does positioning evolve during the person's food trajectory, in relation notably to the rupture/transition dynamics?

With this sub-question I enter more into the dynamics of positioning and address more clearly the temporal dimension. Contrasting three case studies that were characterized by different degrees of (un)stability at the time of the interview as well as more or less long and complex trajectories regarding veg*ism, I highlighted notably the relation between the (un)stability and (1) the articulation between microgenetic and ontogenetic dimensions of positioning, (2) the articulation between socio-material, socio-discursive and moral positioning, and (3) the length and characteristics of the trajectory. The two first points allow to get a sharper inside on possible places of tension between different positionings, which can be experienced as uncomfortable. In particular, the first point highlights the articulation between positioning in specific everyday activities and interactions on one side and the attempts to elaborate a more stable positioning (which would equal to what Benson labels identity) on the other side as a place where stability can either be constructed or reinforced, or where it can be put at stake and thus change can appear (or continue). The second point shows that the articulation between positioning related to several dimensions of human activities (semiotic, material, social, moral...) is also a dynamic place where divergences and conflict may take place. The third point leads to pay attention to the way past experiences shape what is taken-for-granted, but also to their role as possible ressources. In particular, the different socio-cultural environments (this is particularly visible in Aline's case) as well as particular social relations (for instance with her parents) play an important role in these dynamics and thus in the possibilities to find or not a new form of stability after a rupture, but also in the emergence of the rupture. Moreover, the analysis shows that rather than a (part of) the rupture, change in food habits, as a repositioning and a possibility to be active regarding the possible rupture, seems to be part of the processes of transition allowing to move towards a new form of (dynamic) stability.

What is the role played by responsibility in the positioning?

Through this sub-question, I explored how the person conceives and negotiates her or his responsibility, and the relations this work has with positioning (here mainly on a rather ontogenetic level). I underlined that both in a case of important rupture/transition where the person handles an important (and lasting) tension between different positionings, and a case of relative stability where the person seems globally to tend towards a non-conflictual articulation between different types of positionings, there are processes of negotiation of responsibility. I notably highlighted in both cases (1) a negotiation of the distribution of responsibility between the person, others and a collective form of responsibility, (2) processes of extension regarding towards whom/what one is responsible, coupled with a hierarchisation of diverse categories and, finally, (3) I also underlined that the issue of the impact of these behaviors (on the world, on animals) stayed largely unaddressed in both cases. This is quite

surprising given the fact that the two participants selected for these case studies are sensitive to animal ethics and environmental issues. Thus, I would expect that the impact their behavior has (both on animals and on the environment) is to some extent relevant and should appear in the data. However, this is not the case and we might wonder whether this is related to the fact that an individual behavior won't change anything given the size of the system of production (as I underlined it in chapter three). One can make the hypothesis that participants (and this seems valid for most of them and not only for these two case studies) are reluctant to speak about the possible impact of their choice in order to avoid a response underlining this lack of impact. This creates a form of tension between the reason to become or be veg* and the possibility to transform the world that could potentially correspond, if the tension becomes too strong, to one of these situations described by Benson where the feeling of responsibility is disproportional regarding the possibility to act of the person.

How does the person creatively shape and enact positionings in concrete everyday activities?

When addressing this last sub-question, I gave a larger attention to socio-material positioning in everyday concrete activities. I examined how the foodway is creatively (re)shaped and (re)actualized in the concrete activity of preparing a meal. I referred in particular to a conceptualization of creativity in terms of dynamic tensions between moral positioning (should), perspective (would) and materiality (could), which notably highlights the important role of affordances. At different moments of the data, tensions appear either between should, would and could, or between divergent should's, notably between the socially dominant normativity in the specific socio-cultural frame and an alternative should that is enacted by the participant. These tensions are most of the time resolved on the semiotic level, for instance through a reframing of the importance or the meaning of a particular action or the introduction of an alternative norm. However, the resolution of the tension might also imply a transformation of the material dimension, as when Alexandre progressively habituates his digestive system to raw food. I make the hypothesis that the kind of resolutions that can be observed by the researcher notably depends on the framing of the data collection. I showed that the creation of the salad can be understood as a transformation of the food's affordances by the person, in order for the food to finally affect the person's body. This illustrates how transformation of (elements of) the world and self-creativity through actualization of the positionings are tidily intertwined. The transformation also implies different perspectives on the food, as well as diverse forms of positionings. Some of them (notably moral positionings) go much beyond the specific situation and the socio-material positionings it implies, which can however hardly be understood without these broader positionings. On the other hand, these moral positionings only become visible (and to some extent only exist) as they are enacted, actualized and maybe challenged and transformed in socio-material and socio-discursive positionings.

2. BACK TO THE RESEARCH QUESTION

What are the positioning dynamics around the consumption of products of animal origin among people who changed their foodway regarding these products?

After this reminder of the main elements that were highlighted in the analysis regarding each sub-question, it is time to turn towards the main research question. My answer will be subdivided into four parts. Each part addresses a different dimension of the positioning process which I consider, based on the work presented here, as important in order to capture the dynamic of positioning.

A first way to answer would be to turn towards the different types of positioning I borrowed from the literature. In that sense, changing foodway is an articulation between socio-material, socio-discursive and moral positioning. What follows is not an exhaustive list of what are these positionings but only a few examples to illustrate.

- 1) Socio-material positioning: what do I buy, prepare, eat? How do I choose (or not) what I buy depending on the concrete implications of my acts, notably as a consumer who participates to a certain system of production/consumption? In relation to that, where do I buy food and which products do I favor? How does my body react to what I eat and to what I avoid eating? What do I do with the food I have (that is available/that I selected), how do I transform and combine it?
- 2) Socio-discursive positioning: how do I present myself? As vegetarian? vegan? or do I refuse such kind of etiquettes? What are the consequences? What do I say to others and to myself about what I do and why I do it, and maybe also what they do? When invited, do I refuse the meat that is served and how do I say that? or do I tell my hosts in advance that I am veg*an?
- 3) Moral positioning: What should I do? How should I do it? What is good or important or right? Are there any hierarchizations or priorities in case of conflicting interests? Should I refuse meat in any situation and whatever are the consequences in terms of social relations? Should I have a strictly vegetarian diet although I really like the taste of meat?

On all three level, positioning is negotiated, positions are not “simply” taken but also attributed, provoked and/or made possible in social interactions. Again, these are a few illustrations:

- 1) Socio-materially: What is available and where is it? What is offered to me and how? Can I eat at the same place than my non-vegetarian friends? What are the affordances of the foods or ingredients that I find in my environment?

- 2) Socio-discursively: How do others react when I announce I am veg*? Or when I take the veg* option? How do others speak about veg* when they do not know I am one? What do they say, how do they look at me, what does their face look like at that moment? More globally in the socio-cultural environment, am I pushed to consider myself first of all as a consumer, an eater? Is veg*ism considered as being something normal or not?
- 3) What are the discourses that circulate about veg* and meat consumption in the social space and in particular are they conveying a positive or negative image of veg* and meat? What is valued and what is pointed to as bad? What is important and what is not even thematized?

As I highlighted, all three types of positionings are interacting dynamically, and there might be more or less tensions between them. It seems that tensions are far from being exceptional. Rather, they appear very frequently and thus they might be considered as a normal aspect of this dynamic interaction. Moreover, the emergence of tensions as well as the way they evolve and are possibly resolved imply both interpersonal and intrapersonal dialogicity, with sometimes however more accent on one type of dialogue or the other. Important differences can nevertheless appear in the subjective experience of these tensions. Sometimes they stay almost unnoticed, and at other times they might imply important reflection, doubts and/or suffering. The pervasiveness of these tensions is tidily related to a certain need or search for coherence, which is also experienced in very different ways by the different participants and at different moments, depending on many aspects but notably on the relation to the idea of coherence (even implicitly) and the way this representation was shaped during the person's trajectory. In this dynamic interaction, moral positionings seems often to act as a background that orients socio-material and socio-discursive positionings. On the other hand, moral positionings exist through socio-discursive and socio-material positionings, as they are reactualized and enacted through them. Simultaneously, different types of tensions might appear between the different types of positionings, which can be experienced as a contradiction (for instance, I say that it is important to buy local products – socio-discursive and moral positionings – but I buy dates coming from Turkey – socio-material positioning) but through different positionings the person might also encounter different types of resistances. For instance, while the person would like to position socio-materially in a certain way through eating certain products, these products might make her sick or might not be available. This is thus a problem with the affordances of the products which resist the person's intention of positioning. On the socio-discursive level, the person might be confronted to divergent systems of meaning in social interaction, such as for instance people defining responsibility towards animals in a different way, or people scared about the health consequences of vegetarianism. In her or his moral positioning, the person might encounter diverse understandings of what should be

done or what is the most important, and thus feel uncertain about what to do. These different types of resistance mainly point toward the relation between the person and the world, thus they take place in the person – world dialogue (including self – other dialogue), while the issue of coherence that I mentioned above rather points to tensions in intrapersonal dialogue. However, both are tidily interdependent and I argue that wherever tensions initially emerge, they often involve both intrapersonal and interpersonal forms of dialogicity, at least in cases where the tensions are important enough to last for a certain time and to prompt a certain work on behalf of the person.

Secondly, positioning around these issues is also a matter of articulation between microgenesis and ontogenesis. The positioning is performed at the microgenetic level of everyday life, in the activities that constitute the person's life, in the interactions and in the unending flow of thoughts and emotions (these are not three separate categories or moments, I conceive them as different facets of the microgenetic daily experience). However, these microgenetic events are experienced by a person who has a certain need for stability, continuity and coherence, and thus in the flow of his or her ontogenetic development some of these positionings will stabilize (for instance calling oneself vegetarian or getting a new habit). In microgenesis, these positions will be actualized, reinforced, modified and challenged. The sociogenesis obviously also enters into play. I highlighted the specificities of the current food situation, which is not a fixed state of affair but the result of a historical process that continues to change. This is fundamental in the person's positioning regarding these issues, notably because the person positions towards the current state of situation, based on her understanding of it (I will come back on this later). In addition to that, in order to position themselves, participants also voice certain discourses that are present in their socio-cultural environment. They might reproduce these discourses but also take critical stances towards them or mention them in order to distanciate from them. They also anticipate perspectives that could possibly emerge in the conversation. Thus, their positioning will also change depending on what is available in the socio-cultural context for them to draw on. Moreover, to some extent the person also participates to the evolution of the state of affairs through her own positioning. However, what this "to some extent participates" exactly means and implies is an important debate. The literature notably points towards a risk of overvaluing individual responsibility based on an illusory possibility to affect the system. This thesis does not provide an answer to the question whether the participants choices "change something", in other words to what extent they participate to sociogenesis. However, it allows to state that their own understanding of the articulation between their positioning at micro- and ontogenetic level and sociogenesis plays a role in the way they position themselves. More precisely, we can see that the intention to participate in certain systems of production/consumption rather than others (and thus to "feed them" notably with money) sometimes plays a fundamental role in the participants' change in foodway. However, this is

maybe the most fragile way of affecting the world, as its effect depend on a collective level that is far beyond the individual. I make the hypothesis that this fragility might have a negative effect on the person's ability to maintain her or his change in foodway (which is illustrated in chapter eight). Based on this, one way to transform the world and thus to participate to some extent to sociogenesis might be to use or draw on this collective dimension. Several participants mention or skim over their hope for a collective change (which makes sense as this would clearly affect the system they disagree with). In most of the cases, this hope seems "simply" to act as a support in the change in foodway, but in some cases such as Laura's and to some extent Marilou's, it will also lead to some forms of activism, which represents another way to act on world – namely to affect more specifically other human beings and in particular their behavior as consumer. At a smaller scale, all participants notice that their change in foodway affects or might affect others. Sometimes, this interindividual interdependence seems to be perceived as a way to possibly transform the world at a very small scale, but still with the hope and intention of a broader change (as in Aline and Aurélia's case when they engage in argumentative discussions), but sometimes this effect on others seems not desired or difficult to assume (in particular in Léa's case). Overall, it becomes clear that the possibility to affect and transform some parts or aspects of the world they live in, in other words to participate to sociogenesis, plays an important role in the shaping of the person's foodway; however, this interdependence between transforming the world and the elaboration of one's positioning takes many different forms.

Thirdly, I mentioned above that the person positions towards the current state of the situation, based on his or her understanding of it, thus based on the subjective landscape. This brings us back on the fundamental definition of positions as always relative to others (people, institutions, animals, objects or more broadly elements) and/or to a field. In this specific case, the person's positioning cannot be understood outside of the realm of debates about meat production/consumption and more generally outside of what we know about food and foodways. Animal ethics for instance appeared to be one of the important triggers for change in foodway and one of the major reasons to be/stay veg*an. This importance can be understood in the light of the current conditions of productions, of the debates in the field of animal ethics, of what was highlighted by researchers working on the human – animal relation and its evolution. Thus, the positioning is not a merely interindividual process but much more globally a matter of relation with the world and with the different actors (human and non human) that populate it. Humans, however, play a particular role in that positioning as they are meaning producers and have semiotic possibilities that are unique. This embeddedness in a relational network raises issues of responsibility, and in that sense the way the person understands the nature of the relations as well as who/what is part of it is fundamental in the way he or she positions at the socio-material, socio-discursive and moral level. While from a dialogical point of view it seems obvious that others partly

resist and escape to us (which is captured notably with the notion of alterity), the socio-material tradition also highlights the resistance and affordances of non humans.

Thus, it is clear that positionings closely articulate with learning and meaning-making processes about this world and about possible actions in it. These three elements constitute the transition triangle, and from this perspective the possible role of positioning in transitional processes following ruptures becomes evident, which is the fourth part of my answer to the research question. More than ruptures in themselves, positionings through foodways seem rather to play a role in overcoming a rupture, be it one directly related to food or anchored in another domain of life. However, this does not mean that change in foodways always follow ruptures. In this frame, the repositioning can be seen as a way to be active on the unfolding of (some parts of) the events, as a fight against the feeling of lack of control that can happen in the unfolding of some trajectories. Moreover, the story of positionings of a person, his or her experience, provides the background and the resources for the current positioning processes (which brings us back on the articulation between micro- and ontogenesis). On the other hand, the experience of rupture might be rather linked to a movement of being positioned in a certain manner. If one thinks for instance about the experience of rupture related to the viewing of a documentary regarding meat industry, the viewer is positioned (if she or he consumes meat) as an accomplice of the system that engenders the animals' suffering. Moreover, based notably on Léa's experience, it is possible to say that sometimes positioning in a certain way (in her case as a vegetarian) might have effects that participate to create a situation of rupture or at least nourish the rupture rather the transition.

3. A FEW EPISTEMOLOGICAL REFLECTIONS

This section is much shorter than the previous one as these aspects are not at the center of the contribution of the thesis. However, the journey of the thesis also implied epistemological learnings and changes, on which I will add a few words here. During the period when I was working on the modifications of the first version of the thesis based on the comments of the members of the jury, I was surprised by the extent to which the issues I addressed in this thesis were still emotional. A deep anger can still engulf me when thinking about the extent to which the food system is submitted to an economic logic that has disastrous consequences for human beings. I still sometimes feel helplessness in front of the complexity of its functioning or of a decision that (I feel or know) I can not influence but with which I strongly disagree, but also hope and joy when I see some events, discussions, attempts, actions, dynamics of change that seem to participate to construct a world of justice, dialogue and

respect (such big words...). Regarding these emotions, I would like to shortly propose two reflections on their place in research. First of all, we might wonder whether this indicates that nothing changed fundamentally in my (emotional) relation to these issues and, more provocatively, whether this does indicate a lack of reflexivity and detachment that would be detrimental to scientific research. My answer is that I definitely relate differently to the objects of the world to which these emotions are linked. I have a much more elaborate understanding of these objects and their relations. A fundamental difference between the beginning of the thesis and now is that the frequency of having to interrupt work and thinking because of emotions diminished, which I understand as a better balance between emotions and thinking in which the former do not hinder the second. At the same time, while exploring the topic, some "objects" I encountered presented new emotional difficulties. One example of this was Jezernik's (1999) text on food and moral, in which he analyses the behaviours of prisoners in concentration camps. Several times, I had to interrupt the reading because it was simply too difficult. But these were also moments where I learned to be patient and perseverant.

The second point of reflection regarding these emotions is whether they are simply obstacles or whether they could to some extent play a useful role in the process of research. I clearly also experienced these emotions as energy that would allow me to address the challenges of the thesis, that would participate to the motivation to engage with this topic, that would provoke the need to think about what is and what could be. According to Benson (2001), emotions are pathfinders. While he was making this statement regarding human beings as the object of psychology, as a researcher, I am also a human being and I believe that in some conditions, emotions can also be useful in the research process. This might also be the case for emotions that are usually perceived as more negative such as anger or even rage. Woodward (2003) proposes an interesting reflection about the place and role of these two emotions in the frame of issues related to ageing. Her aim is to reconsider positively the possible anger of elderly people as a motor for social change, as opposed to the image of a wise and emotionally detached old person, who would not engage with the social and political realm anymore. According to her, "anger has a powerful binding force" and "possible galvanizing effects [...] for stimulating personal and social change" (Woodward, 2003, p. 187). If research is about engaging with the world and contributing to it, then what Woodward states about the power and galvanizing effects of anger might also be valid for the researcher. What is at stake here is the articulation between emotions and thinking, and following Vygotsky (1932/2011), I aim at trying to overcome the cartesian opposition between both, not only in the theorization of human psyche and activity, but also in the practice of research. Moreover and to conclude this section, while I presented this reflection under the angle of epistemology, it is closely related to ethical dimensions as it implies fundamentally the relation between what is and what should be, as well as the kind of research that should be done.

Thus, we could maybe frame the question of the relations between emotions and thinking in the research process not only as an epistemological issue but as situated at the intersection between epistemology and ethics.

4. MAIN CONTRIBUTIONS

How do this answer and more globally this study contribute to the scientific literature and maybe more broadly to some societal issues? A thesis should allow to go a step further at least on the theoretical and methodological level. I will thus briefly highlight what I consider to be the main contributions of this work. All in all, as far as I know this thesis is the first study on changes in foodway from the perspective of socio-cultural psychology.

Regarding food and foodway studies, I underlined in chapter three the relative lack of research in social science on food and foodways as daily activities in our societies, especially from a psychological point of view. Moreover, as the situation is constantly changing (I think notably about the crisis of 2008 and more recently – during this research - and locally the creation of a vegan association in the Canton in which this study was conducted), it is necessary to document and analyze its evolution. Although this was not the main aim of the thesis, the overview of the situation proposed in chapter three might already contribute to the understanding of the main issues that are constitutive of the area of meat and PAO production and consumption nowadays. Regarding now my own analysis, I see in particular the following contributions:

1. The proposition of considering change in foodway under the angle of positioning allows to overcome the split that often happens de facto in research in veg*ism between a focus on arguments/justification vs a focus on practices. Moreover, considered under this angle, the fuzziness of the boarder of veg*ism (from when on is someone a real vegetarian) is not that much an obstacle to research anymore (as it becomes very quickly in quantitative approaches) but a central (and interesting) part of the object of research. Thus, the study of this “grey zone” of not strict veg*ism and veg*an practices refusing that label allows to highlight both the difficulties and the opportunities that this zone offers to people who navigate it.
2. Conceptualizing food change as repositioning and thus as possible part of the transition allows to better understand why becoming vegetarian is often related to other changes in the person’s life, and to clarify the relation between the different aspects of the change (what is part of rupture and what is part of a transition). It also highlights the role of change in foodway as a way to be or stay active regarding one’s life.

3. The analysis also allows to identify some socially shared discourses that play a role in participants' positioning. In particular, participants tend to voice perspectives regarding individual freedom and individual responsibility that reproduce neoliberal assumptions. Those might enter into tension with a more systemic understanding of food production and consumption, that implies a different view on who has which power but is also related to the consideration of the collective dimension of responsibility, knowledge and power to act. Two other themes present in the socio-cultural environment that many participants mention are health and pleasure, mainly in relation to discourses that could be qualified as healthism and hedonism, and I propose to see them as a couple of interdependent opposites (which can be seen as an example of ideological dilemma; see Billig, 1988). The couple might be experienced as an uncomfortable contradiction but also as a dynamic balance.

Regarding the domain of psychology and in particular the understanding of how human beings navigate a complex world, this thesis provides an illustration of the systematic empirical use of the notion of positioning in its different dimensions. As far as I know, this was never done on this scale.

1. This allowed notably to underline the importance of other levels or forms of relations than inter-individual in the positioning process, and thus in the navigation of the world. Notably, I highlighted the importance of different non human actors such as animals or foods, but also the dynamics of relations with oneself which become visible notably around the idea of coherence or in the relation with the body. The distinction between socio-material, socio-discursive and moral permits to take into account diverse dimensions of the human being (and notably materiality and morality) without reducing them to one another.
2. The thesis also allowed to highlight the importance of epistemological issues (here understood as issues for the participants) in the navigation process. The difficulties around knowledge (where to find it, how to handle contradictory information, what can I trust, how to articulate the bits of knowledge found in different places in order for them to become meaningful) are, I think, underestimated in the theorization of positioning.
3. Finally, the articulation of positioning with the concepts of rupture/transition, responsibility and creativity also constitute, to some extent, a contribution of this thesis. The relation between positioning and rupture/transition was not new in itself as positioning was already integrated in the study of transitions on one hand, but also as a life course perspective was adopted by people working on positioning (Martin, 2013). However, the notions of rupture/transitions provide an additional tool to understand the development of positioning, which is more focused on the subjective experience of change. The importance of responsibility in positioning was already highlighted by Benson, however I took it further and

especially considered responsibility in a more detailed and systemized way. Moreover, I focused on the way participants construct and negotiate responsibility, while Benson rather examines the historical and cultural dimensions of responsibility. The examination of the shaping of positioning in everyday activities in terms of creativity and affordances also explores new areas in comparison to Benson's work, which is more focused on "extreme" situations such as torture and art experiences. It provides a focus that is more oriented towards the interaction between the person and the direct socio-material environment, and the way processes of transformation participate to positioning.

On the methodological level, although I importantly draw on existing methodological tools and that innovation on that point was not the aim of this thesis, through the adaptation of these tools to my research topic as well as through the combination of methods that I estimated necessary in order to capture the multidimensionality of the phenomenon under study, an original research setting was produced.

1. The combination of narrative interviews, dialogical experiment and filmed observation into a single research design, combined also with the gathering of complementary information on the topic, constitutes an original setting that allows to take into account the multiple aspects of foodways and of positioning (microgenetic, ontogenetic and sociogenetic processes; practices and discourses).
2. Each part of this setting was specifically arranged for the present subject. The adaptation of the narrative interview notably required the creation of an introduction and an opening question that would orient the participant on his foodway(s) and in particular on PAO. The dialogical experiment underwent a few changes such as the number of chairs or the (non)indication of the source, but most importantly it asked for the creation of the little papers that would trigger the participants' answers. Another main difference with the original design was the combination of two papers reflecting diverging points of view on one single theme. Finally, the filmed observation is an unusual tool in psychology and in particular in the study of positioning (it is much more common already in food studies).

At the end of this journey, the socio-cultural approach proved to be very rich and useful to address the elaboration of a foodway, as it allows to consider the dynamic co-construction between multiple levels, and in particular between the individual and the social level, as well as between microgenesis, sociogenesis and ontogenesis. Through this, it allows to study the complexity of food related issues without underplaying neither the person's role nor the importance of the environment. However, this articulation is not necessarily easy to operationalize and to translate at a more concrete level of the study. Inside of this broad frame, I proposed an original articulation of different approaches and

notions and I will now briefly come back to this proposition as a whole. Figure 16 provides a schematic overview of the main concepts and approaches. One of the main difficulties of this combination was

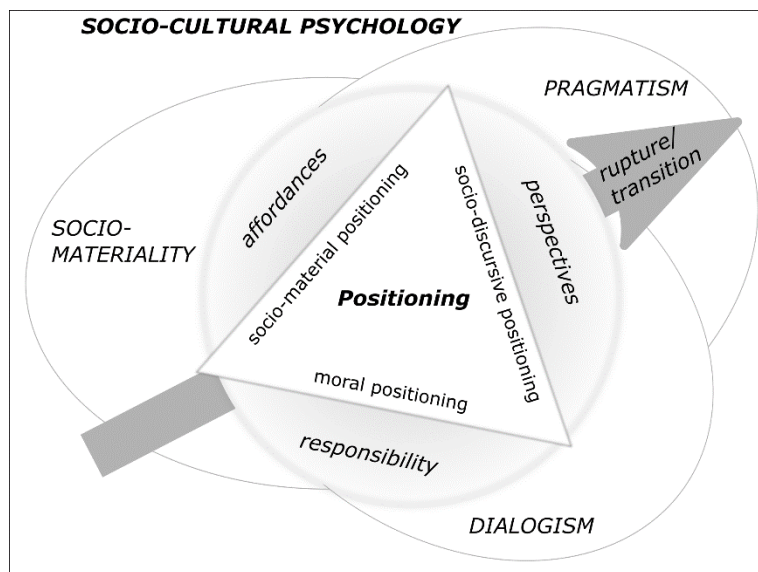


Figure 16 Overview of the theoretical framework

to keep its different dimensions at work in a balanced way. Thus, when focusing, for instance, on the way socio-materiality participates to the elaboration of the person's positioning, interpersonal dialogicity might get lost. Regarding the broad theoretical frame, dialogism and socio-materiality definitely oriented the analysis in a pervasive way, notably because they guided the choice of some of the analytical tools. Pragmatism

was less explicitly thematized, however, as Benson is a pragmatist, this approach fundamentally participated in shaping the whole project as well. In my opinion, the articulation between socio-materiality and dialogism created a form of tension as dialogism would rather orient me globally towards semiotically mediated processes while socio-materiality would point towards interdependencies going beyond semiotic processes. Both traditions do obviously include semiotic and material dimensions (after all, Bakhtin developed his approach in the frame of historical materialism), however, at least in their recent evolution, dialogical approaches tend to work mainly with transcriptions of verbal productions while socio-material approaches tend rather to draw on observation.

Regarding the conceptual tools I selected, the notion of positioning was both fruitful in terms of what it allowed to highlight but also sometimes difficult to handle as, depending on the traditions and on the authors, it captures slightly different dimensions. Drawing on Benson and thus relating the notion of positioning mainly to the one of landscape allowed me to draw a picture of the socio-cultural environment in which the participants live. It led me to describe this environment and to pay attention to the positioning of the person mainly in terms of relations to this broader field. Here, one difficulty was to integrate and to clarify the socio-material dimension of this positioning. While Benson understands it mainly in terms of physical place time (where and when am I), given the nature of the phenomena I study (socio-material interdependencies are not that much about who is where in space – although this might be an interesting point too – but who provides/needs what and has which impact

on the others and on the environment), I focused more on what the person does in and with the socio-material environment. We might see here the trace of pragmatist inspiration; however, I must acknowledge that I was not really aware of that while elaborating the definition of socio-material positioning. Moreover, in a previous version of this text, this focus on the landscape also had as a consequence that the inter-individual (including actually also other elements than human others) and intra-individual dialogicity, as well as the tensions that they imply, stayed underexplored. To that extent, a socio-cultural dialogical approach proved to be necessary in order to integrate these dynamics and thus, as I stated in the previous paragraph, to be able to analyze the co-construction between person and environment. Another difficulty that I encountered with the different authors using the notion of positioning was the lack of clear definitions. This implied quite an important work of clarification, which led me to highlight and to push further the distinction between socio-material, socio-discursive and moral positioning in order to better understand what positioning is and the different forms it can take. Simultaneously, the notion of perspective appeared to be useful in order to delimitate the notion of position from what it enables (i.e., certain perspectives).

Regarding the other conceptual tools, the couple rupture/transition proved to be particularly useful, as it efficiently allowed to address the temporal dimension and thus the developmental aspect in positioning. Moreover, and this was rather unexpected, it also allowed to highlight more the difficulties experienced by some participants as it points to feelings of doubt, uncertainty as well as disgust or guilt, and through this to identify where are the main places in which tensions appear. In addition to that, this couple of notions was already used in several studies and an important work of definition was already available, which definitely facilitated its use. The notion of responsibility also appeared as useful in order to get closer to the subjective experience of the participants and the difficulties that positioning might entail. Its contribution is mainly to address an underlying (or overarching) dimension of positioning, more precisely the way the person understands (not necessarily in a very conscious way) the relations between the different elements in the landscape and how this understanding is ethically connoted (what am I - or are you/we - responsible for). In contrast to rupture/transition, I did not find a theoretical proposition regarding responsibility that would be “ready” for a use as an analytical tool in a socio-cultural framework, thus its use was again a bit more complicated to integrate and, as it was only a “secondary notion” in the present project, it is not elaborated upon inasmuch details than positioning. However, I believe that the analysis allowed to highlight its analytical power, and recent readings (Shotter, 1974) and discussions¹³⁷ confirmed my intuition that this is an important notion for psychology. Finally, the model of creativity allowed notably to push further the

¹³⁷ With Ivana Marková who visited our Institute at the end of October 2019.

understanding of the articulation between socio-material, socio-discursive and moral positioning as it proposes an articulation between the “could” or affordances (which relates to the socio-material dimension) and the “should” or normativity (which I relate to moral positioning). Moreover, it allowed to focus more on the active transformation of the world and thus on the microgenetic co-construction of self and world. Similarly as for rupture/transition, it was quite easy to use as analytical tools as the model was developed based both on a solid theoretical background and on empirical studies. Here, the difficulty lied in the fact that it was initially developed within the frame of creativity studies and thus in order to conceptualize creativity. “Importing” it in the frame of the present study implies the challenge of making it useful for the issues studied here and not getting lost in new questions going beyond the frame of this project. Finally, the notion of creativity itself played more the role of a link between this model (and notably the notion of affordance), Benson’s work and the phenomena of change in foodway, than that of an analytical tool. However, as I said before, it also allowed to point more directly to the interdependency between transformation of the world and transformation of the self and, through this, to focus maybe on a more positive subjective experience than the difficulties and doubts underlined with the notions of rupture/transition and responsibility.

Regarding the methodological aspects of this project, using a design that combines several types of methods and allows to provoke and collect different types of information was, in my opinion, very important in order to address the challenge of considering positioning in its complexity and not to reduce it to its verbal dimensions. The characteristics of the phenomena of change in foodway as well called for a combination of methods. However, globally the analysis was still based mainly on verbal productions and the methodology could have been pushed further into to concrete everyday activities related to food. On the other hand, creating the space in which people could tell me their stories, reasons, reflections and hopes related to their concrete activities was also necessary in order to get access to sufficiently rich information about the landscape, the positioning and its history. Among the different parts of the methodological setting, the interview played the most fundamental role as it provided already important data concerning the participants’ current landscape and positioning, as well as about their trajectory. It was also very important as a background against which the material collected through the other methods was understandable. The dialogical experiment provided rich information in complement to the interview, which allowed notably to get a more detailed information regarding the person’s positioning in the landscape as well as regarding the process of positioning and its tensions. In relation to the object of this study, it proved to be an efficient way to include and address the complexity of the debates regarding meat and vegetarianism in the methodological setting. The fact that several participants mentioned that they appreciated it is very encouraging for developing it further. However, I think that the material that it provides would deserve to be analysed

more systematically for itself and not only as a complement to the interview (as it was the case here). Finally, although from a theoretical point of view it seemed very important to me to integrate it to the methodological design, the data produced with the filmed observation was the most challenging to integrate and to analyse. The theoretical tool that would be used for this part of the data was not yet stabilized at the moment of data collection, and this probably played a role in this difficulty. Nevertheless, although in terms of amount of data and of length of the analysis, it represents a small part of the thesis, the analysis of this data played an important role in the reflection on socio-material positioning and, through this, in the considerations regarding the different types of positioning as an important analytical tool. Finally, the exploration of the socio-historico-cultural frame is also to some extent part of the description and analysis of the phenomenon, although it occupies a slightly different place in the study than the data that was “provoked” by myself. While from a socio-cultural perspective, it appears as an essential part of research, its place and role – not really “data” but still information regarding the phenomena that comes not only from the scientific literature and that goes beyond “simply framing” – could be thematized further, notably in terms of what it represents in the research process and how it is included and presented in the writing.

5. LIMITS

This last chapter is also the opportunity for discussing some limits of the thesis, and this is what I will turn to now. Indeed, on one hand it is important to question the limits of what was stated here in order to avoid overgeneralizing, on the other hand those limits that can be overcome should be highlighted, in order for the experience of this work (and not only the outcomes) to contribute to future research.

First of all, regarding the theoretical dimension, while this study constituted into a rather exploratory process, many tracks were considered and partly explored, some were abandoned because they were for some reasons unsatisfactory, other simply because of the necessity not to multiply excessively the concepts and approaches. This finally ended up into one proposition, and in this thesis, I mainly aimed at showing the interest and benefits of the chosen approaches and concepts. However, I mostly let in the shadow other possible theoretical paths and the discussion of why they were not chosen. Among these, the notion of values for instance could have been an interesting one. In addition to that, I also encountered the difficulty that positioning was used by several approaches, thus in different ways and with diverse assumptions about the phenomenon (I must acknowledge that luckily, there are also a few attempts to bring some order in this), however the notion itself was rarely clearly defined. Although I tried to work in the direction of an integration of the approaches and of a clarification of

the definition, I estimate that there is still a lot to do in order to properly theorize positions, positioning and their relations to other concepts such as identity.

Regarding methodological aspects, the “successfulness” of the first phase of the narrative interview appeared to be a bit random. Indeed, it worked very well with some participants who had quite a lot to say about their trajectory and explained it in a detailed way, while others felt that there was not much to say. The diversity of profile in terms of length of the trajectory certainly participated to that, however it also came out that some participants with longer histories did narrate them in a rather partial way. I systematically proposed to the participants to use paper and pen in order to help them in the narration of the trajectory, however only one of them used it. As this resulted in a quite detailed and precise narration, I would suggest for future studies to insist more on this possibility, or even to systematically ask the participant to draw a timeline. The dialogical experiment proved to be a really good frame to trigger the participants discourse and several of them told me that they found it funny, interesting or simply a good idea. However, some of its aspects could certainly be improved. In particular, the quantity of reading was sometimes too important. I estimate that having two divergent papers to read at once provides a really interesting situation for positioning, however it requires each paper to be quite short. A second point relates to the fact that the materiality of the experimental setting (two papers in one chair) did collide a bit with the instructions (these are two opinions expressed by two different persons), and this proved out to be a bit confusing for some participants. Regarding the filmed observation, some technical difficulties, mainly the framing/orientation of the subjective camera, appeared; however they were not major obstacles and the quality of the video was still high enough to be analyzed. The choice of the subjective camera has definitely the disadvantage that the face of the participant never appears and thus no information about his facial expression are available for the analysis. Moreover, it is not always obvious to guess what the participant is looking at, as the camera follows the movements of the head but not of the eyes. Regarding the whole research setting, it provided a rich, diverse and rather detailed data about each participant, and the limit or difficulty was rather in the way to analyze it. I estimate that the data from the experiment and the filmed observation could still be analyzed in a more systematic way. In addition to that, I would advice to plan two different meetings for the narrative interview and the dialogical experiment, as both can take a lot of time. Indeed, with two of the participants, it came out to be too long – either for them or for the café where we were discussing.

Finally, regarding my object of study, it is a real challenge to work on foodways, on meat, on veg*ism, because these are indeed very complex subjects. Thus, as a researcher I was confronted both to the work of understanding the psychological processes under study and to an exploration of this landscape of foodways, of production and of consumption issues. Moreover, I did not only aim at understanding

both, but also attempted to address their dynamics in a relational way, which represented an additional challenge. I approached these issues as a novice, and it took time and energy to get familiar with that world. My understanding is certainly not equivalent to the one of an expert in food studies. The questions I am confronted too when talking about my thesis (especially with people who are unfamiliar with socio-cultural psychology) incite me to clarify that I am not a nutritional expert, neither an expert in systems of production, in animal ethics or in climate. I address them as a socio-cultural psychologist who needs to some extent to understand the context in which the participants to her study live, that constitute the frame of their experience and the issues they engage with.

6. OPENINGS

In order to conclude this work not turned to the past but oriented to the future, I will suggest a few tracks which I consider as relevant possibilities for further research, in complement to what was just said on limits.

On a theoretical level, the notions of value and of power are like two elephants in the room of this thesis. I mentioned them a few times but chose not to make them a constitutive part of the theoretical frame in order not to overload it. However, the processes of positioning, especially of moral positioning is completely related to the issue of values, and I am certain that the work done around this topic (notably by Branco & Valsiner, 2012) would allow to better understand the process of moral positioning and its articulation with socio-material and socio-discursive positioning. Regarding the power dynamics, chapter three in particular shows that they are pervasive and very important in the food system. From the theoretical point of view, the notion of responsibility also leads back to the issue of who has which power to do what to whom (or what – notably in the case of ecology). Addressing the issue of power in the relations more explicitly would certainly allow a better understanding of certain dynamics and of the stakes underlying the discussed issues. A second future orientation I see as important is a more systematic consideration of the implications of the current socio-historical conditions, mainly the neoliberal discourse, for positioning processes. On one side, and the exploration of the subjective landscape in this thesis was tending into that direction, one could explore more systematically how people perceive and understand these dynamics and the way they shape our world. On the other side, it is also important to understand how these conditions participate to shaping the form and content of positionings. In this work, I briefly highlighted Blackman's (2005) critic to the dialogical self and I showed to some extent that neoliberal assumptions are part of the participants' perspectives and positioning, but I think that a more systematic consideration of critical

psychology would be beneficial to go further in this direction and thus to develop the understanding of positioning (and of other psychological processes).

We might also reflect about the types of metaphors underlying the different concepts used in the theorization of positioning and of human dialogicity. Indeed, the notion of perspective clearly refers to the visual sense, while voices belong to the realm of audition. What does this imply? My aim here is not to enter into a systematic reflection or classification, but simply to share a few considerations. Voices can articulate simultaneously in a polyphony. At the same time, a single person can produce only one vocal sound at the time (if we exclude specific singing technics). We might imagine however that content and form (intonation) express simultaneously two contrasting positions. This leads me to what might be one specificity of voice in comparison with sight, namely that it is more closely related to spoken language and thus to a powerful semantic tool. Perspectives can also be thought as multiple (from a single position one can have perspectives on multiple objects, as well as one can take different perspectives on a single object if one moves from one position to another), but again if we think about one person at a specific moment, it seems difficult to combine several perspectives (at the perceptual level). However, there might be important variations from a small but precise focus to a more panoramic vision; and similarly, if we think now about voices in terms of perception rather than of production, there might also be a focus on certain sounds or sources rather than others, or a more global attention to the sound environment. In that sense, the auditory and visual metaphor seem to share a certain number of features regarding their possibilities in terms of simultaneous multiplicity. However, there are also a number of features that distinguish them. We usually do not consider that we produce something through vision (which does not mean that we do not look actively and that the way we look at others might not communicate something) as we produce sounds, words and sentences. Moreover, as I understand it, the notion of voice is more strongly anchored also in the person's body. It requires breath and thus its quality depends on the whole structure of the body. Vision seems more head-centered, although the position of the body in the space will also impact what is seen and how. Finally, my own experience in physical practices leads me to add that positioning is not only about sight and sound/hearing, but also about touch and the proprioceptive system (sense of perceiving one's own body in the space), which in my opinion would lead to pay attention, also at a more symbolic level, to the way a person feels herself and the others. More precisely, it seems often to be a matter of combination between different senses but also a question of possibilities to act or produce something. Quite ironically, given the topic of this thesis, the only senses that are missing in this discussion are taste and smell.

On a methodological level, I have also several suggestions complementing the comments I already made in the previous section. First of all, a longitudinal research that would allow a more detailed

understanding of the ontogenetic level of positioning (in articulation of course with the micro and sociogenetic) would certainly provide very interesting elements for the theorization of positioning. This seems to be particularly important regarding the issues related to stability and in particular the difficulties to find a new form of stability highlighted in the chapter on trajectories, as well as in relation to the negotiation of responsibility which also appears to undergo interesting changes on the ontogenetic level and to play an important role in the ontogenetic development. Secondly, I also suggest to move towards a methodology that starts from or is more strongly constructed around socio-materiality, such as observation (filmed or paper-pen, and of diverse situations and places) or some other forms of experiments. Indeed, the filmed observation provided really rich data. In this sense, the material collected in this thesis as complementary data was also underused. Indeed, this is for instance a form of socio-material arrangements that certainly participate to the shaping of positioning and of foodways. Finally, it would also be interesting and coherent to develop a more participative or interventionist approach such as action research. This would be coherent with the vygotskian statement that processes can be observed the best when they change, as well as with the fact that an interview, experiment or observation (except maybe a hidden observation, but this is not the question here) are in any case an intervention (see Yves Clot's work for an interesting development of these ideas). Moreover, several participants told me that they enjoyed the setting of the dialogic experiment. Thus, this could be developed into a pedagogical tool or a device that could be used in discussion groups, in order to foster critical reflection.

Finally, during the last period of writing and rewriting the thesis, I (re)encountered a few epistemological issues that stayed unaddressed and that I see as potentially very important for the research process. One of them is the place of emotions in research, which I already took the time to develop a little bit in this chapter. I won't come back on it here, however it is very deeply related to another aspect of my epistemological reflection that I did not mention, namely the body. Many authors highlighted the importance to take it into account when examining, analyzing and theorizing diverse psychological processes or issues (see for instance Belzen, 2010; Benson, 2001; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Stam, 1998; Teo, 2016). If the body is so important in psychological processes, what about my own body as a researcher? What is its place and role? What "is" my body in the research process? And in a more open way what are the yet unexplored possibilities that would maybe allow the researcher to be an entire person and not only a head or brain or abstract thinking entity? Secondly, another field of questioning that I just started to consider more seriously as a possible important field of reflection for research is ontology. I obviously knew about its existence, but considered it as a part of philosophy that was a bit too far away or too complicated for me as a psychologist. Interestingly, this was not the case for ethical and epistemological issues. I understand this situation as reflecting my training and

more broadly the situation in psychology and social sciences. The recent reading of one of Shotter's texts (Shotter, 1974) as well as a few discussions with colleagues lead me to interrogate this situation. Indeed, if as researchers we engage with describing, analyzing and maybe transforming some parts of the world we live in, the assumptions we have about the nature of this world are of fundamental importance in the kind of knowledge we produce and in the way we understand and thus perform our work.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A – INFORMED CONSENT



Institut de psychologie et éducation
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- Espace Louis-Agassiz 1
- CH-2000 Neuchâtel

INSTITUT DE PSYCHOLOGIE
ET ÉDUCATION
ASSOCIÉ À LA



Accord de participation

Pour le projet de recherche portant sur les changements alimentaires liés au végétarisme,
conduit par Mme Fabienne Gfeller
dans le cadre de sa thèse de doctorat à l'Université de Neuchâtel,
sous la direction de
M. Antonio Iannaccone (Université de Neuchâtel) et M. Vlad Glaveanu (Université d'Aalborg).

Informations générales :

- Vous avez le droit de mettre fin à l'entretien à tout moment
- L'entretien sera transcrit, traité de manière confidentielle et anonymisé
- Les données seront utilisées à dans le cadre de mon travail de chercheuse uniquement (analyse, discussions, publications)

Merci d'indiquer ici si vous m'autorisez à

- Enregistrer l'entretien oui non
- Utiliser les données recueillies et anonymisées dans le cadre de mon travail de recherche oui non
- Présenter les données recueillies et anonymisées à des étudiants ou des chercheurs lors de cours, colloques ou conférences (contexte scientifique) oui non
- Présenter des extraits de données anonymisées dans le cadre de publications ou de conférences publiques (pouvant toucher un public non universitaire) oui non

Par votre signature, vous confirmez avoir pris connaissance des informations ci-dessus, et m'autorisez à utiliser les données recueillies dans le cadre de mon travail, dans les limites indiquées ci-dessus.

Nom, Prénom :

Date :

Signature :

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Informations générales :

- Vous avez le droit de mettre fin à l'observation filmée à tout moment
- Les données seront anonymisées et traitées confidentiellement dans les limites précisées ci-dessous
- Les données seront utilisées à dans le cadre de mon travail de chercheuse uniquement (analyse, discussions, publications)

Merci d'indiquer ici si vous m'autorisez à

- Vous filmer oui non
- Utiliser les données recueillies et anonymisées dans le cadre de mon travail de recherche oui non
- Présenter les données recueillies à des étudiants ou des chercheurs lors de cours, colloques ou conférences (contexte scientifique) oui non
- Présenter des extraits de données dans le cadre de publications ou de conférences publiques (pouvant toucher un public non universitaire) oui non

Par votre signature, vous confirmez avoir pris connaissance des informations ci-dessus, et m'autorisez à utiliser les données recueillies dans le cadre de mon travail, dans les limites indiquées ci-dessus.

Nom, Prénom :

Date :

Signature :

APPENDIX B – FLYER FOR PARTICIPANTS

Végétarien-ne?

Végane?

Végétalien-ne?

Flexitarien-ne?

Bonjour,

Je suis doctorante en psychologie à l'Université de Neuchâtel. Dans mon travail, je m'intéresse aux trajectoires de personnes par rapport au végétarisme, au végétalisme, au véganisme et à d'autres diètes proches ou des variantes (flexitarisme, etc). Dans ce cadre, je cherche des personnes qui seraient d'accord de me parler de leur parcours par rapport à ces questions.

Qu'est-ce qui m'intéresse ?

J'aimerais comprendre les motivations et raisons à ces changements, la manière dont les personnes se décident à les mettre en pratique et comment cela se traduit concrètement dans la vie quotidienne, quels sont éventuellement les obstacles rencontrés et les bénéfices perçus.

Qui m'intéresse ?

Des personnes qui ont récemment apporté un changement à leur alimentation, et plus particulièrement à leur consommation de produits d'origine animale (viande, poisson, produits laitiers,...). Idéalement le changement remonte à moins d'une année.

- Etes-vous devenu-e végétarien-ne/végétalien-ne/végane/flexitarien-ne ?
- Hésitez-vous à adopter un de ces régimes ou êtes-vous en train d'essayer ?
- Etes-vous passé-e d'une de ces diètes à une autre ?
- Avez-vous suivi une de ces diètes durant un certain temps, et avez-vous arrêté ?

Si vous vous reconnaissez sous l'un de ces points (ou que vous êtes dans une situation encore différente mais que vous estimez en lien avec les questions qui m'intéressent) et que vous seriez d'accord de me rencontrer pour un entretien durant lequel vous me parlerez de votre parcours et de vos choix, je vous serais très reconnaissante de me contacter et serais ravie de faire votre connaissance ! N'hésitez pas aussi à me contacter si vous désirez simplement en savoir plus sur ce projet.

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APPENDIX C – TEXTS FOR DIALOGICAL EXPERIMENT AND SOURCES

MERCI POUR VOTRE PARTICIPATION¹³⁸

Ce document regroupe les petits textes utilisés dans les entretiens dans le cadre de ma thèse de doctorat portant sur les changements alimentaires touchant au végétarisme et à ses variantes. Il présente, pour chaque texte, les sources qui ont été utilisées. Ils ont été regroupés autour de 6 thématiques, qui, au fil de mes lectures et explorations autour du végétarisme, sont apparues comme les plus présents ou les plus actuels dans les discours.

Ce document vous est remis à titre informatif. Vous pouvez toujours me contacter si vous avez des questions ou commentaires les concernant, ou concernant l'entretien. Je vous demande aussi de ne pas trop diffuser le document pour l'instant, afin de limiter le risque que de futurs participants à cette recherche voient le document avant l'entretien.

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Santé, nutrition

J'ai appris que manger trop de viande et de produits laitiers augmente le risque de maladies cardiovasculaire, de diabète et de cancer. Manger de la viande rouge et des graisses animales est particulièrement malsain. Avant on pensait qu'être végétarien était risqué pour la santé, mais maintenant ce régime alimentaire est même recommandé par les médecins.

Origines de la proposition :

« Dans les franges les plus riches de la population mondiale, un grand nombre de maladies non transmissibles sont associées à une consommation élevée de produits d'origine animale, en particulier

¹³⁸ This text (including the texts used during the experiment and the explanations regarding the sources) was distributed to the participants after the dialogical experiment.

graisses animales et viande rouge, notamment pour les maladies cardio-vasculaires, les diabètes et certains types de cancer. »

Source : FAO - Food and Agriculture Organization for the United Nations / Organisation des Nations Unies pour l'alimentation et l'agriculture - cité dans l'ouvrage « Le végétarisme et ses ennemis: vingt-cinq siècles de débats » par Larue, 2015, p.246

+ Témoignages oraux de personnes auxquelles le régime végétarien a été recommandé par un médecin.

J'étais devenue végétarien à cause des conséquences écologiques de l'élevage. Mais cette conversion était mal préparée et après quelques années j'ai commencé à souffrir de carences : fatigue, perte de cheveux, irritabilité... J'ai longtemps ignoré ces signaux, pensant que c'était le juste prix à payer pour ma conscience allégée, et une minceur désormais définitive. J'ai mis longtemps à comprendre d'où ça venait. Suite à cela, j'ai renoué avec la consommation de viande. Je suis maintenant flexitarien, c'est pour moi le juste milieu entre principes de raison et plaisir.

Origine de la proposition :

Témoignage sur internet: « En 1995, je suis devenue végétarienne. Face à l'aberration écologique de l'alimentation carnée, mon choix a été vite fait. [...] Ma deuxième conversion, à l'âge adulte, quoique sincère, était immature, et j'ai mis longtemps à comprendre que je souffrais de carences. J'ai arrêté la viande comme on arrête de fumer, brutalement, en la supprimant du jour au lendemain, mais sans bien connaître les mécanismes à adopter pour remplacer les nutriments importants qu'elle contient. Etre végétarien, c'est bien, mais on ne dira jamais assez combien il vaut mieux l'être de façon informée et organisée, pour éviter certains déficits nutritionnels.

[...] Ça a été mon cas : après quelques années de pâtes-salades-légumes-poisson-œufs, j'ai commencé à souffrir de fatigue, perte de cheveux, irritabilité.... J'ai longtemps ignoré ces signaux, pensant que c'était le juste prix à payer pour ma conscience allégée, et une minceur désormais définitive [...]

Au milieu des années 2000, j'ai renoué avec la consommation de viande, à la faveur d'une côte de bœuf saignante, préparée par mon amoureux d'alors, et que j'ai savouré comme un fruit défendu. Je n'ai jamais été de ces végétariens qui n'aiment pas la viande — au contraire—et j'ai donc plongé à nouveau dans le plaisir coupable, vite digéré, de la viande grillée, du saucisson, du poulet rôti, ou même de la blanquette de veau.

[...] Le résultat : je n'ai pas arrêté complètement de manger de la viande. Je suis flexitarienne, c'est à dire que mon régime est principalement végétarien, mais qu'il m'arrive de manger de la viande. En revanche, je ne le fais que lorsque je connais sa provenance. Dieu merci, il existe encore en France des

agriculteurs nobles et respectueux qui mettent tout leur cœur dans le fait de produire de la viande, des œufs, du lait, en respectant les animaux, l'environnement et les consommateurs. Chaque région a ses marchés fermiers, Biocoop et autres AMAP, il est donc relativement facile de s'approvisionner auprès d'eux.

J'ai donc adapté mon régime alimentaire en fonction de mes principes et de mes envies. Le flexitarianisme constitue le juste mariage entre les principes de raison et de plaisir.» (<http://www.ecoloinfo.com/2012/11/19/je-suis-flexitarienne-et-jassume-1/> consulté le 4 mai 2016)

Environnement, écologie

L'industrie de l'élevage contribue largement à la déforestation. Le bétail élevé en Europe est essentiellement nourri de fourrage – du soja OGM surtout – produit sur ce qui fut autrefois la forêt amazonienne. La production de fourrage entraîne une diminution des ressources en eau disponibles et dégrade gravement les sols à cause des épandages d'insecticides, de fongicides et de lisier. De plus, l'élevage est responsable de 18% des émissions de gaz à effet de serre. Le bétail et la production de fourrage occupent deux tiers de l'ensemble des terrains agricoles et un tiers de la surface de la planète, alors que 925 millions de personnes dans le monde souffrent de la faim et pourraient être nourries par ces protéines végétales qu'on destine aux animaux de boucherie.

Origines de la proposition :

« La production de viande, de lait et d'œufs est l'activité humaine utilisant la plus grande superficie des terres émergées et libres de glace. Plus d'un quart de celles-ci est consacré aux pâturages et un tiers des terres arables est destiné à la production fourragère. « Au totale, l'élevage occupe 70% de l'ensemble des terrains agricoles et 30% de la surface de la planète », alors que 925 millions de personnes dans le monde souffrent de la faim et pourraient être nourries par ces protéines végétales qu'on destine aux animaux de boucherie. La malnutrition n'est pas liée au manque de ressources, mais au gaspillage énergétique dont profite l'industrie de la viande. »

Source : « Le végétarisme et ses ennemis, vingt-cinq siècles de débats » par Larue, 2015, p. 244 ; avec une citation issue du rapport de la FAO « L'ombre portée de l'élevage », Rome, 2009 ; ainsi une référence au rapport de la FAO « L'état de l'insécurité alimentaire dans le monde », 2012, Rome, pour la question de la malnutrition.

« Cette industrie [élevage] a également contribué et contribue encore très largement à la déforestation, notamment au Brésil [...]. Le bétail élevé en Europe est essentiellement nourri de ce fourrage – du soja OGM, surtout – produit sur ce qui fut naguère la forêt amazonienne. La destruction

de l'Amazonie a des conséquences tragiques sur la biodiversité [...]. L'élevage ne provoque pas seulement un immense gaspillage de protéines. Il entraîne aussi, par le biais de la production de fourrage, une diminution des ressources en eau disponibles et dégrade gravement la vie des sols en raison des épandages d'insecticides, de fongicides et de lisier. [...] La FAO établit enfin un lien entre le réchauffement climatique et la consommation de produits d'origine animale. L'élevage est l'activité humaine qui contribue le plus à modifier le climat de la planète puisqu'elle est responsable de 18% des émissions de gaz à effet de serre. [...] Arguant du désastre écologique dont l'élevage est responsable au premier chef, la FAO demande aux Occidentaux de réduire leur consommation de viande, d'œufs et de laitages, qui leurs sont non seulement superflus mais néfastes. »

Source : « Le végétarisme et ses ennemis, vingt-cinq siècles de débats » par Larue, 2015, p.244-46, en présentant un rapport de la FAO.

Si on ne mange plus de viande, pour avoir assez de calories on consomme alors plus d'autres produits qui ont aussi un impact sur l'environnement. On mange par exemple plus de fruits et de légumes, ou encore plus de produits à partir de soja. Pour le même nombre de calories, ces produits demandent plus d'énergie, plus d'eau et impliquent de produire plus de gaz à effet de serre. Contrairement à ce qu'on croit, être végétarien n'est pas forcément bon pour l'environnement. Il faut aussi prendre en compte le contexte ; le végétarisme n'est pas forcément approprié dans certaines régions à cause du climat et du relief. En Europe il y a des régions où les sols ne sont pas appropriés pour la culture, et ces terrains conviennent très bien au bétail.

Origines de la proposition :

“The present study advances the debate further by utilizing a more nuanced measure of food consumption to demonstrate that healthy dietary changes can have negative implications for environmental sustainability, thus illustrating an example of tension between public health and environmental sustainability. In addition, this study’s results demonstrate how the environmental benefits of reduced meat consumption may be offset by increased consumption of other relatively high impact foods, thereby challenging the notion that reducing meat consumption automatically reduces the environmental footprints of one’s diet.”

Article scientifique écrit par M. S. Tom, P. S. Fischbeck et C. T. Hendrickson en 2016. Titre de l'article : “Energy use, blue water footprint, and greenhouse gas emissions for current food consumption patterns and dietary recommendations in the US.” Publié dans la revue: “Environment Systems and Decisions” numéro 36, volume 1, pages 92–103. <http://doi.org/10.1007/s10669-015-9577-y>

+ discussion informelle avec personne non-végétarienne (qui a conseillé l'article ci-dessous), étudiante en biologie et fille d'agriculteur

+ discussion informelle avec personne habitant en Irlande (climat peu favorable aux cultures)

+ discussions avec agriculteurs suisses à propos des pâturages de montagnes et lectures sur l'agriculture en Suisse (notamment l'ouvrage de Jérémy Forney « Un métier sans avenir? La grande transformation de l'agriculture suisse romande » publié en 2007

Ethique animale

Je ne mange de la viande que quand je sais d'où elle vient. Heureusement, il existe encore des agriculteurs nobles et respectueux qui mettent tout leur cœur dans le fait de produire de la viande, des œufs, du lait, en respectant les animaux, l'environnement et les consommateurs. Auprès d'eux, les animaux mènent une existence préférable à celle des bêtes sauvages soumises aux prédateurs et subissant les injures du climat. Bien sûr, on tue ces animaux, mais cette mort est indolore et presque instantanée tandis que les bêtes sauvages meurent souvent à la suite d'une longue agonie. Par ailleurs, le lait, la laine ou le miel sont le prix des soins que les hommes procurent aux vaches, aux moutons, aux abeilles.

Origines de la proposition :

« Les animaux qu'on destine à la boucherie mènent une existence préférable, soutient-il [Thompson], à celle des bêtes sauvages qui sont soumises aux prédateurs et subissent les injures du climat. Certes, on tue les animaux qu'on élève, mais cette mort est indolore et presque instantanée tandis que les bêtes sauvages meurent souvent à la suite d'une longue agonie. « La vie dont bénéficient les animaux élevés pour leur chair, que ce soit dans les basses-cours ou dans les pâtures, [est] heureuse », contrairement à ce que veulent croire les végétariens. Ces bêtes seraient en outre bien moins à plaindre que la majorité des êtres humains. »

Source : « Le végétarisme et ses ennemis: vingt-cinq siècles de débats » par Larue, 2015, p. 202 – en se référant à Henry Thompson, « Why vegetarian ? », *Nineteenth Century*, 1898, p. 974)

+ Témoignage sur internet: « [...] Le résultat : je n'ai pas arrêté complètement de manger de la viande. Je suis flexitarienne, c'est à dire que mon régime est principalement végétarien, mais qu'il m'arrive de manger de la viande. En revanche, je ne le fais que lorsque je connais sa provenance. Dieu merci, il existe encore en France des agriculteurs nobles et respectueux qui mettent tout leur cœur dans le fait de produire de la viande, des œufs, du lait, en respectant les animaux, l'environnement et les

consommateurs. Chaque région a ses marchés fermiers, Biocoop et autres AMAP, il est donc relativement facile de s'approvisionner auprès d'eux.

J'ai donc adapté mon régime alimentaire en fonction de mes principes et de mes envies. Le flexitarianisme constitue le juste mariage entre les principes de raison et de plaisir. » (<http://www.ecolo.info.com/2012/11/19/je-suis-flexitarienne-et-jassume-1/> consulté le 4 mai 2016)

+ « Porphyre assure au contraire qu'en vertu d'un « contrat domestique », le lait, la laine ou le miel sont le prix des soins que les hommes procurent aux vaches, aux moutons, aux abeilles. »

Source : Source : « Le végétarisme et ses ennemis: vingt-cinq siècles de débats » par Larue, 2015, p. 58 et suivantes

La plupart des gens souhaitent le bien-être des animaux et refusent *a priori* de leur infliger des douleurs. Mais je pense que pour être cohérent, il faut renoncer à l'ensemble des activités qui impliquent de faire souffrir les animaux, car aucune d'elles n'est obligatoire. Penser qu'on peut concilier l'élevage et le bien-être des animaux est irréaliste. Les bêtes sont des sujets-d'une-vie, elles possèdent une valeur inhérente. Cela implique de cesser immédiatement toutes les activités dans lesquelles les bêtes sont utilisées comme des moyens et de refuser totalement l'industrie animale. Un jour viendra où l'idée que, pour se nourrir, les hommes élevaient et massacraient des êtres vivants et exposaient leur chair en lambeaux dans des vitrines, inspirera la même répugnance que les repas cannibales des sauvages aux voyageurs du XVI^e siècle ou du XVII^e siècle.

Origines de la proposition :

"As often as Herman had witnessed the slaughter of animals and fish, he always had the same thought: in their behavior toward creatures, all men were Nazis. The smugness with which man could do with other species as he pleased exemplified the most extreme racist theories"

Source: Isaac Bashevis Singer, dans « *Enemies: A love story* », cité par Adams, dans l'ouvrage "The sexual politics of meat: a feminist-vegetarian critical theory", publié en 1990, pages 52-53. Illustre l'argument antispéciste.

+ "Claude Lévi-Strauss prédit par exemple qu' "un jour viendra où l'idée que, pour se nourrir, les hommes du passé élevaient et massacraient des êtres vivants et exposaient complaisamment leur chair en lambeaux dans des vitrines, inspirera sans doute la même répugnance qu'aux voyageurs du XVI^e siècle ou du XVII^e siècle, les repas cannibales des sauvages ». »

Source : C. Lévi-Strauss, article « La leçon de sagesse des vaches folles », publié dans la revue « Etudes rurales », 2001, pages 157-158.

+ « Puisque les bêtes sont, ou pourraient être, des sujets-d'une-vie, elles possèdent une valeur inhérente ; elles doivent par conséquent être traitées comme des patients moraux, c'est-à-dire comme des fins-en-soi. Dans une telle perspective, nous sommes dans l'obligation de respecter ces animaux, de la même manière que nous avons le devoir de respecter les être humain. Cela implique de cesser immédiatement toutes les activités dans lesquelles les bêtes sont utilisées comme des moyens, d'adopter une position « abolitionniste » et d'œuvrer à « la dissolution totale de l'industrie animale telle que nous la connaissons ».

Source : « Le végétarisme et ses ennemis: vingt-cinq siècles de débats » par Larue, 2015, p. 234, avec des extraits de Regan.

+ « La plupart des gens souhaitent en effet le bien-être des animaux et refusent *a priori* de leur infliger des douleurs ; ils jugent même inacceptable que l'on fasse du mal aux bêtes sans raisons sérieuses. S'ils étaient cohérents, estime-t-il, ils devraient renoncer à l'ensemble des activités impliquant de faire souffrir les animaux. Aucune d'elles en effet ne présente de caractère obligatoire. [...] Francione reproche en outre aux welfaristes de croire qu'il est à la fois réaliste et acceptable de maintenir l'élevage tout en garantissant le bien-être des animaux. [...] Le welfarisme n'est pas qu'absurde, il est aussi gravement contre-productif. Ceux qui soutiennent cette position, en oeuvrant à l'amélioration du sort des bêtes, empireraient paradoxalement leur situation à moyen et long termes, dans la mesure où ils conforteraient le grand public dans l'idée que des progrès significatifs en termes de bien-être animal ont été accomplis (ou sont en passe de l'être) et qu'il serait donc acceptable moralement de ne pas être végane. »

Source : « Le végétarisme et ses ennemis: vingt-cinq siècles de débats » par Larue, 2015, pages 241-242.

Plaisir, goût

J'adapte mon régime alimentaire en fonction de mes principes et de mes envies. De temps en temps, j'aime savourer une côte de bœuf saignante ou du poulet rôti, surtout si elle est préparée par mon amoureux. Vu que je mange rarement de la viande, cela m'importe particulièrement de me faire plaisir, tout en choisissant des morceaux de bonne qualité et de provenance éthiquement responsable.

Origines de la proposition :

Témoignage sur internet: « En 1995, je suis devenue végétarienne. Face à l'aberration écologique de l'alimentation carnée, mon choix a été vite fait. [...] »

Au milieu des années 2000, j'ai renoué avec la consommation de viande, à la faveur d'une côte de bœuf saignante, préparée par mon amoureux d'alors, et que j'ai savouré comme un fruit défendu. Je n'ai jamais été de ces végétariens qui n'aiment pas la viande — au contraire—et j'ai donc plongé à nouveau dans le plaisir coupable, vite digéré, de la viande grillée, du saucisson, du poulet rôti, ou même de la blanquette de veau.

[...] Le résultat : je n'ai pas arrêté complètement de manger de la viande. Je suis flexitarienne, c'est à dire que mon régime est principalement végétarien, mais qu'il m'arrive de manger de la viande. [...]

J'ai donc adapté mon régime alimentaire en fonction de mes principes et de mes envies. Le flexitarianisme constitue le juste mariage entre les principes de raison et de plaisir. » (<http://www.ecoloinfo.com/2012/11/19/je-suis-flexitarienne-et-jassume-1/> consulté le 4 mai 2016)

+ Extraits d'un article sur internet : « Selon **Marie Laure Hustache (saf agr'iDées)**, un think tank qui a récemment publié la Note « Bien manger, cela s'apprend et prend du temps », « *la nécessité de manger moins de viande et de poisson fait de moins en moins débat : l'humanité n'a jamais été aussi carnivore qu'à l'heure actuelle, et les conséquences sur le bien-être animal et la santé des individus sont multiples... sans compter l'impact sur le budget familial, puisque viande et poisson sont parmi les produits alimentaires les plus chers. **Concrètement cette souplesse permet aux consommateurs de naviguer entre les différents courants, sans pour autant adopter des régimes trop stricts qui peuvent en refroidir certains...** De plus, le flexitarien souhaite particulièrement se faire plaisir quand il consomme de la viande. Il a alors tendance à l'acheter chez son artisan boucher ou bien directement à la ferme afin de pouvoir partager l'histoire du plat consommé dans un esprit particulièrement festif.* »

Source : <http://www.snacking.fr/news-2697-Le-flexitarisme---comment-concilier-responsabilite-et-plaisir-dans-l-assiette-.php> consulté le 24 mai 2016

La répugnance que nous éprouvons spontanément devant le cadavre d'un animal signale que notre goût pour la viande n'est pas une tendance naturelle. En tant qu'humain, notre appétit n'est excité que par la viande, c'est-à-dire un produit transformé, un artifice. Les sauces, les épices, les parfums ont pour fonction de faire oublier à nos sens que nous consommons un aliment dégoûtant. Depuis que j'ai réfléchi à cela, l'idée même de manger de la viande me répugne.

Origine de la proposition

« La répugnance que nous éprouvons spontanément devant le cadavre d'un animal signifierait, elle aussi, que notre goût pour les nourritures carnées n'est pas une tendance naturelle. Notre appétit, fait remarquer Plutarque, n'est excité que par la viande, c'est-à-dire un produit transformé, un artifice. Les

sauces, les épices, les parfums ont pour fonction de faire oublier à nos sens que nous consommons un aliment dégoûtant, auquel la nature ne nous a guère destinés et qui donc ne nous convient pas. »

Source : « Le végétarisme et ses ennemis: vingt-cinq siècles de débats » par Larue, 2015, p.57 – chapitre sur les débats durant l'Antiquité

Economique

La viande et le poisson sont souvent les aliments qui coûtent le plus cher dans un repas, surtout si on veut des produits de qualité et qui respectent quelques normes environnementales et éthiques minimum. Depuis que je suis végétarien, tout ce que j'économise sur la viande je peux le réinvestir ailleurs, que ce soit en achetant des produits alimentaires de qualité ou dans d'autres domaines.

Origines de la proposition :

Témoignage sur internet : « Pour ma part, je suis flexitarienne depuis quelques mois maintenant et cela pour des raisons à la fois économiques et personnelles. [...] Dans un premier temps, c'est avant tout économique car la viande est généralement présente à chaque repas que l'on consomme et c'est également un des ingrédients les plus chers. »

Source : <http://leplus.nouvelobs.com/contribution/1385775-ni-vegetarienne-ni-omnivore-je-suis-flexitarienne-je-mange-peu-de-viande-sans-me-priver.html> consulté le 04 mai 2016

+ Témoignage sur internet :

« On reproche à la viande industrielle d'être pleine de cochonneries. C'est vrai. Cette viande contient des antibiotiques et des hormones de croissance qui ont été données aux animaux pour qu'il grandissent. Ces substances se retrouvent peut-être dans nos assiettes et dans nos organismes. Je suis le premier à dire que c'est alarmant. C'est pourquoi il faudrait consommer de la viande bio issue d'élevage en pâturage. Mais bon, ce n'est pas à la portée de toutes les bourses. »

Source : <http://minceur-force-plaisir.com/etre-vegetarien>, consulté le 24 mai 2016

Si j'arrêtais de manger de la viande, je devrais consommer plus d'autres aliments pour compenser, et cela pèserait sur mon budget, surtout qu'il faut qu'ils soient de bonne qualité pour qu'il n'y ait pas de risque de carences. Ce sont plutôt des personnes des milieux aisés qui deviennent végétariennes, et ce n'est pas par hasard. Il faut avoir du temps pour réfléchir à ce qu'on va manger et prévoir des repas équilibrés, prendre plus de temps pour cuisiner, et avoir les moyens d'acheter des substituts à la viande ; cela n'est simplement pas donné à tout le monde.

Origines de la proposition

Témoignage sur internet: « Ca ne rassasie pas ! Vous avez déjà essayé de ne manger que des légumes et des produits pauvres en protéines ? Moi oui. Et ça ne me nourrit pas. Je mesure 1m86 pour 86 kilos de muscles. De la salade ne suffit pas à me nourrir. J'ai besoin de viande, mon corps en a besoin. Je ne suis pas un de ces hommes asexués du 21ème siècle qui mange des légumes et porte des sacs à main en bandoulière. Attention, je ne juge personne. Je dis simplement que si vous voulez avoir un corps qui fonctionne correctement, un système hormonal qui soit optimal, alors vous avez besoin d'apporter à votre organisme une alimentation qui lui soit adaptée et optimale. Les protéines, ainsi que les lipides, sont reconnus pour créer un fort sentiment de satiété. Les fruits et les légumes sont majoritairement constitués d'eau, de glucides et de sucre. Rien qui ne nourrisse sérieusement. Pourtant, les légumes et les fruits sont indispensables à notre corps. Mais seuls il ne peuvent pas tout faire. (...) Je pourrais manger trois kilos de légumes et toujours avoir faim ! »

Source : <http://minceur-force-plaisir.com/etre-vegetarien>, consulté le 24 mai 2016

+ « Les végétariens se recrutent parmi les employés qualifiés, les petits indépendants non manuels, les cadres, les cadres supérieurs et les professions libérales. Ils ont généralement suivi des écoles supérieures ou un enseignement universitaire. Par ailleurs, ils viennent souvent des milieux médicaux, para-médicaux ou travaillant dans le domaine de la chimie, de la physique et de la biologie. De nombreux enseignants et artistes s'intéressent aussi à ce type de régime. »

Source Article d'Ossipow « Manger autrement en Suisse romande », 1986, publié dans la revue « Schweizerisches Archiv für Volkskunde », numéro 82, volumes 3-4, pages 155-166.

+ Idée qu'il faut manger plus d'autres aliments pour compenser (scenario 2): "Amidst the current overweight and obesity epidemic in the USA, the Dietary Guidelines provide food and beverage recommendations that are intended to help individuals achieve and maintain healthy weight. The three dietary scenarios we examine include (1) reducing Caloric intake levels to achieve "normal" weight without shifting food mix, (2) switching current food mix to USDA recommended food patterns, without reducing Caloric intake, and (3) reducing Caloric intake levels and shifting current food mix to USDA recommended food patterns, which support healthy weight. This study finds that(...) shifting to dietary Scenario 2 increases energy use by 43 %, blue water footprint by 16 %, and GHG emissions by 11 %. (...)These perhaps counterintuitive results are primarily due to USDA recommendations for greater Caloric intake of fruits, vegetables, dairy, and fish/seafood, which have relatively high resource use and emissions per Calorie."

Article scientifique écrit par M. S. Tom, P. S. Fischbeck et C. T. Hendrickson en 2016.
Titre de l'article : "Energy use, blue water footprint, and greenhouse gas emissions for current food

consumption patterns and dietary recommendations in the US.” Publié dans la revue: “Environment Systems and Decisions” numéro 36, volume 1, pages 92–103. <http://doi.org/10.1007/s10669-015-9577-y>

Nature – culture et hominisation

C'est l'exploitation des animaux pour leur laine, leur force de traction et leur viande qui a permis aux hommes d'accéder à la civilisation. La domestication et la consommation de viande sont indissociables du développement humain, et ont joué un rôle important dans le développement du cerveau. La consommation de viande est une pratique culturelle qui a favorisé la maîtrise du feu, la fabrication des armes et des outils et a participé au développement de la communication et de l'organisation sociale. L'usage de la viande constitue un symbole des acquis de la civilisation.

Origines de la proposition :

Les démonstrations carnistes « reposent essentiellement sur l'idée que l'humanité primitive était à la fois vulnérable et malheureuse, et que l'exploitation des animaux pour leur laine, leur force de traction ou leur viande, a permis aux hommes d'accéder à la civilisation. La domestication et la diète carnée seraient donc indissociables du développement humain. »

Source : « Le végétarisme et ses ennemis: vingt-cinq siècles de débats » par Larue, 2015, p. 47 ; en se référant aux débats dans l'Antiquité grecque, notamment aux propos rapportés par Plutarque et Porphyre

+ "Beaucoup s'accordent en effet à voir dans la consommation de viande une pratique éminemment culturelle, qui aurait même favorisé la maîtrise du feu et la fabrication des armes ou des outils. Loin de répondre à un instinct, l'usage de la viande constituerait un symbole des acquis de la civilisation"

Source : idem, p. 56. Cet argument, récurrent dans l'histoire selon Larue, est nommé « l'argument de Plutarque »

+ L'argument du développement de la communication et de l'organisation sociale s'appuie quant à lui sur l'ouvrage de Warnier « Construire la culture matérielle: l'homme qui pensait avec ses doigts », publié en 1999. Notes de lecture : « Rôle joué par la chasse dans l'hominisation. nécessite la coordination sociale, la communication, l'organisation, savoir-faire, capacités d'observation... Mais aussi dimension symbolique de réciprocité entre le chasseur et l'environnement. Forte dimension émotionnelle, dons et contre-dons. Vourc'h et Pelosse (1988) et B. Hell (1985 et 1994) analysent la chasse et mettent en évidence la dimension socialisée et complexe. "Pour un animal dépourvu de griffes, de canines et d'une forte mâchoire, la chasse efficace a deux exigences: la

coopération/communication (la psychomotricité et la sociomotricité) et la maîtrise de l'outillage matériel. Elle exige de savoir penser avec ses doigts pour construire le lien social" (page 57) »

+ Article de Nic Ulmi dans le journal le Temps, 19 mars 2016, « La viande nous obsède depuis des milliards d'années » « Le régime carnivore a fait de nous des créatures sociales aux grands cerveaux » avec des références à Marta Zaraska.

On voit bien que l'être humain n'est pas conçu pour manger de la viande, notre physiologie se rapproche plutôt de celle des herbivores. Notre dentition n'est pas celle d'un carnivore, nous n'avons pas de dents pointues adaptées pour déchirer la viande, nous avons des dents plates de ruminant qui mâchent les feuilles. Nous n'avons pas de griffes pour lacérer notre proie. Notre intestin est très long pour permettre la digestion des herbes, feuilles et fruits. Et nous n'avons pas assez d'acide gastrique pour digérer les os d'animaux.

Origines de la proposition :

Billet de blog « être végétarien c'est nul » : « Notre dentition n'est pas celle d'un carnivore. Nous n'avons pas de dents pointues adaptées pour déchirer la viande. Nous avons des dents plates de ruminant qui mâchent les feuilles. Nous n'avons pas de griffes pour lacérer notre proie. Notre intestin est très long pour permettre la digestion des herbes, feuilles, trucs verts... Nous n'avons pas assez d'acide gastrique pour digérer les os d'animaux. »

Source : <http://minceur-force-plaisir.com/etre-vegetarien>, consulté le 24 mai 2016

+ Argument également évoqué dans « Le végétarisme et ses ennemis: vingt-cinq siècles de débats » par Larue, 2015.

English translation of the texts used in the experiment

Health, nutrition

[Text 1] I learnt that eating too much meat and dairy products increases the risk of cardiovascular diseases, diabetes and cancer. Eating red meat and animal fats is particularly unhealthy. Before, we thought that being vegetarian was risky for health, but now even doctors recommend this diet.

[Text 2] I became vegetarian because of the ecological consequences of livestock farming. But this conversion was poorly prepared and after a few years I started to suffer from deficiencies: tiredness, hair loss, irritability... During long time, I ignored these signals, thinking that this was the right price to pay for my light conscience and a finally definitive slimness. It took me a long time to understand where

this was coming from. After what, I went back to meat consumption. I am now flexitarian, to me it is the right middle between principles of reason and pleasure.

Environmental impact

[Text 3] Animal farming industry largely contributes to deforestation. Livestock raised in Europe is essentially nourished with feed – mainly GM soya – produced on what once was the Amazon rainforest. Production of feed generates a diminution of available water resources and seriously damages the grounds because of the spreading of insecticides, fungicides and liquid manure. Moreover, animal farming is responsible for 18% of the greenhouse effect gas emissions. Livestock and the production of feed occupy two thirds of the entire agricultural terrain and one third of the surface of the earth, while 925 millions of people in the world suffer of hunger and could be nourished with these proteins intended for cattle.

[Text 4] If you do not eat meat anymore, in order to get enough calories you consume more other products, which also have an impact on environment. You will for instance eat more fruits and vegetables, or more soya based products. For the same number of calories, those products need more energy, more water and entail to produce more greenhouse effect gas. Unlike what we usually think, being vegetarian is not necessarily good for the environment. You also have to consider the context; vegetarianism is not necessarily appropriate in certain regions because of the climate and the relief. In Europe, there are regions where the grounds are not appropriate for culture, and these terrains are well suited for cattle.

Animal ethics

[Text 5] I eat meat only when I know where it comes from. Fortunately, there are still noble and respectful farmers who put their entire heart in the fact to produce meat, eggs, milk, respecting the animals, the environment and the consumers. Near to them, animals live a life that is preferable to that of wild animals, that are exposed to predators and endure difficult climate conditions. Of course, we kill these animals, but this death is painless and almost instantaneous, while wild animals often die after a long death throes. Additionally, milk, wool or honey are the price for the care that humans provide to cows, sheep and bees.

[Text 6] Most of the people wish animals' well-being and refuse *a priori* to inflict them pain. But I think that, in order to be coherent, we have to renounce to all activities that implicate to make animals suffer, because none of them is obligatory. Thinking that we can conciliate animal farming and animal well-being is unrealistic. Animals are subjects-of-a-life, they possess an inherent value. This implies to stop immediately all activities in which animals are used as a mean and to completely refuse animal industry. One day will come when the idea that, in order to feed themselves, humans raised and

massacred living beings and exposed their tattered flesh in shop windows, will inspire the same repugnance than cannibal meals of the savages inspired to the travelers of the XVI or XVII century.

Pleasure, taste

[Text 7] I adapt my diet following my principles and my desires. From time to time, I like to savor a rare prime rib of beef or roasted chicken, especially if my boyfriend prepared it. Given that I rarely eat meat, it is especially important to give myself a treat, while also choosing pieces of good quality and of ethically responsible provenance.

[Text 8] The repugnance that we spontaneously experience in front of the carcass of an animal signals that our taste for meat is not a natural tendency. As a human being, our appetite is only excited by meat, which is a transformed product, an artifice. The function of sauces, spices, perfumes is to make us forget that we consume a disgusting product. Since I thought about that, even the idea of eating meat repulses me.

Economic aspect

[Text 9] Meat and fish are often the most expensive foods in a meal, in particular if you want products of good quality and which respect a few minimal environmental and ethical norms. Since I am vegetarian, I can reinvest everything I save on meat elsewhere, be it in buying foods of good quality or in other domains.

[Text 10] If I would stop eating meat, I would have to consume more other products in order to compensate, and this would weight upon my budget, especially because these products have to be of good quality in order to avoid any risk of deficiency. More people from comfortable background become vegetarian, and it is not by chance. You need time to reflect on what you will eat and plan balanced meals, take time to cook and have the means to buy substitutes to meat; not everyone can afford this.

Nature, culture and humanization

[Text 11] Exploitation of animals for their wool, their traction force and their meat allowed men to accede to civilization. Domestication and meat consumption are inseparable in human development and played an important role in the development of the brain. Meat consumption is a cultural practice that favored the mastering of fire, the production of weapons and tools and participated to the development of communication and social organization. The use of meat constitutes a symbol of the benefits of civilization.

[Text 12] It is obvious that humans are not made for meat consumption, our physiology is rather near to the one of herbivores. Our dentition is not the one of a carnivore, we do not have sharp teeth

adapted to tear meat up, we have flat teeth of ruminants who chew leaves. We do not have claws to lacerate our prey. Our intestine is very long in order to allow the digestion of grass, leaves and fruits. And we do not have enough gastric juice to digest animals' bones.

APPENDIX D – CONVENTIONS OF TRANSCRIPTION

Based on the conventions of Jefferson's (1985) Conversational Analysis.

,	Raising intonation
.	Fall in the intonation
?	Interrogative intonation
(.)	Small break (one second or less)
(2) or (3)	Break (number indicates how many seconds)
:	Prolongation of the sound
<u>Underlined word</u>	Accentuated word
-	Interrupted word

Table C 1: Transcription Conventions

APPENDIX E – EXTRACTS OF TRANSCRIPTIONS: ORIGINAL AND TRANSLATED

Chapter five: The landscape of the participants

Extract 1.1.1 : Léa, narrative interview

L : ça m'a complètement dégoûté. (.) ça m'a complètement dégoûté. (2) en fait euh :: comme l'animal il est complètement euh (2) enfin j'veux pas dire déshumanisé mais désanimalisé on : on a plus aucune estime en fait du : du vivant en fait. (.) p- p- ouais ben pas respect mais juste euh : ben d' empathie quoi.

Extract 1.1.1: Léa, narrative interview

L: It completely disgusted me. (.) it completely disgusted me. (2) in fact uh:: how the animal is completely uh (2) I don't want to say dehumanized but deanimalized we: we don't have any esteem in fact for the: for the living in fact. (.) n- n- yes uh not respect but simply uh: well empathy

Extract 1.1.2 : Aurélia, narrative interview

A : mais pt-être que l'aspect éthique il est avant les autres,

F : d'accord ouais. (.) t'arrives à dire un ptit peu plus précisément c'que t'entends par aspects éthiques ?

A : euh les conditions dans lesquelles les animaux sont élevés, (.) et tués, (2) et : voilà c'qu'on leur fait subir quoi parce qu'ils ont rien demandé et pis : ils ont des vies atroces,

F : ouais

A : pis :: pis surtout euh les élevages intensifs,

Extract 1.1.2: Aurélia, narrative interview

A: but maybe the ethical aspect comes first,

F: ok yes. (.) can you tell a little bit more precisely what you mean by ethical aspects?

A: uh the conditions in which the animals are raised, (.) and killed, (2) and : well what we make them endure because they didn't ask for any of this and : they have atrocious lives,

F: yes

A: and :: and in particular uh intensive farming,

Extract 1.1.3 : Laura, narrative interview

L : puis j'ai eu une phase où je me suis intéressée euh pas seulement à ne pas, tuer les animaux, (.) qui était euh l- la motivation de toute la famille de ne pas manger la viande, (.) euh rouge et blanche, donc la volaille, euh : mais aussi à la production euhm (.) des produits euh animaux, (.) en particulier les

œufs. (.) il y avait, devant l'université, euh : : une très bon euh exposition, qui qui expliquait, qui sensibilisait, (.) on parle de y a vingt ans donc c'était encore les cages, les petites cages, euh la production et : : et là, (.) pour moi les les : par exemple les œufs c'était vraiment euh : quelque chose de très important de regarder toujours ne pas faire des compromis. (.) Pis, ça ça a quand même un peu lancé mon intérêt à m'informer de plus en plus, (.)

Extract 1.1.3: Laura, narrative interview

L: Then I went through a phase where I became interested in uh not only not, killing animals, (.) which was uh th- the motivation for the whole family not to eat meat, (.) uh red and white, so poultry, uh : but also to the production uhm : (.) of animal products, (.) in particular eggs. (.) there was, in front of the university, uh:: a very good uh exhibition, which which explained, raised awareness, (.) it was about twenty years ago so it was still cages, the little cages, uh the production and:: and there, (.) for me the the: for instance the eggs it was really uh: something very important to always be careful not to make compromises. (.) And, anyhow that started up my interest in finding out more and more, (.)

Extract 1.1.4 : Aline, narrative interview

A : j'me rappelle c'est drôle (.) on était au lac des [nom du lac], °mais j'étais (assez) p'tite° (.) et pis y avait euh il- ils mettaient les cochons dans un : dans un van pour aller les tuer et pis ça ça m'avait aussi hyper choquée parce que c'était un van à- ben pour un cheval quoi, et ils en avaient mis j'sais pas combien d'dans, et pis pour les faire entrer ils leur mettaient un coup d'électricité : dans l'ventre, quoi et pis (.) ils devaient monter s'entasser les uns sur les autres et ça j'me dis (oh malheur) : j'sais si j'mangeais déjà pas d'viande si j'm'étais dit ah mais j'arrête de manger d'la viande parce que ah ça m'avait traumatisé, (rire)

Extract 1.1.4: Aline, narrative interview

A: I remember it's funny (.) we were at the lake of [name of the lake], °but I was (quite) young° (.) and there was uh et th- they put pigs in a : in a van to go kill them and I was so shocked because it was a van for- well for a horse, and they put I don't know how many inside, and to make them enter they gave them an electric shock : in the belly, and then (.) they had to go up pile one on top of the other and that I think (oh misery): I don't know that if I were not already not eating meat if I would have told myself oh but I stop eating meat because oh it traumatized me, ((laughs))

Extract 1.1.5 : Laura, narrative interview

F : mais donc en fait quand votre famille a commencé, c'était (.) parce qu'il fallait pas tuer les animaux,
L : c'est pour des questions éthiques.

F : donc éthique de traitement des animaux, ou éthique vraiment de pas tuer

L : euh : plutôt des traitements, (.) et de tuer. (.) euh pardon au niveau c'était tuer euh au début c'était tuer plutôt c'était tuer. (.) et pour moi c'était plutôt le traitement, euh par contre j'étais pas cohérente parce que j'aurais pu manger, : euh des animaux sauvages tués par un chasseur je sais pas quoi, mais là j'étais pas cohérente. Donc j'ai pas mangé c'était plus simple de dire je mange pas la viande que : aller chercher, (.) ou en tout cas ça m- moi j'arriverais pas à tuer un animal. (.) bon j'arriverais pas à tuer un poisson non plus, ((rires))

Extract 1.1.5: Laura, narrative interview

F: but in fact when your family started, it was (.) because one shouldn't kill animals,

L: it's for ethical reasons

F: so ethics of treatment of animals, or the ethics of not killing

L: uh more so because of the treatments, (.) and to kill. (.) uh sorry at the level it was not killing uh at the beginning it was killing rather it was killing. (.) and for me it was rather the treatment, uh however I was not coherent because I could have eaten, : uh wild animals killed by a hunter I don't know what, but there I was not coherent. So I did not eat it was easier to say I don't eat meat than : to look for, (.) or at least that m- me I could not kill an animal. (.) well I couldn't kill a fish either, ((laughing))

Extract 1.1.6: Aurélia, narrative interview

A : voilà si un jour, c'est l'apocalypse, (.) on doit tous se débrouiller par nous-mêmes, ben voilà, j'irai chasser certainement pour survivre, (2) mais c'est vraiment ce côté : en masse en fait. L'élevage intensif, et : c'est horrible,

Extract 1.1.6: Aurélia, narrative interview

A: well if one day, it's the apocalypse, (.) we all have to handle things by ourselves, well then, I would certainly go hunting in order to survive, (2) but it's really this issue: mass-production in fact. Intensive farming, and: it's horrible,

Extract 1.1.7 : Alexandre, narrative interview

A : parce qu'on avait des : on avait des des génisses qu'on : on abattait pour vendre d'la viande ((rire)) donc forcément on en mangeait,

Extract 1.1.7: Alexandre, narrative interview

A: because we had : we had heifer that we : we slaughtered to sell meat ((laughs)) so inevitably we ate some,

Extract 1.1.8 : Marilou, narrative interview

M : et c'était quand même c'est quand même pas : c'est quand même pas : l'animal, (2) qu'est sur l'assiette c'est quand même (3) ouais qui me dérangeait pas trop

Extract 1.1.8: Marilou, narrative interview

M: and all the same it was not : it was not the : animal, (2) that is on the plate it is anyhow (3) yeah which didn't bother me too much

Extract 1.1.9 : Léa, narrative interview

L : j'mange du poisson, (.) [...] mais j'sais pas non j'suis plus sensible à la cause des vaches et- et du euh ben des mammifères, mais euh non des fruits d'mer j'arriverais pas à m'en passer par contre, (.) j'en mange régulièrement, (.) mais ça c'est une alimentation qu'a- ben c'est la viande qui a remplacé la viande rouge on va dire, (.) le poisson

Extract 1.1.9: Léa, narrative interview

L: I eat fish, (.) [...] but I don't know no I am more sensitive to the cause of cows and : and uh well of mammals, but uh no seafood I could not do without on the other hand, (.) I eat some regularly, (.) but that is a food which- well it is the meat that replaced red meat let's say, (.) fish

Extract 1.2.1 : Michel, narrative interview

M : pour avoir un pain (.) vraiment (.) mouillé, (.) pis après dès qu'il sort, (.) j'le découpe, (.) j'l'emballe et j'le mets au congélateur. (.) même encore chaud c'qu'est une absurdité point de vue énergie mais ça on s'en fiche, (.) parce que il faut garder cette humidité

Extract 1.2.1: Michel, narrative interview

M: In order to have really (.) wet (.) bread, (.) and then as soon as it comes out, [from the bread machine] (.) I cut it, (.) I pack it and I put it in the freezer. (.) even still warm which is absurd from an energy conservation point of view but we don't care, (.) because you need to keep this humidity

Extract 1.2.2 : Aline, narrative interview

A : là où j'me suis vraiment dit enfin (.) je sais : tous les problèmes qu'y a à manger d'la viande : par rapport à (.) au niveau d'écologie, du traitement des animaux, .h etc, (.) mais, euh : c'était juste euh j'avais vu sur facebook y'a le restaurant du, le *nom d'un restaurant*, (.) qui a décidé en fait de plus : le mardi j'crois de faire euh végétarien

F : mhm

A : pis ils avaient mis : deux trois : facts des : des faits justement sur toute la consommation au niveau écologique que ça d'mandait,

F : ouais

A : et (incomp) je sais enfin je savais d'jà mais en fait c'est en voyant ça j'me suis dit ouais mais c'est trop- c'est trop bête tu vois

Extract 1.2.2: Aline, narrative interview

A: where I really told myself well (.) I know: all the problems with eating meat: related to (.) from an ecological perspective, of animal treatment, .h etc., (.) but, uh : it was just uh I saw on [*name of a social media] there is the restaurant of, the [*name of the restaurant], (.) that decided in fact not to : on Tuesdays I think to make uh vegetarian

F: mhm

A: and they put : two or three : facts : facts related specifically to consumption from an ecological perspective,

F: yeah

A: and (incomp) I know well I already knew but in fact it's when seeing that that I thought yes but it's really- it's really stupid you see

Extract 1.2.3 : Alexandre, narrative interview

A : j'aime bien utiliser les : produits, produits locaux quoi. Donc les produits de saisons, : légumes de saisons, donc ça fait varier : les recettes au fil des saisons, tu vois j'fais souvent des salades complètes pis ben d'après les légumes que j'ai ben ça ça change, ça change les recettes, mais la base est la même quoi on va dire.

F : et pourquoi les légumes de saison ou les fruits ou des produits : d'ici,

A : ben : parce que j'pense que quand tu : quand tu es : enfin quand t'as cette réflexion ben sur l'alimentation ça va un peu plus loin que ça (.) ça va aussi sur le côté écologique,

Extract 1.2.3: Alexandre, narrative interview

A: I like using : seasonal products, local products or whatever. So local products, : seasonal vegetables, so it varies : the recipes vary as the seasons go by, you see I often make whole salads and well depending on the vegetables I have well it it changes, it changes the recipes, but the base is the same let's say.

F: and why seasonal vegetables or local fruits or products,

A: well: because I think that when you : when you are : well when you have this reflection uh on food it goes a bit further than that .) it's also about the ecology

Extract 1.2.4 : Gaël, narrative interview

G : j'essaie de (.) de manger c'qui vient du coin, (.) plutôt que tu vois par exemple (2) bouffer des avocats bio qui viennent de de du fin fond du Pérou, (.) c'est un peu naze, j'dirais donc euh (.) voilà j'essaie quand même d'faire euh d'faire gaffe par rapport à ça quoi (.) j'essaie d'avoir (.) une éthique dans c'que j'bouffe mais un peu dans une autre manière.

Extract 1.2.4: Gaël, narrative interview

G: I try to (.) to eat what comes from the region, (.) rather than avocados that come from from the depths of Peru, (.) it's a bit moronic, I would say so uh (.) well I try anyway to uh to be careful with that what (.) I try to have (.) an ethic in what I eat but slightly in another way.

*Extract 1.3.1 is from Lisa's interview, thus initially in English

Extract 1.3.2 : Aurélia, narrative interview

A : (china) study, enfin c'est un : c'est un : (.) qu'est-ce qu'il est comme (.) c'est une scientifique américain en fait qu'a fait une étude sur euh le lait la viande les protéines animales, (.) et les liens avec le cancer, F : d'accord

A : il faisait avec des études sur les rats en fait

F : ouais

A : où il leur faisait manger d'la (inaud.), (.) à certains et à certains pas, et pis : il regardait : (.) pis ils ont constaté qu'y avait plus de cancers chez : les rats qui consomment des protéines animales. Après c'est beaucoup plus complexe que ça mais j'l'ai lu y a quelques temps

Extract 1.3.2: Aurélia, narrative interview

A: (china) study, it's a: it's a: (.) what is he as (.) it's an American scientist in fact who did a study on uh milk meat animal proteins, (.) and the links to cancer,

F: okay

A: he conducted studies on rats in fact

F: yeah

A: where he made them eat (incomp.), (.)some of them and not others, and then : he watched : (.) and they noticed that there where more cancers in: rats that ate animal proteins. Actually it's much more complicated than that but I read it some time ago

Extract 1.3.3 : Gaël, narrative interview

G : j'ai jamais fait d'prise de sang ou quoi qu'ce soit mais euh ça pousse quand même euhm : ça pousse quand même à t'intéresser un peu au truc, (.) et pis de un peu d'savoir qu'est-ce qu'y a dans quoi et pis euh bon (.) ben forcément à essayer d'varier c'que tu bouffes quoi. (.) euh le plus possible

F : ouais

G : et pis euh (2) pis bon en soit même maintenant euh même maintenant, (.) je remange des produits carnés ben (2) j'fais quand même gaffe à avoir une alimentation équilibrée quoi

Extract 1.3.3: Gaël, narrative interview

G: I never took a blood test or anything like that but uh still it encourages you to uhm : it encourages you to be a little bit more interested in the issue, (.) and to know a little bit about what is in what and uh well (.) well necessarily to try to vary what you eat what. (.) uh as much as possible

F: yeah

G: and then uh (2) then well in itself even now uh even now, (.) I'm eating meat-based products again well (2) I still try to be careful to have a balanced diet

Extract 1.3.4 : Michel, narrative interview

M : quand vous reprenez en gros l'régime méditerranéen qu'vous connaissez certainement, (.) y a beaucoup de crudités, (.) peu d'produits transformés, (.) beaucoup d'huile d'olive, (.) des vins rouges, (.) quelques produits laitiers de chèvre et de brebis etc, (.) ben on est à peu près dans la cible de ce qui convient hyper bien (.) à l'être humain, (.) et non pas la politique des produits laitiers euh et des protéines etc, (.) alors moi j'ai fait ça par choix. (.) parce que j'accorde une assez grande importance à mon hygiène de vie, (.)

Extract 1.3.4: Michel, narrative interview

M: When you have a Mediterranean diet that you certainly know, (.) there are a lot of raw vegetables, (.) a few transformed products, (.) lots of olive oil, (.) red wines, (.) some goat and sheep milk products etc, (.) well you are more or less in line with the healthiest way of eating (.) for human beings, (.) and not the politics of milk products and proteins etc, (.) so I did that by choice. (.) because I give quite a lot of importance to my lifestyle, (.)

Extract 1.3.5 : Aurélia, narrative interview

A : mais j'sais que y a beaucoup plus de protéines que c'qu'on pense dans les légumes, (.) et pis euh (2) donc c'est c'est une fausse idée d'se dire qu'y a que la viande et pis que que : qu'il faut absolument manger d'la viande pour être en bonne santé quoi. (.) j'ai l'impression que les protéines c'est un peu l'dernier rempart que les : que les gens qui mangent d'la viande peuvent utiliser enfin le dernier j'sais

pas comment dire que les : (2) le dernier argument qu'ils ont. (.) parce que sinon y a à part les protéines, dans la viande, enfin y a d'autres nutriments, mais euh c'est le principal en fait

Extract 1.3.5: Aurélia, narrative interview

A: But I know that there are many more proteins in vegetables that we think, (.) and uh (2) so it's it's a wrong idea to think that there is only meat and that that : you absolutely need to eat meat in order to be in good health or whatever. (.) I have the feeling that proteins are a bit like the last stronghold that : that people who eat meat can use well the last I don't know how to say it that : (2) the last argument they have. (.) because otherwise there is except proteins, in meat, well there are other nutrients, but it's the main one in fact

Extract 1.3.6 : Pierre, narrative interview

P : il m'est arrivé une fois ou deux :, où ils se sont trompés (.) dans mon assiette. (.) mais j'ai goûté l'assiette et j'peux vous dire une fois mais j'ai réalisé les deux trois premières bouchées pis j'ai dit ah bon vous vous êtes plantés pis j'ai continué d'manger. (.) ben j'peux vous dire qu'j'me suis jamais senti autant lourd de ma vie, (.) euh l'après-midi euh : de c'que j'avais mangé là c'était raviolis je sais-plus-quoi, (.) mais d'une lourdeur j'étais presque à quatre pattes l'après-midi donc vous ressentez après vous vous devenez, (.) plus sensible, quoi.

Extract 1.3.6: Pierre, narrative interview

P: It's happened to me once or twice :, where they made a mistake (.) in my meal. (.) but I tasted the dish and I can tell you one time but I realized after the first two or three bites and I said well they got it wrong and I continued eating. (.) well I can tell you that I never felt so bloated in my whole life, (.) in the afternoon uh: from what I ate it was ravioli I don't know what anymore, (.) but a heaviness I was almost on all fours in the afternoon so you feel after you become, (.) more sensitive, or whatever.

Extract 1.3.7 : Michel, narrative interview

M : j'me sens en pleine forme en vivant comme ça, et pis (j'le ressens) au quotidien, (.)

Extract 1.3.7: Michel, narrative interview

M: I feel in great form living like this, and (I feel it) every day, (.)

Extract 1.4.1 : Michel, narrative interview

M : toutes ces approches-là [parle d'études comparatives en nutrition USA - Chine] m'ont amené à me poser des questions, (.) pis à dire ben : faut pt-être s'alimenter autrement, (.) mais, (.) petit détail la notion d'plaisir, (.) elle est là (.) tout l'temps hein

Extract 1.4.1: Michel, narrative interview

M: all these approaches there [speaks about comparative studies in nutrition between USA and China] lead me to ask myself questions, (.) and to say well : maybe we need to eat in a different way, (.) but, (.) little detail the notion of pleasure, (.) it's there (.) all the time now

Extract 1.4.2 : Aurélia, narrative interview

A : j'ai fait plusieurs tentatives, en ess- en essayant d'devenir végétarienne, (.) mais ça s'est toujours soldé par des échecs, ((petit rire)) parce que: euh la fameuse excuse la viande c'est trop bon:

Extract 1.4.2: Aurélia, narrative interview

A: I made several attempts, tr- trying to become vegetarian, (.) but it always ended in failure, ((lightly laughing)) because : uh the famous excuse meat is so tasty :

Extract 1.4.3 : Léa, narrative interview

L : finalement ça a été euh : (3) une coupure nette, (.) vraiment où j'avais vraiment un dégoût, (.) mais fort hein euh là j'pouvais vraiment plus, : même sentir la viande finalement. (.) et euh : (2) ouais parce que j'avais des images qui me revenaient sans enfin sans cesse quoi

Extract 1.4.3: Léa, narrative interview

L: Finally it was uh : (.) a clear break, (.) really where I really was disgusted, (.) but strongly uh then I really could not anymore: even smelling meat finally. (.) and uh : (2) yeah because I had pictures that uh kept on coming back to me or whatever

*Extracts 1.4.4 and 1.4.5 are from Lisa's interview, thus initially in English

Extract 1.4.6 : Gaël, narrative interview

G : on trouve pas mal de corn (2) ça commençait un peu à s'développer euh quand j'ai commencé à être végétarien on en trouvait un peu à la [nom du supermarché]

F : ouais

G : j'ai jamais trouvé ça délicieux mais

F : t'as jamais trouvé ça délicieux ?

G : non mais : (.) quand t'as pas l'temps ça fait l'affaire quoi.

Extract 1.4.6: Gaël, narrative interview

G: you can find quite a lot of [*name of a brand of meat substitutes] (2) it started developing a little bit when uh when I started to be vegetarian you could find some in [*name of the supermarket]

F: yeah

G: I never found it delicious but

F: you never found it delicious ?

G: no but : (.) from time to time it does the trick or whatever.

Extract 1.4.7 : Gaël, narrative interview

G : par exemple si on m'invitait à manger quelque part et pis qu'on était pas au courant qu'j'étais végétarien j'allais pas faire un scandale (2) [...] (.) j'mangeais toujours d'bon cœur j'préfèrais partager une bonne tablée que (.)h que que d'm- enfin voilà j'ai toujours eu plutôt privilégié cet aspect.

Extract 1.4.7: Gaël, narrative interview

G: For instance if someone invited me to eat somewhere and they didn't know that I was vegetarian I would not make a scene (2) [...] (.) I always ate willingly I preferred to happily share a meal than (.) .h to to- well I always valued this aspect

Extract 1.4.8 : Marilou, narrative interview

M : et après j'ai aussi rencontré c'était l'année passée, à : à Lausanne avec et j'étais aussi à Berne avec les organisations des véganes

F : ah d'accord ouais

M : oui (.) .h mais : finalement, (2) j'étais aussi à une : (.) c'était l'année passée à Genève, dans une euh : une euh c'était une : une manifestation pour la : spécisme

F : ouais

M : et euh bon je j'ai trouvé c'était génial j'me sentais bien : dans ces une heure et demi deux heures, (.) j'ai senti une forte énergie c'était tout bien tout,

Extract 1.4.8: Marilou, narrative interview

M: and then I also met it was last year, in : in Lausanne¹³⁹ with and I was also in Bern with vegan organizations

F: ah okay yeah

M: yes (.) .h but : finally, (2) I was also at a : (.) it was last year in Geneva, in a uh: a it was a: a demonstration against spiecicism

F: yeah

M: and uh well I I found it was great I felt good: during this one hour and a half two hours, (.) I felt a strong energy it was all good,

¹³⁹Lausanne, Bern, Geneva : towns in Switzerland

Extract 1.4.9 : Gaël, narrative interview

G : dernièrement des vidéos de (2) de de types qui démontraient qu'on a vraiment pas une âme de prédateurs justement, (.) avec un écureuil dans l'berceau d'un nouveau-né, (.) pis ben le nouveau-né il va sûrement pas essayer d'bouffer l'écureuil quoi

F : ((rire))

G : il a vraiment pas un instinct d'prédation mais du tout, (.) non. (.) vraiment absolument pas. (.) donc euh enfin voilà tu vois c'est j'sens qu'c'est quand même des questions qui prennent.

F : ouais

G : pis ben c'est quand même cool.

Extract 1.4.9: Gaël, narrative interview

G: recently videos of (2) of guys demonstrating that we really don't have a predator soul exactly, (.) with a squirrel in the cradle of a newborn, (.) and well the newborn will certainly not try to eat the squirrel or whatever

F: ((laughing))

G: he really doesn't have a predation instinct but not at all, (.) no, (.) really not at all. (.) so uh well you see it's just that these are still questions that take [me].

F: yeah

G: and anyhow it's cool.

Extract 1.4.10 : Michel, narrative interview

M : j'trouve ça : euh génial, maintenant on achète plus d'oignons on en a planté j'crois 30 ou 40, (.) ça fait des oignons tiges là

F : ouais

M : vous en prenez alors ils sont pas aussi dodus qu'ceux d'la migros, (.) ils sont tout euh : (.) tout petits, (.) mais ils sont bons,

Extract 1.4.10: Michel, narrative interview

M: I find it : uh great, now we don't buy onions we planted I think 30 or 40, (.) it makes onion stalks

F: yeah

M: you take some well they are not as plump as the ones from [*name of the supermarket], (.) they are uh : (.) quite small, (.) but they are tasty

Extract 1.5.1 : Aline, narrative interview

A : et en plus on est étudiants : avec euh mon mari et : on a pas beaucoup d'sous donc (.) en gros c'qu'on achetait tout le temps c'est d'la- c'était du poulet pis les conditions sont pas mais déjà enfin

voilà on mange d'la viande mais c'est pas on mange jamais des steaks, on mange jamais : c'genre de truc parce qu'on a pas les moyens, euhm (.) pis ben c'est à ce moment-là où j'me suis dit, .h (.) pour ce qu'on mange enfin on peut déjà tout à fait remplacer et pis c'est bête de manger d'la viande dans ces conditions enfin (.)

Extract 1.5.1: Aline, narrative interview

A: and moreover we are students : with uh my husband and : so we don't have a lot of money (.) basically what we were buying all the time was- was chicken and the conditions are not but already well we eat meat but it's never steaks, we never : eat this kind of things because we don't have the means, uhm : (.) then well it's at that moment that I told myself, .h (.) for what we eat well we can absolutely replace it and it's stupid to eat meat in these conditions well (.)

Extract 1.5.2 : Laura, narrative interview

les poussins femelles, ils les gardent une année, parce qu'ils produisent à partir de la 4e semaine ils commencent à produire un œuf, (.) au moins un œuf tous les jours. (.) puis, ils font une pause entre 3 à 5 semaines, (.) où ils pondent pas des œufs, (.) ils changent leurs plumes, (.) et : c'est trop coûteux pour des gens qui ont : qui fabriquent des œufs, (.) qui doivent faire vraiment de l'argent avec ça, (.) de garder ces poules pendant 3 à 5 semaines. Donc, (.) ils les tuent, (.) et ce que je trouve pervers,

Extract 1.5.2: Laura, narrative interview

Female chicks, they keep them one year, because they produce from the fourth week they start to produce one egg, (.) at least one egg every day. (.) then, they take a break from 3 to 5 weeks, (.) where they don't lay eggs, (.) they change their feathers, (.) and : it's too expensive for the people who : who produce eggs, (.) who really need to make money with that, (.) to keep these chicken during 3 to 5 weeks. So, (.) they kill them, (.) which I find perverse,

Extract 1.6.1: Aline, narrative interview

A : pis mon mec lui oui : il mange encore d'la viande d'temps en temps quoi mais en gros il s'adapte plus ou moins à : c'qu'on mange, mais après (.) j'sais pas si j'vais faire des courses par exemple (.) ben j'vais lui prendre d'la viande,

F : ouais

A : parce que lui il veut, mais : moi je j'remplace en fait,

F : ok. du coup ça t'embête pas d'en acheter pour lui,

A : non

F : non

A : non pas du tout parce que enfin ça j- j'crois que c'est son droit, enfin : c'est sa vie il fait ce qu'il veut et pis :

F : ouais

A : enfin mes choix j- c'est pour moi, et pis non : ça m'pose pas d'problème

Extract 1.6.1: Aline, narrative interview

A: And my man he yes : he still eats meat from time to time what but basically he adapts more or less to : what we eat, but then (.) I don't know if I go shopping for instance (.) well then I buy meat for him,

F: yeah

A: because he wants in fact, but : I I replace in fact,

F: ok. So it doesn't bother you to buy some for him,

A: no

F: no

A: no not at all because I mean it I- I believe that this is his right, well : it's his life he does what he wants and :

F: yeah

A: well my choices I- it's for me, and no : it's not a problem to me

Extract 1.6.2 : Gaël, narrative interview

G : mais : voilà j'ai non plus jamais euh (.) j'ai jamais emmerdé personne sur euh ah euh c'est pas bien c'que tu fais euh :

Extract 1.6.2: Gaël, narrative interview

G: but: well I also never uh (.) I never pissed someone off on uh ah uh it's not good what you do uh :

Extract 1.6.3: Aline, narrative interview [she speaks more globally here about the differences of points of view regarding the economic system between her and her husband]

A : d'nouveau il fait c'qui veut, et pis j'fais c'que j'veux enfin tu vois c'est (.) on discute de ces : sujets de ces thématiques, euh : et pis chacun a sa position et pis (.) moi j'essaie pas d'l'influencer, ou lui il essaie pas d'm'influencer enfin c'est pas vrai parce que des fois j'essaie quand même de enfin tu vois là il a acheté 2 t-shirts j'étais un peu genre (.) t'as des t-shirts quoi. Mais après, (2) j'vais jamais l'empêcher ou : comme ça des fois j'dis juste ouais, mais enfin (.) essaie de réfléchir avant, ou on discute voilà, de mes cours de c'que j'ai lu ou des trucs comme ça, tu vois et pis euh (.) et pis ça lui parle aussi, mais en même temps enfin lui y a des trucs qu'i veut, (.) qui sont pas du tout écolo ou qui sont pas, il mange d'la viande donc tu vois genre de trucs pour lui, c'est (.) no way qu'i soit un jour végétarien, (.) et pis c'est ok,

Extract 1.6.3: Aline, narrative interview [she speaks more globally here about the differences of points of view regarding the economic system between her and her husband]

A: again he does what he wants, and I do what I want I mean it's (.) we discuss these topics these themes, uh : and each of us has a position and (.) I don't try to influence him, or he doesn't try to influence me well it's not true because sometimes I still try to well you see now he bought 2 t-shirts I was a bit like (.) come on you have t-shirts. But after, (2) I will never prevent him or : so sometimes I just say yeah, but come on (.) try to think before, or we discuss well, about my courses about what I read or things like this, you see and uh (.) and it also appeals to him, but at the same time well there are things he wants, (.) that are not at all green or that are not, he eats meat so you see the kind of things for him, it's (.) there's no way that he could be vegetarian for one day, (.) and that's ok,

*Extracts 1.6.4 is from Lisa's interview, thus initially in English

*Extracts 1.7.1 and 1.7.2 are from Lisa's interview, thus initially in English

Extract 1.7.3 : Aurélia, narrative interview

A : ben en fait y a des y a plein y a plein : ben pour remplacer la crème on peut utiliser euh des noix, : des noix d'cajou, des choses comme ça, ou bien y a tous les : les substituts avec du soja, la crème végétale et tout, (.) où c'est pas trop compliqué après. (.) le goût est un peu différent mais on arrive faire des choses très bonnes

Extract 1.7.3: Aurélia, narrative interview

A: actually there are many there are many : uh instead of eating cream you can use uh nuts, : cashew nuts, things like that , or there are all the : the substitutes with soja, plant-based cream and all, (.) where it's not too complicated then. (.) the taste is slightly different but you can do very good things

Extract 1.7.4 : Alexandre, narrative interview

A : ça fait p't-être déjà plus d'deux ans qu'j'lis deux trois trucs, pour m'informer parce que y a un peu tout et n'importe quoi enfin pas tout et n'importe quoi mais y a- y a tout et l'contraire qui s'dit dans- au niveau alimentaire. Pis évidemment qu'y a des : études qui sont menées par ben par des lobbys pis ils sont ils sont dirigés, et pis après t'as des autres études qui sont faites par des indépendants : pis ben ça se ça s'contredit quoi. (.) ben du coup tu sais pas trop quoi euh trop quoi suivre, (.) donc le mieux pour savoir j'pense c'est d'essayer, d'tester, (.)

Extract 1.7.4: Alexandre, narrative interview

A: I read a few things for now maybe more than two years, in order to get information because there is a little bit anything and everything you know but there's- there are lots of contradictions in what is said regarding food. And obviously there are : studies that are conducted by well by lobbies and they are they are biased, and then you have other studies which are conducted by independent people : and they contradict each other. (.) so like you don't really know what uh really what to follow, (.) so I think that the best in order to know is to try, to test, (.)

Extract 1.7.5: Aline, narrative interview [speaking about documentaries about animals living and dying conditions with shocking images]

A : c'est con parce que j'sais que j'aurais arrêté d'manger d'la viande bien plus tôt, (.) si j'en avais vu, (.) mais en même temps c'est le genre de trucs que j- enfin j'veux pas voir moi j'trouve que c'est horrible et pis .h (2) non.

F : mais t'en a déjà vues : [par hasard ou comme ça

A : [ouais : j- ouais : voilà de nouveau (.) [*nom d'un réseau social] ((rires)) Mais là en fait (.) y a énormément. si t'es ami avec des gens qui sont un peu dans la protection des animaux ou comme ça, ils publient à fond pis, en fait c'est quelque chose qui me dérange parce que (.) c'est des choses vraiment enfin (.) ça- ça m'dégoute complètement j'déteste voir ce genre de trucs (.)

Extract 1.7.5: Aline, narrative interview [speaking about documentaries about animals living and dying conditions with shocking images]

A: it's stupid because I know I would have stopped eating meat much earlier, (.) if I had seen some, (.) but at the same time it's the kind of thing that I- I mean I don't want to see I find this horrible and .h (2) no.

F: but did you already see some : [by chance or like that

A: [yeah : I- yeah well again (.) [*name of a social media] ((laughing)) but there in fact (.) there are a lot. if you are friend with people who are a little bit in animal protection or like this, they publish a lot and, in fact it's something that bothers me because (.) these are things really I mean (.) I'm completely disgusted I hate seeing that kind of things (.)

Chapter six: The participants' positioning

Extract presented in Table 3 [also used in chapter five, extract 1.5.2]

[...] à partir de la 4e semaine [les poules] commencent à produire un œuf, (.) au moins un œuf tous les jours. (.) puis, ils font une pause entre 3 à 5 semaines, (.) où ils pondent pas des œufs, (.) ils changent

leurs plumes, (.) et: c'est trop coûteux pour des gens qui fabriquent des œufs, (.) qui doivent faire vraiment de l'argent avec ça, (.) de garder ces poules pendant 3 à 5 semaines. Donc, (.) ils les tuent, (.) et ce que je trouve pervers,

Extract presented in Table 3

[...] from the fourth week [the chicken] start to produce one egg, (.) at least one egg every day. (.) then, they take a break from 3 to 5 weeks, (.) where they don't lay eggs, (.) they change their feathers, (.) and : it's too expensive for the people who : who produce eggs, (.) who really need to make money with that, (.) to keep these chickens during 3 to 5 weeks. So, (.) they kill them, (.) which I find perverse,

Alexandre - Motto of the case [also used in chapter five, extract 1.7.4]

y a des : études qui sont menées par des lobbys pis ils sont ils sont dirigés, et pis après t'as des autres études qui sont faites par des indépendants : pis ben ça s'contredit quoi. (.) ben du coup tu sais pas trop quoi suivre, (.) donc le mieux pour savoir j'pense c'est d'essayer, d'tester,

Alexandre - Motto of the case

there are : studies that are conducted by well by lobbies and they are they are biased, and then you have other studies which are conducted by independent people : and they contradict each other. (.) so like you don't really know what uh really what to follow, (.)so I think that the best in order to know is to try, to test,

Extract 2.1.1 : Alexandre, narrative interview

A : après l'opération, parce que c'était les : une déchirure des ligaments croisés, (.) j'avais toujours euh : une espèce de enfin pas une douleur mais une gêne dans l'genou, (.) et pis en fait quelqu'un m'a dit que c'était pt-être lié aux produits laitiers parce que ça : ça déclenchait des inflammations, (.) dans les : articulations enfin notamment c'était plus fort dans les articulations où c'est opéré, (.) et pis évid- j'ai arrêté pendant un mois de manger euh des produits laitiers pis ça allait mieux, (.) et pis après à chaque fois que j'mangeais du fromage ou des trucs comme ça, euh : en assez grande quantité, (.) ben j'sentais d'nouveau qu'ça me faisait mal dans l'genou quoi. (.) donc ben là j'me suis dit, ça doit sûrement être ça pis depuis je : j'limite vraiment le les produits laitiers : au maximum,

Extract 2.1.1: Alexandre, narrative interview

A: after the operation, because it was the : a tear of the cruciate ligaments, (.) I always had uh : a kind of well not a pain but a discomfort in the knee, (.) and in fact someone told me that it was maybe linked to dairy products because they: they cause inflammations, (.) in the articulations well notably it was stronger in the articulations that were operated, (.) and thus obv- I stopped eating dairy products for one month and it went better, (.) and then every time I ate cheese or things, uh: in rather big quantities,

(.) well I felt again some pain in the knee or whatever. (.) so there I told myself, it's certainly that and since then I: I really limit dairy products: as much as I can,

Extract 2.1.2 : Alexandre, narrative interview

A : ouais c'est le regard quoi des autres, (.) ben c'était quoi là y a deux semaines, j'suis allé manger chez mon frère, (.) pis j'ai apporté ma salade parce que ben ils faisaient une grillade avec d'la viande, (.) pis typique ils m'ont regardé avec des gros yeux : parce que j'mangeais des pois chiches avec des haricots et pis ((en rigolant)) ils se sont foutus d'ma gueule ((rire)) et pis c'est ça qu'est dur j'trouve. C'est cette pression extérieure, (.) si t'as envie d'te lancer dans un truc et pis qu't'es pas : hyper convaincu tu t'fais euh ben tu t'fais : tu t'fais avoir par les autres, pis tu t'dis ouais c'que j'fais c'est pas bien pis tu r'viens dans c'que tu faisais avant,

Extract 2.1.2: Alexandre, narrative interview

A: yeah it's the judgement of others, (.) well what was it two weeks ago, I went to eat at my brother's, (.) and I brought my salad because they had a barbecue with meat, (.) and typically they looked at me with wide-open eyes: because I was eating chick peas with beans and ((laughing)) they messed me around ((laughing)) and that's what is hard I find. It's this external pressure, (.) if you want to embark on something and you are not: completely convinced you are uh you are had by others, and you say to yourself yeah what I do that's not good and you come back in what you did before,

Extract 2.1.3 : Alexandre, narrative interview

A : manger d'la viande c'est pas mal mais d'manière trop (inaud.) si tu manges beaucoup d'viande ils sont obligés d'en produire beaucoup, (.) mais si tu manges de temps en temps d'la viande t'as pas besoin d'en produire beaucoup (.) donc si une fois par semaine tu te fais un bon steak euh ben c'est pas mal pour moi. Parce que t'as moins d'vaches et pis ça pollue moins. Donc voilà.

Extract 2.1.3: Alexandre, narrative interview

A: eating meat is not bad but in a way that is too much (incomp.) if you eat a lot of meat they are obliged to produce a lot, (.) but if you eat meat from time to time you don't need to produce a lot (.) so if once a week you eat a good steak uh that's not bad to me. Because you have fewer cows and it pollutes less. So that's it.

Aline - Motto of the case

d'un côté j'ai envie d'changer les choses pis enfin j'ai envie, (.) ouais j'ai vraiment envie qu'les choses changent, mais d'un autre côté j'ai pas envie d'imposer, c'qui fait sens pour moi aux autres en fait.

Aline - Motto of the case

On one side I would like to change things and well I would like, (.) yeah I really would like that things change, but on another side I don't want to impose, which makes sense to me on others in fact.

Extract 2.2.1 : Aline, narrative interview

A : tu peux faire c'que tu veux tu peux inventer tous les labels enfin (on a travaillé aussi pas mal sur les sweatshirt) et tout ça, (2) tu peux demander aux gens euh : de bien traiter les animaux euh tu peux euh demander aux gens de bien traiter les gens enfin leurs employés, tu peux leur faire signer tous les contrats qu'tu veux, mais en même temps, si tu continues à leur demander une aussi grande quantité, euh dans des délais aussi courts :, ben en fait ça sert à rien, (.) donc c'est là que j'me suis rendue compte que (.) moi si j'continue à consommer autant, (2) tu peux faire signer tu peux acheter tous les labels que tu veux mais en même temps, avec un tel comportement, les labels ils servent à rien(.) donc là c'est là où j'me suis dit, ouais en fait, ben maintenant, si moi j'arrête de consommer, ou consommer beaucoup moins, et ben voilà ça fait sens , enfin pour moi de euh : parce que c'est complètement débile de dire voilà j'veux manger 6 kilos d'viande par jour mais il faut qu'ce soit bio, et voilà donc là vraiment j'ai eu une grande prise de conscience où, j'ai dis ben voilà, le problème pour moi c'est la surconsommation

Extract 2.2.1: Aline, narrative interview

A: you can do whatever you like you can invent all the labels I mean (we also worked quite a lot on sweatshirts) [speaks about a course at university] and so on, (.) you can ask people uh: to treat animals well uh you can ask people to treat people I mean their employees well, you can make them sign all the contracts you want, but at the same time, if you continue to ask them for such big quantities, uh in such short time periods:, well in fact it's useless, (.) so that's when I realized that (.) if I continue to consume as much, (2) you can make them ratify you can buy all the labels you want but at the same time, with such behavior, labels are useless (.) so it's when I told myself, yeah in fact, now, if I stop consuming , or consume much less, well then it makes sense, I mean for me to uh: because it's completely stupid to say ok I want to eat 6 kilos of meat per day but it needs to be organic, and thus there really I had a change in my awareness where, I said well, the problem for me it's overconsumption

Aurélia - Motto of the case

Respecter un animal c'est lui foutre la paix, c'est pas l'enfermer et le tuer et le manger

Aurélia - Motto of the case

To respect an animal is to leave it in peace, it's not to enclose it in a cage and to kill it and to eat it

Extract 2.3.1: Aurélia, narrative interview (partly overlapping with extract 1.1.2)

A : y a pas seulement l'aspect éthique y a aussi euh l'aspect santé qui m'intéresse, et pis écologique, et pis : et pis même humain, parce que j'pense que les gens qui travaillent (.) dans ces secteurs dans les abattoirs et tout ça doit pas être facile pour eux, (.) enfin ouais y a tous ces aspects qui sont intéressants.

F : ouais.

A : mais pt-être que l'aspect éthique il est avant les autres,

F : d'accord ouais. (.) t'arrive à dire un ptit peu plus précisément c'que t'entends par aspects éthiques ?

A : euh les conditions dans lesquelles les animaux sont élevés, (.) et tués, (2) et : voilà c'qu'on leur fait subir quoi parce qu'ils ont rien demandé et pis: ils ont des vies atroces,

F : ouais

A : pis :: pis surtout euh les élevages intensifs, (.) donc de masse

Extract 2.3.1: Aurélia, narrative interview

A: there is not only the ethical aspect there is also uh the health aspect that I'm interested in, and ecological, and: and even human, because I think that the people working (.) in these sectors in the slaughterhouses and all that it must not be easy for them, (.) well yeah there are all these aspects that are interesting.

F: yeah

A: but maybe the ethical aspect comes first,

F: ok yes. (.) can you tell a little bit more precisely what you mean by ethical aspects?

A: uh the conditions in which the animals are raised, (.) and killed, (2) and : well what we make them endure because they didn't ask for anything and : they have atrocious lives,

F: yes

A: and :: and in particular uh intensive farming,

Extract 2.3.2 : Aurélia, narrative interview

A : c'est pas parce que j'aime pas qu'j'ai arrêté. (.) c'est vraiment pour des questions éthiques, quoi. (.) donc euh j'trouve toujours ça bon,: quand j'vais au restaurant et pis que (.) que y a d'la viande qui cuit j'trouve ça sent bon,: ce ça m'dégoûte pas

F : ouais

A : j'aimerais bien, qu'ça m'dégoûte mais : (.) mais c'est bon c'est pas une frustration non plus

F : ouais

A : je sais pourquoi j'le fais

Extract 2.3.2: Aurélia, narrative interview

A: it's not because I don't like it that I stopped. (.) it's really for ethical reasons, or whatever. (.) so uh I still find it tasty, when I go to the restaurant and that (.) that there is meat cooking I find that it smells good, I'm not disgusted

F: yeah

A: I would like, to be disgusted but : (.) but it's fine it's also not a frustration

F: yeah

A: I know why I do it

Gaël - Motto of the case

j'essaie d'avoir (.) une éthique dans c'que j'bouffe mais un peu dans une autre manière.

Gaël - Motto of the case

I try to have (.) an ethic in what I eat but slightly in another way

Extract 2.4.1 : Gaël, narrative interview

G : quand j'étais sorti du lycée j'dirais un truc comme ça, (.) où voilà d'commencer à te poser plus de questions : politiques ou euh éthiques pis ce genre de trucs, (.) où bon ben j'ai commencé à m'intéresser aussi (.) à tout c'qui est euh communisme euh anarchisme euh ce genre de trucs,

F : ouais

G : et euhm :: (2) où voilà la question la question de l'animal c'est quelque chose d'assez euh d'assez central par rapport à (.) (liée) à l'idéologie, et pis voilà histoire de coller le plus euh le plus à ces valeurs en fait. Voilà. Qui s'appelle l'antispécisme,

F : ok

G : euh comme on parle de féminisme ou de racisme, [...] et puis du coup ben effectivement (.) on peut dire que t'es contre l'exploitation de de des êtres humains de de de la nature environnante ce genre de trucs, (.) et pis euh ben quand : tu t'rends compte en fait que (2) ben qu'tu continues par ton mode de vie (.) d'exploiter (2) ben là en l'occurrence euh des animaux par ton mode d'alimentation, (.) euh ben du coup t'es plus cohérent. (.) voilà. Et pis du coup ben moi c'est comme ça un peu que j'le suis devenu.

Extract 2.4.1: Gaël, narrative interview

G: When I graduated from high school I would say something like that, (.) when well I started to ask myself more questions: political or uh ethical and these kinds of things, (.) where ok well I started to be interested also (.) in everything about communism uh anarchism and uh these kinds of things,

F: yeah

G: and uhm:: (2) where well the question the question of the animal is something quite uh quite central in relation to (.) (linked) to ideology, and then well in order to stick as much as uh as much as possible to these values in fact. Well. which is called anti-speciesism,

F: ok

G: uh as one speaks about feminism or racism, [...] and thus well indeed (.) one can say that you are against exploitation of of of human beings of of of surrounding nature these kinds of things, (.) and then uh when you realize in fact that (2) well that you continue with your lifestyle (.) to exploit (2) well there to be precise uh animals through your foodway, (.) uh well so you are not coherent anymore. (.) that's it. And so for me that's a bit how I became [vegetarian].

Extract 2.4.2 : Gaël, narrative interview

G : c'était quand même super galère. (.) euh vraiment surtout quand moi j'habitais à [nom d'une ville] (.) donc dans les montagnes et tout, t'as quand même un truc, (.) ouais c'est très : paysan, comme ça, même dans les milieux anar punk machin, (.) ça reste quand même très : très du terroir comme ça, donc c'était assez (2) c'était assez euh ouais assez compliqué quoi.

Extract 2.4.2: Gaël, narrative interview

G: it was anyhow really hellish. (.) uh really especially because I lived in [name of a town] (.) so in the mountains and everything, you still have something, (.) yeah it's very: country-like, like this, even in the anar punk scene and whatever, (.) it's still very: very local like this, so it was quite (2) it was quite uh yeah quite complicated or whatever.

Extract 2.4.3 : Gaël, narrative interview

G : c'qui m'a aussi un ptit peu : euh un ptit peu éloigné d'ça c'est que (2) dans : dans : en tout cas dans c'genre de milieux, c'que j'ai un peu ressenti c'est qu'y une un peu une espèce de course, à qui va être le plus intègre, (.) d'une certaine manière. (.) qui va être le plus euh (.) le plus militant ou le plus tonique ou enfin : (2) [...] au bout d'un moment ça commençait à devenir (.) un peu un peu pesant quoi.

Extract 2.4.3: Gaël, narrative interview

G: what also a little bit : uh drove me away from that [the anarchist/punk milieu] is that (2) i : in : at least in that kind of milieu, what I felt a little bit is that there is a sort of race, for who will be the most upright, (.) in a certain way. (.) who will be the most uh (.) the most militant or the most lively or well : (2) after a while it started to become (.) a bit heavy or whatever.

Extract 2.4.4 : Gaël, narrative interview

G : d'une certaine manière en fait mon avis par rapport à la question il a pas vraiment changé,

F : ok

G : il a pas : il a pas euh (2) il est toujours à peu près l'même c'est-à-dire que (.) .h euh j'vis un peu avec cette contradiction, (.) maintenant, (.) et pis en fait c'est un truc que (.) que j'ai un peu appris à faire, (.) si on veut, que j'étais pas forcém- que j'étais pas forcément conscient au début, enfin (.) tu t'dis bon ben voilà il faut que j'sois le plus cohérent possible, (.) le plus intègre possible, (.) donc t'essaie de mettre des trucs de côté pour être le plus euh (.) voilà d'être le plus euh :: ouais :: un souci d'intégrité quoi mais bon , (.) et pis ben :: au bout d'un moment j'ai un peu dû faire le constat que : (.) ben on a tous un peu des incohérences quoi.

Extract 2.4.4: Gaël, narrative interview

G: in a certain way in fact my opinion of it didn't really change,

F: ok

G: it did not : it did not uh (2) it's still approximately the same meaning that (.) .h uh I'm living a little bit with this contradiction, (.) now, (.) and in fact it's something that (.) that I learned to do a little bit, (.) if you want, that I was not necessary- that I was not necessarily aware at the beginning, well (.) you tell yourself ok well I need to be as coherent as possible, (.) as upstanding as possible, (.) so you try to put things on the side in order to be the most uh (.) well to be the most uh:: yeah:: a care¹⁴⁰ about integrity well but ok, (.) and well:: after a while I had to notice that: (.) well we all have some inconsistencies or whatever.

Laura - Motto of the case

maintenant que je suis euh : que je suis pas la seule qui qu'il y a vraiment, cette masse de la nouvelle génération qui est végétarienne ou végane, je peux me permettre de : de faire un pas : de me retirer un peu parce que c'est clair que au début, je disais je suis végétarienne, : c'était aussi un peu quelque chose de politique,

Laura - Motto of the case

now that I am uh: I am not the only one anymore there is really, this mass of of the new generation that is vegetarian or vegan, I can allow myself to : to make a step: to withdraw a little bit because it's clear that in the beginning, I was saying I'm vegetarian,: it was also a bit political,

Extract 2.5.1: Laura, narrative interview (partly overlapping with extract 1.1.5)

moi j'ai toujours dit je suis pas contre le fait de tuer, mais : de comment on garde les on traite les animaux, cette industrie, de de de création de viande,

¹⁴⁰ The french word used (souci) can be translated both by care and by worry.

F : mais donc en fait quand votre famille a commencé, c'était (.) parce qu'il fallait pas tuer les animaux,
L : c'est pour des questions éthiques.

F : donc éthique de traitement des animaux, ou éthique vraiment de pas tuer

L : euh : plutôt des traitements, (.) et de tuer. (.) euh pardon au niveau c'était tuer euh au début c'était tuer plutôt c'était tuer. (.) et pour moi c'était plutôt le traitement,

Extract 2.5.1 : Laura, narrative interview

L: I always said I'm not against the fact of killing, but : against how we keep them we treat them, this industry, of of meat creation,

F: but in fact when your family started, it was (.) because one should not kill animals,

L: it is for ethical reasons

F: so ethics of treatment of animals, or ethics of not killing

L: uh more because of the treatment, (.) and of killing. (.) uh sorry at the level it was not killing uh at the beginning it was killing rather it was killing. (.) and for me it was rather the treatment,

Extract 2.5.2: Laura, narrative interview

L : bon le fait de faire les yogurts moi-même ça n'a rien à voir avec le végétarisme. (.) c'est une question plutôt liée au développement durable, produits régionaux, euh kilometer zero

Extract 2.5.2: Laura, narrative interview

L: well the fact that I make my own yoghurts has nothing to do with vegetarianism. (.) it's rather a question related to sustainable development, local products, uh kilometer zero

Extract 2.5.3 : Laura, narrative interview

L : en général je m'intéresse beaucoup pour la nourriture, (.) et m : j'ai jamais eu de problèmes de santé même normalement on parle d'anémie lorsqu'on mange pas la viande, (.) et j'ai énormément de fer, et: ça m'intéresse de lire, de m'informer, de: des fois j'ai: je peux m'intéresser de (2) des aliments qui peuvent avoir plus de protéines, (.) des fois je peux m'intéresser pour des aliments qui contient moins de sucre, (.) pour éviter des problèmes de ::: de trop d'insuline, : de diabète un peu (la) problématique, niveau santé de (.) de la population occidentale, (.) mais je dirais c'est de l'intérêt personnel pour euh (2) pour la provenance de la nourriture, pour les effets de la nourriture, mais je m'intéresse beaucoup à la phytothérapie à l'homéopathie aussi . (.) j'm'intéresse à la permaculture qu'y a aussi à [*nom de l'université], (2) ouais donc c'est plus global finalement que que la question d'la viande, (.) ouais (.) beaucoup plus global

Extract 2.5.3: Laura, narrative interview

L: in general I'm very interested in food, (.) and : I've never had health problems even normally one speaks about anemia when not eating meat, (.) and I have a lot of iron, and: I'm interested in reading, finding information, som- sometimes I: I can be interested in (2) foods which have more protein , (.) sometimes I can be interested in foods that contain less sugar, (.) in order to avoid problems of:: of too much insulin, : of diabetes a little bit the issues on the health level of (.) of the Western population, (.) but I would say that it's more a personal interest for uh: (2) for the origin of food, for the effects of food, but I'm also interested in phytotherapy and homeopathy also. (.) I'm also interested in permaculture that there is also at [*name of the university], , (2) yeah so it's more global finally that than the question of meat, (.) yeah (.) much more global

Extract 2.5.4 : Laura, narrative interview

L : lorsque ma fille a grandi un petit peu, (.) et aimé la viande, (.) j'ai commencé à faire ce compromis, (.) de euh donc c'est ça le grand changement c'est lié à le statut euh de la famille avec qui on habite, (.) c'est clair ça dépend beaucoup du partenaire : (de tout) de ça, (.) donc là, (3) depuis 3 4 ans je fais ce compromis de manger beaucoup moins de laitages, (.) surtout beaucoup moins de fromage, (3) et d- je mange du poisson, de temps en temps, et très rarement du poulet.

Extract 2.5.4: Laura, narrative interview

L: when my daughter grew up a little bit, (.) and liked meat, (.) I started to make this compromise, (.) to uh well that the big change it's related to the status of the family with whom one lives, (.) it's clear that it depends a lot on the partner: (on all) that, (.) so then, (3) for 3 or 4 years I've made this compromise to eat much less dairy products, (.) especially much less cheese, (3) and t- I eat fish, from time to time, and very rarely chicken.

Léa - Motto of the case

J'crois que j'suis encore en train de chercher un équilibre, ou essayer d'me définir par rapport à : qu'est-ce que j'ai envie

Léa - Motto of the case

I think that I'm still looking for a balance, or trying to define myself regarding: what I would like

Extract 2.6.1: Léa, narrative interview (partly overlapping with extract 1.1.1)

L : non ça m'a complètement dégoûté. (.) ça m'a complètement dégoûté. (2) en fait euh :: comme l'animal il est complètement euh (2) enfin j'veux pas dire déshumanisé mais désanimalisé on : on a plus aucune estime en fait du : du vivant en fait. (.) p- p- ouais ben pas respect mais juste euh : ben d'empathie quoi . (.) et euh moi j'ai trouvé vraiment vraiment choquant, (.) et : j'ai pas envie de

donner d'argent à ces gens, j'ai pas envie de : euh (2) ouais j'ai pas envie d'dépenser mon argent comme ça.

Extract 2.6.1: Léa, narrative interview

L: no It completely disgusted me. (.) it completely disgusted me. (2) in fact uh:: how the animal is completely uh (2) I don't want to say dehumanized but deanimalized we: we don't have any esteem in fact for the: for the living in fact. (.) n- n- yes uh not respect but simply uh: well empathy or whatever. (.) and uh I found it really really shocking, (.) and: I don't want to give money to these people, I don't want to: uh (2) yeah I don't want to spend my money like this.

Extract 2.6.2 : Léa, narrative interview

L : c'qui m'dérange en fait c'est euh (.) e c'e- c'est surtout euh la traite des animaux, (.)on va dire, euhm : (.) c'est l'fait d'produire d'la viande comme du plastique en fait c'est ça comme on produirait des euh des chaussures ou des t-shirts quoi euh : donc euh y a toute une chaîne de production qui revient euh la plus rentable possible, (.) et (c'est) quand même des des organismes euh vivants, (c'est ce mélange/c'est c'qui m'dérange) j'ai un peu du mal, (.)

Extract 2.6.2: Léa, narrative interview

L: what bothers me in fact is uh (.) it- it's mainly uh the way animals are treated, (.) let's say, uhm: (.) it's the fact of producing meat like plastic in fact it's like one would produce uh shoes or t-shirts or whatever uh: so uh there is this whole production line that come back uh as profitable as possible, (.) and (that's) still uh living beings, (it's that mix/that's what bothers me) I have difficulties, (.)

Extract 2.6.3 : Léa, narrative interview

L : ah ouais ouais des fois j'ai envie d'viande euh enfin un truc euh cet été les grillades c'était affreux hein j'crois que c'est l'pire, (.) c'est l'pire mais (2) non mais le goût d'la viande j'aime ça. (.) j'aime ça, mais : après voilà

F : du coup des fois t'essaies enfin tu remplaces par autre chose, ou

L : ben justement ouais j'me fais des des brochettes de poisson euh très sympathiques ((en riant))

F : ouais ? c'que tu faisais pas avant ou bien ?

L : non non jamais pour moi les grillades c'était de la bidoche

Extract 2.6.3: Léa, narrative interview

L: ah yeah yeah sometimes I would like meat uh well one thing uh this summer the barbecues it was awful now I think that that's the worst, (.) it's the worst but (2) no but the taste of meat I love that. (.) I love that, but: then ok

F: so sometimes you try well you replace it with something else, or

L: well actually yeah I make fish skewers uh very nice ((laughing))

F: yeah ? that you didn't do before or what ?

L: no no for me barbecue was meat

Extract 2.6.4 : Léa, narrative interview

L : j'préfèrerais vraiment être dégoûtée et d'me dire ah non j'peux plus sentir, euh c'est (inaud) enfin j'suis là, quand j'vois d'la viande et tout, (.) mais (.) genre bêtement quand j'la vois sur l'assiette ça va hein. (.) mais quand j'arrive dans le magasin, et pis que j'vois euh ces colonnes de steaks euh : ça change. (.) mais euh (.) voilà.

Extract 2.6.4: Léa, narrative interview

L: I would prefer really to be disgusted and to tell myself ah no I can't smell, uh it's (incomp.) well I'm there, when I see meat and all, (.) but (.) well stupidly when I see meat on the plate it's fine huh. (.) but when I arrive in the shop, and I see uh these lines of steaks uh : it changes. (.) but uh (.) that's it.

*Lisa: All the extracts are already in English.

Marilou - Motto of the case

j'ai jamais eu envie de : même au contraire(.) de : de manger quelque chose qui me rappelle de nouveau ouais tu as une fois mangé ((rires)) bolognaise, (.) c'est presque c'est le contraire pour moi [...] j'ai presque honte de (.) de devenir 58 ans jusque j'ai : arrêté,

Marilou - Motto of the case

I never had the desire to : even the opposite (.) to eat something that reminds me again yeah once you ate ((laughing)) bolognaise, (.) it's almost the opposite for me [...] I'm almost ashamed that (.) I was already 58 when I : stopped,

Extract 2.8.1 : Marilou, narrative interview

M : je me souviens ça a commencé quand euh :: on était encore en famille, avec mon ex-mari avec les deux enfants

F : mhm

M : euh mon ex-mari il aimait toujours des rôtis le dimanche, (.) et : j'ai senti que ça m'a commencé à : devenir ouais j- c'était : c'était (2) c'était horrible, de faire euh un rôti, cet immense euh quantité de viande, (.) qui sentait :: après chaque repas de rôti : euh je lavais les cheveux changeais des habits, ((rire)) voilà c'était : (.) ça a commencé vraiment avec les rôtis. (2)

Extract 2.8.1: Marilou, narrative interview

M: I remember it started when uh:: we were still together as a family, with my ex-husband with the two children

F: mhm

M: uh my ex-husband always liked roasts on Sunday, (.) and: I felt that it started to: become yeah i- it was: it was (2) it was horrible to make a roast, this huge quantity of meat, (.) that smelled:: after each meal of roast: uh I washed my hair changed my clothes, ((laughing)) well it was: (.) it started really with the roasts. (2)

Extract 2.8.2 : Marilou, narrative interview

M : mais là aussi, (.) avec tous ces problèmes arthrose, (.) articulations, (.) on sait que c'est pas bien mais (.) qui arrête ? (2) ah c'est tellement bon : fondue : ((rires)) ah (.) on peut pas (tout avoir) dans la vie mais il faut faire des tris, mais

F : mais les (.) parce que la viande ça vous aimiez pas particulièrement le goût ou ça vous a pas dérangé d'arrêter ?

M : non non

F : pis les produits laitiers ?

M : ouais c'était plus difficile

F : c'était plus difficile,

M : le fromage,

F : ouais

M : et c'était quand même c'est quand même pas : c'est quand même pas : l'animal, (2) qu'est sur l'assiette

Extract 2.8.2: Marilou, narrative interview

M: but also there, (.) with all these problems osteoarthritis, (.) articulations, (.) we know it's not good but (.) who stops? (2) ah it's so good: fondue¹⁴¹ : ((laughing)) ah (.) one can not (have everything) in life but you have to prioritise, but

F: but the (.) because the meat you did not especially like the taste or it didn't bother you to stop ?

M: no no

F: and dairy products?

M: yeah it was more difficult

F: it was more difficult,

¹⁴¹ Traditional swiss meal mainly composed of mealteed cheese.

M: cheese

F: yeah

M: and it was still it is still not : it is still not : the animal, (2) that is on the plate

Extract 2.8.3 : Marilou, narrative interview

M : et toujours encore la médecine qui dit ouais ça il faut avoir ça il faut avoir ça (.) y a des études y a des : (2) y a des études qui disent même que les femmes qui ont : qui mangent des produits laitiers qu'ils ont de : de ostéoporose que : les autres,

F : ouais

M : mais ça ça : (2) c'est caché c'est (.) c'est la c'est le parlement, : y a des paysans c'est subventionné le lait ça doit : ça doit rouler, voilà, (.) nous : on nous on nous fait voilà, c'est comme ça : (.) soyez gentils on veut ça ((rires))

Extract 2.8.3: Marilou, narrative interview

M: and still always medicine saying yeah this you need this you need this (.) there are studies there are: (2) there are studies that even show that women who have: who eat dairy products that they have [more] osteoporosis than : others,

F: yeah

M: but that that : (2) it's hidden it's (.) it's it's the parliament, : there are farmers it's subsidised milk it must : it must work, that's it, (.) we : they make us they make us well, it's like this : (.) be good we want this ((laughing))

Michel - Motto of the case (partly overlapping with extract 1.3.4)

Finalemt notre corps n'est pas conçu pour absorber des produits laitiers des protéines en grandes quantités [...] Alors moi j'ai fait ça par choix. (.) parce que j'accorde une assez grande importance à mon hygiène de vie

Michel - Motto of the case

Finally our body is not built for absorbing dairy products proteins in such big quantities [...] so I did that by choice. (.) because I give quite a lot of importance to my lifestyle

Extract 2.9.1 : Michel, narrative interview

M : y a eu quand même (.) c'est quand même il faut avoir une chance une certaine curiosité, (.) s'intéresser à autre °chose. (.)

F : ouais

M : mais bon ça c'est général hein (.) si vous voulez progresser ou avancer, (.) vous êtes obligés de regarder un peu c'qui s'passe autour de vous, pis d'comprendre que le savoir il est : il est universel (d'toute part) y a beaucoup d'gens qui connaissent beaucoup d'choses (.) et il est surtout pas unilatéral,

Extract 2.9.1 : Michel, narrative interview

M: there is still (.) it's still you need a chance a certain curiosity, (.) to be interested in something °else.
(.)

F: yeah

M: but well it's in general (.) if you want to progress or go further, (.) you are obliged to look a little bit at what's happening around you, and to understand that knowledge is: is universal (everywhere) there are lots of people who know lots of things (.) and most importantly it's not unilateral

Extract 2.9.2 : Michel, narrative interview

M : finalement on a pas besoin de produits laitiers, ni pour avoir des os solides, (.) ça sert à rien du tout,

Extract 2.9.2: Michel, narrative interview

M: finally we don't need dairy products, neither to have strong bones, (.) it's completely useless

Extract 2.9.3 : Michel, narrative interview

M : à part ça quand j'fais du sport, (.) j'sais pas si j'fais un marathon, (.) ski d'fond ou comme ça, (.) alors là c'est euh spaghettis à fond, la veille, (.) arrosé d'huile d'olive, (.) un peu d'jambon parce qu'il faut des protéines, (.) donc voilà, j'me fais plaisir encore un double ristretto le matin moi qui bois très peu d'café, (.) parce que la caféine vous facilite l'utilisation des graisses par rapport aux glucides quand vous faites du sport (.)

Extract 2.9.3: Michel, narrative interview

M: apart from that when I practice sport, (.) I don't know if I do a marathon, (.) cross-country skiing or something like this, (.) then it's uh spaghetti to the maximum, the day before, (.) with olive oil, (.) a little bit of ham because we need proteins, (.) and that's it, I give myself a treat in addition to that a double ristretto in the morning me who drinks very little coffee, (.) because caffeine facilitates the burning of fats in comparison with sugars when you do sport (.)

Extract 2.9.4 : Michel, narrative interview

M : moi j'me fais plaisir, (.) tous les jours vraiment j'suis pas en train d'me dire oh mais c'que j'aurais envie d'une fondue, (.) j'aurais envie d'une entrecôte

F :[ouais

M : [pis j'peux pas la manger, (.) non. (2) j'me fais plaisir, (.) j'bois du vin rouge, on fait notre pain nous-mêmes avec mon amie, (.) c'est intéressant d'tester (des) différents pains, des trucs (.) voilà, (.) (inaud.) j'suis pas non plus (.) on va prendre un autre extrême, (.) le régime ancestral, (.) le régime méditerranéen, c'est pas d'produits laitiers.

F : ouais

M : essentiellement. (.) très peu d'produits laitiers (faut dire). (.) le régime ancestral, vous enlevez encore les céréales. (.) ça c'est les gens qui ont des problèmes très sérieux d'santé comme certaines maladies auto-immunes, (.) qui peuvent plus manger de blé, gluten etc. (.) et là c'est °chiant.

Extract 2.9.4: Michel, narrative interview

M: I give myself treats, (.) everyday really I'm not telling to myself oh but I would really like a fondue, (.) I would like a rib steak

F:[yeah

M: [and I can't eat it, (.) no. (2) I give myself treats, (.) I drink red wine, we make our own bread with my friend, (.) it's interesting to test different breads, things (.) well, (incomp.) I'm also not (.) let's take another extreme, (.) the ancestral diet, (.) Mediterranean diet, there's no dairy products.

F: yeah

M: essentially. (.) very few dairy products (actually). (.) ancestral diet, you also suppress cereals. (.) there are people who have very serious health problems such as certain autoimmune diseases, (.) who cannot eat wheat, gluten etc. (.) and that's °a pain.

Pierre - Motto of the case

J'ai compris l'histoire de l'animal, j'ai dit mais c'est logique si l'animal euh. est mort, (2) et dont en plus on a pris la vie et elle développe en elle-même une toxine, (.) ou des toxines dans la nutrition même, (.) eh ben si on l'avale, à long terme il est évident que (c'est du) poison

Pierre - Motto of the case

I understood the story of the animal, I said but it's logical if the animal uh. is dead, (2) and from which moreover we took the life and it develops in itself a toxin, (.) or toxins in nutrition itself, (.) well if we swallow it, in the long run it's obvious that (it's) poison

Extract 2.10.1 : Pierre, narrative interview

P : j'ai trouvé dans ce texte, (.) dans cette parole euh une parole qui disait euh qui parlait d'la viande (.) et qui disait que : euh la la viande rend agressif, (.) la viande euh ::: une parole qui disait que lorsque tu mangeras de la viande, ton corps pourrira. (.) euh : ensuite euh ça parlait du groupe des animaux,

des groupes animaux, (.) euh que les gr- le groupe animal aurait des âmes, et qui (inaud.) j'ai dit bon ok, en plus, j'ai lu le texte suivant. (.)

Extract 2.10.1: Pierre, narrative interview

P: I found in this text, (.) in these words uh words saying that uh speaking about meat (.) and saying that : uh meat makes people aggressive, (.) meat uh ::: words saying that when you eat meat, your body will rot. (.) uh : then it spoke about the group of the animals, the animal groups, (.) uh that the gr- the animal group would have souls, and that (incomp.) I said well okay, in addition, I read the next text. (.)

Extract 2.10.2 : Pierre, narrative interview

P : il fallait surtout pas cuire, (.) faire chauffer à tant de degrés, (.) parce que si vous cuisez plus de tant de degrés c'qui est en fait la lumière du soleil, euh : votre nourriture c'est du déchet. (.) ça devient du poison. (.) c'est des toxines. (.) alors tout c'qui est cuit, y a beaucoup d'déchets. Donc j'ai compris, j'ai dit mince et ça sera et vous mettez vos aliments à la lumière du soleil. C'est la lumière du soleil, qui elle vous dynamise (.) redonne l'énergie à vos : à vos (.) aux éléments qu'vous avalez. (.) donc j'ai compris à partir de là (de quoi on vit) et en fait pourquoi on mourrait aussi parce que j'ai pu imaginer à quel point la nourriture, euh engendrait aussi un stock de dépôt, des toxines euh :::

Extract 2.10.2: Pierre, narrative interview

P: most importantly one should not cook, (.) heat up to so many degrees, (.) because if you cook more than so many degrees what actually is the light of the sun, uh : your food will be waste. (.) it becomes poison. (.) it's toxins. (.) so everything that is cooked, there is a lot of waste. So I understood, I said damn and it will be and you will put your foods in the sunlight. It's the sunlight, that energizes you (.) gives energy back to your : to your (.) to the elements you eat. (.) so I understood from there (from what we live) and actually why we die also because I could imagine to what extent food, uh produces also a stock of sediment, of toxins uh :::

Extract 2.10.3 : Pierre, narrative interview

P : et surtout l'envie du salut j'dirais le le plus important dans c'message, (.) c'est qu'un être humain se dise, euh : quelle est ma mission. (.) qu'est-ce que j'fous sur cette planète ou qui suis-je le plus important, (.) c'est ça c'est cette question. (2) euh du moment qu'il se pose pas cette question y aura pas d'grands effets au niveau du bonheur ou d'la joie, ou ou d'engagement sincère dans cette vie. (2)

Extract 2.10.3: Pierre, narrative interview

P: and most importantly the wish for salvation I would say the the most important in this message, (.) it's that a human being tells himself, uh : what is my mission. (.) what do I do on this planet or who am

I the most important, (.) it's that it's this question. (2) uh as long as we don't ask ourselves this question there will be no big impact on the levels of happiness or joy, or or a sincere engagement in this life. (2)

Extract 2.10.4 : Pierre, narrative interview

P : le but, (.) faire le bien sur cette planète (.) donc (.) que (.) les cœurs s'ouvrent, (.) que : l'humain, l'humanité pense l'humain, pense (.) à la terre-mère, pense (.) à c'qui est précieux, c'est-à-dire la terre, vos frères, vos sœurs, les animaux, et qu'on prenne soin, nous tous, de tout ça. C'est-à-dire y a un équilibre une harmonie parfaite au niveau du divin, (.) le divin habite chaque forme de vie qui existe, (.) qu'ce soit la poule, le chat le tigre, (.) euh l'homme, la femme

Extract 2.10.4: Pierre, narrative interview

P: the goal, (.) do good on this planet (.) so (.) that the hearts open, (.) that : the human, humanity thinks the human, thinks (.) about mother-earth, things (.) about what is precious, namely the earth, your brothers, your sisters, animals, and that we take care, all of us, of all this. In other words there is a perfect balance at the level of the divine, (.) the divine lives in every form of life that exists, (.) be it the chicken, the cat the tiger, (.) uh the man, the woman

Extract 2.10.5: Pierre, narrative interview

[I asked him what his reaction is when he sees other people eating meat]

P : j'pense à l'animal j'pense à voilà, je je (.) je sais qu'il s'envoie une p'tite dose de toxines, (.) dans son corps, au-delà des mots, (.) mais oui ça m'touche à quelque part en m'disant mais ne mange pas, (.) ne mange pas d'l'animal, (.) on peut vivre euh vivre complètement différemment,

Extract 2.10.5: Pierre, narrative interview

[I asked him what his reaction is when he sees other people eating meat]

P: I think about the animal I think about well, I I (.) I know he takes on a little dose of toxins, (.) in his body, beyond words, (.) but yeah it affects me somewhat and I tell myself but don't eat, (.) don't eat animals, (.) we can live completely differently,

Chapter seven: The trajectory: Positioning on the ontogenetic scale

Extract 3.1.1 : Aline, narrative interview

A: en fait ça a toujours été hyper normal pis enfin voilà on sait : mon père avec ses histoires de métier enfin il nous a un peu dit, pourquoi il faisait ça, mais voilà après ça a jamais été un problème vraiment jamais jamais jamais et- de nouveau comme j'crois dans ma famille on aime oui la viande mais on est pas hyper fan, ben ça a jamais posé un problème

Extract 3.1.1: Aline, narrative interview

A: in fact it has always been very normal and well we know : my father with his work-related stories well he told us a little bit, why he did that, but then well it was never a problem really never never never and- again as I believe in my family we like yes meat but we are not really fans, well it was never a problem

Extract 3.1.2 : Aline, narrative interview

F : et du coup quand ils ont divorcé pis que vous avez commencé à manger d'la viande chez ta mère mais pas chez ton père, tu te souviens si ça t'a fait te poser des questions de pourquoi d'la viande ici et pourquoi pas là, ou ça continuait juste normal

A : ouais en fait, ça continu- (2) ben en fait ouais vraiment enfin mon père, on sait chez lui on mange pas d'viande, en fait vraiment c'est pas pareil. [...] pis après, chez ma mère, oui on en mangeait, ça ça a changé mais après, y a beaucoup d'choses qu'on aussi changé, parce qu'elle a commencé à travailler, (inaud) enfin tu vois c'était aussi beaucoup des plats pré-cuisinés : etc donc (2) y a beaucoup d'autres choses qui ont changé, qui ont été plus choquant pour nous que le changement enfin alimentaire. J'crois. À l'époque.

Extract 3.1.2 : Aline, narrative interview

F: and so when they divorced and you started to eat meat at your mother's place but not at your father's, do you remember whether this made you ask yourself questions about why meat here and why not there, or it just continued normally

A: yeah in fact, it continu- (2) yeah in fact really I mean my father, we know at his place one doesn't eat meat, in fact it's really not the same. [...] and then, at my mother's place, yes we ate some, that changed but after, there are many other things that also changed, because she started to work, (incomp.) I mean you see it was also a lot of pre-cooked meals : etc so (2) there are many other things that changed, that were much more shocking for us than the change in food. I think. At that time.

Extract 3.1.2 : Aline, narrative interview

A : enfin j'étais une année au Canada là j'ai mangé d'la viande, au début j'mangeais pas d'viande, j'me rappelle (.) et pis après : j'ai commencé à manger d'la viande parce que là-bas, j'crois qu'ils font tout avec d'la viande ((rire))

F : ah ouais ?

A : ouais : enfin dans ma famille en tout cas j'étais jeune fille au pair i : ils mangeaient beaucoup pis ça aussi j'ai commencé à manger,

Extract 3.1.2 : Aline, narrative interview

A: well I spent one year in Canada there I ate meat, at the beginning I didn't eat meat, I remember (.) and then : I started to eat meat because there, I think that they make everything with meat ((laughing))

F: ah yeah ?

A: yeah : well in my family at least I was au pair they : they ate a lot and this I also started to eat,

Extract 3.1.3 : Aline, narrative interview

A : après j'étais au Pakistan et en Inde et pis là en fait (.) tu manges pas d'viande, après c'était pendant 6 mois, enfin y'a peu parce que c'est aussi hyper cher et pis, en Inde y'a pas mal de végétariens enfin la cuisine elle est assez végétarienne, donc j'ai mangé hyper rarement,

Extract 3.1.3 : Aline, narrative interview

A: then I was in Pakistan and in India and there actually (.) you don't eat meat, then it was for 6 months, well there is little because it's also very expensive and, in India there are quite a lot of vegetarians well the cuisine is quite vegetarian, so I ate meat extremely rarely,

Extract 3.1.4 : Aline, narrative interview (partly overlapping with extracts 1.1.2 and 1.5.1)

A : pis ils avaient mis : deux trois : faits des : des faits justement sur toute la consommation au niveau écologique que ça d'mandait,

F : ouais

A : et (*incomp*) je sais enfin je savais d'jà mais en fait c'est en voyant ça j'me suis dit ouais mais c'est trop- c'est trop bête tu vois

F : mhm

A : et en plus on est étudiants : avec euh mon mari et : on a pas beaucoup d'sous donc (.) en gros c'qu'on achetait tout le temps c'est d'la- c'était du poulet pis (les conditions sont pas) mais déjà enfin voilà on mange d'la viande mais c'est pas on mange jamais des steaks, on mange jamais : c'genre de truc parce qu'on a pas les moyens, euhm (.) pis ben c'est à ce moment-là où j'me suis dit, .h (..) pour ce qu'on mange enfin on peut déjà tout à fait remplacer et pis c'est bête de manger d'la viande dans ces conditions enfin (.)

Extract 3.1.4 : Aline, narrative interview

A: and they put : two or three : facts : facts related specifically to consumption from an ecological perspective,

F: yeah

A: and (*incomp*) I know well I already knew but in fact it's when seeing that that I thought yes but it's really- it's really stupid you see

F: mhm

A: And moreover we are students : with uh my husband and : thus we don't have a lot of money (.) basically what we were buying all the time was- was chicken and the conditions are not but already well we eat meat but it's never steaks, we never : eat this kind of things because we don't have the means, uhm : (.) then well it's at that moment that I told myself, .h (.) for what we eat well we can absolutely replace it and it's stupid to eat meat in these conditions well (.)

Extract 3.2.1 : Léa, narrative interview

L : alors j'viens d'une famille, de mangeurs de viande. (.) mais vraiment. (.) euh ma mère je crois que : elle pense qu'un repas qui a pas de viande c'est pas normal. (.) c'est : elle est sud-américaine, : uruguayenne, : la viande c'est enfin c'est toujours sur la table, enfin (.)

Extract 3.2.1 : Léa, narrative interview

L: so I come from a meat-eating, family. (.) but really. (.) uh my mother I believe that : she thinks that a meal without meat it's not normal. (.) it's: she's South American, : Uruguayan, : meat it's well it's always on the table, I mean (.)

Extract 3.2.2 : Léa, narrative interview

F : mais le lait alors c'est ces derniers mois aussi que

L : non ça c'est depuis plus longtemps. (.) mais c'est quand même arrivé assez soudainement, (2) mais euh :: c'est marrant (.) parce que ma mère ça lui a fait exactement la même chose, ben d'un jour à l'autre (3) plus possible quoi

F : pis t'as remarqué que la digestion

L : ouais. (.) mais donc ça il a fallu que j'arrête

F : ouais (.) donc là c'était pas vraiment un choix

L : non

F : c'était plus ton corps

L : ouais (.) mais : euh ça m'manque pas ça ça m'manque vraiment pas . (.) parce que c'est aussi mon corps qui l'rejette donc finalement j'pense que j'ai pas envie de : psychologiquement ça ça a suivi. Y a pas (inaud.) enfin pour la fondue oui parce que j'mange encore des médicaments pour pouvoir manger d'temps en temps

Extract 3.2.2 : Léa, narrative interview

F: but milk so it's also these lasts months that

L: no that's for a longer time. (.) but it still happened quite suddenly, (2) but uh:: it's funny (.) because my mother it did exactly the same thing to her, well from one day to the other (3) not possible any more what

F: and you noticed that the digestion

L: yeah (.) but so this I had to stop

F: yeah (.) so there it was not really a choice

L: no

F: it was more your body

L: yeah (.) but : uh I don't miss it I really don't miss it. (.) because it's also my body that rejects it so finally I think that I don't want to: psychologically it followed. There is no (incomp.) well for fondue yes because I still take medication in order to be able to eat from time to time

Extract 3.2.3 : Léa, narrative interview

L : quand j'ai vu cette : ce reportage ça m'a : ça m'a vraiment dégoûté j'pense que même j'avais des hauts-l 'cœur et pis c'était sur tout c'qu'est animal c'était sur le lait euh les vaches les poules euh mais j'pourrais pas donner l'nom, (.) le nom du reportage, j'suis désolée mais (.) mais euhm :c'est vrai qu'c'est quelque chose qui m'a (.) euh (.) ça m'a pas ouvert les yeux, parce que j'pense ouais. Je savais mais. mais ouais. Ça m'a fait l'déclit

Extract 3.2.3 : Léa, narrative interview

L: when I saw this : this report I was : I was really disgusted I even think that it made my stomach turn and it was about all what is animal it was about milk uh cows chicken uh but I could not give you the name anymore, (.) the name of the report, I'm sorry but (.) but uhm : it's true that it's something that (.) uh(.) it didn't open my eyes, because I think yes. I knew but. But yes. It was the trigger

Extract 3.2.4 : Léa, narrative interview (partly overlapping with extract 2.6.2)

L : c'qui m'dérange en fait c'est euh (.) e c'e- c'est surtout euh la traite des animaux, (.)on va dire, euhm : (.) c'est l'fait d'produire d'la viande comme du plastique en fait c'est ça comme on produirait des euh des chaussures ou des t-shirts quoi euh : donc euh y a toute une chaîne de production qui revient euh la plus rentable possible, (.) et (c'est) quand même des des organismes euh vivants, (c'est ce mélange/c'est c'qui m'dérange) j'ai un peu du mal, (.) c'est un peu ça qui m'a (lancé d'l'effet), alors j'pense que tout l'monde sait (.) mais vraiment d'voir des images ça m'a euh (.) ça m'a bien choqué, ça m'a fait ouais réfléchir, (.)

Extract 3.2.4 : Léa, narrative interview

L: what bothers me in fact is uh (.) it- it's mainly uh the way animals are treated, (.) let's say, uhm: (.) it's the fact of producing meat like plastic in fact it's like one would produce uh shoes or t-shirts or whatever uh: so uh there is this whole production line that come back uh as profitable as possible, (.) and (that's) still uh living beings, (it's that mix/that's what bothers me) I have difficulties, (.) it's a bit that that (had an effect on) me, so I think that everyone knows (.) but really to see these images it uh (.) it really shocked me, it made me yeah think about it, (.)

Extract 3.2.5 : Léa, narrative interview

L : au final est-ce que j'suis obligé de regarder la télé pour me rendre compte des choses, ou est-ce que je devrais pas plutôt aller observer par moi-même, une fois un peu me plonger dans la (inaud.) c'est ça qui me dérange un peu dans les dans les reportages. (.) c'est que c'est quand même, ben c'est guidé quoi. On t'amènes euh : (.) enfin (.) oui on est critiques mais c'est quand même quelqu'un qui l'a construit quoi. Et euh : et c'est un peu ça qui m'dérange.

Extract 3.2.5 : Léa, narrative interview

L: finally am I obliged to watch television in order to realize things, or should I rather go and observe by myself, from time to time dive into it myself (incomp.) that's what bothers me a little bit in the reports. (.) it's that still, well it's guided. You are brought uh : (.) well (.) yes we are critical but it's still someone who constructed it or whatever. And uh : it's a bit that that bothers me.

Extract 3.2.6: Léa, Narrative interview

L : enfin j'estime que on doit quand même être en connaissance de ce qu'on a autour de nous, : et pis (prendre en compte) la nature, (.) on fait partie des choses qu'on devrait plus respecter enfin je trouve. On est dans : dans des systèmes de vie, de consommation euh (.) qui font que voilà quoi les choses on pas mal changé, : et : les choses enfin c'est pas mal de savoir euh (.) de enfin moi j'suis contente de quand même avoir pu voir ces images quoi. (.) enfin d'me rendre compte

Extract 3.2.6: Léa, narrative interview

L: well still I think that we should know the things that we have around us, and (take into account) nature, (.) we are part of the things that we should respect more well I think. We are in: in systems of life, of consumption uh (.) that make that well things changed quite a lot, : and : things I mean it's quite good to know uh (.) to well I am still happy that I could see these images what. (.) well to become aware

Extract 3.2.7: Léa, narrative interview (partly overlapping with extract 2.6.1)

L : j'ai trouvé vraiment vraiment choquant, (.) et : j'ai pas envie de donner d'argent à ces gens, j'ai pas envie de : euh (2) ouais j'ai pas envie d'dépenser mon argent comme ça.

Extract 3.2.7: Léa, narrative interview

L: I found it really really shocking, (.) and: I don't want to give money to these people, I don't want to: uh (2) yeah I don't want to spend my money like this.

Extract 3.2.8 : Léa, narrative interview

L : faut dire j'me considère pas vraiment comme végétarienne parce que ça m'arrive encore de manger d'la viande, (.) j'en achète plus, (.) mais euh : c'est vrai que quand : (.) ben quand j'suis invitée, : c'est vrai que enfin j'vais pas : j'vais pas dire ah non j'mange pas d'viande, j'suis végétarienne, : (.)

Extract 3.2.8: Léa, narrative interview

L: I have to say that I don't really consider myself to be a vegetarian because I still eat meat from time to time, (.) I don't buy anymore, (.) but uh : it's true that when : (.) well when I'm invited, : it's true that well I won't : I won't say ah no I don't eat meat, I'm vegetarian, : (.)

Extract 3.2.9: Léa, narrative interview (partly overlapping with extract 1.1.9)

L : J'dis pas qu'suis végétarienne. (.) ouais j'me définis pas comme végétarienne. (.) ben j'aime la viande hein(.) franchement euh : c'est (.) c'est un aliment auquel euh j'étais nourri toute ma vie, et que j'apprécie d'manger vraiment euh (.) et euh : (2) et euh enfin j'en achète juste plus, enfin (.) mais bon même au restaurant hein j'en commande plus, (.) mais euh végétarien j'dirais pas ça. et aussi ben j'mange du poisson, (.) donc là j'sais pas j'connais pas les définitions mais j'me dis (ça va pas avec la définition) mais euh : j'ai entendu aussi des belles histoires, là-dessus, mais euh : (3) mais j'sais pas non j'suis plus sensible à la cause des vaches et- et du euh ben des mammifères, mais euh non des fruits d'mer j'arriverais pas à m'en passer par contre, (.) j'en mange régulièrement, (.) mais ça c'est une alimentation qu'a- ben c'est la viande qui a remplacé la viande rouge on va dire, (.) le poisson

F : le poisson ?

L : ouais euh : (.) après c'est vrai que : : j'me dis que (ça s'échange) le fait que j'mange plus d'viande, (.) bon j'mange encore des œufs, (.) j'sais pas euh : je suis pas une végétalienne ((léger ton de mépris)) euh (.) bon j'saurais pas trop d'dire c'que j'suis. (.) mais euh (.) mais juste non j'veux plus acheter d'viande. j'ai plus envie d'participer à : (.) à c'processus en fait. (.) à ça (.) c'est juste euh ça (.) euhm voilà, (.) ça fait déjà 6 minutes que j'parle donc ((rires))

Extract 3.2.9: Léa, narrative interview

L: I don't say that I'm vegetarian, (,) yeah I don't define myself as a vegetarian. (.) well I like meat now (.) frankly, uh: it's (.) it's a food with which I was nourished during my whole life, and that I like to eat really uh (.) and uh: (2) and uh well I simply don't buy any anymore, well (.) but well even in the restaurant I don't order any anymore, (,) but uh vegetarian I would not say that. And also well I eat fish, (.) so there I don't know I don't know the definitions but I think (it doesn't fit with the definition) but uh: I also heard nice stories, about that, but uh; (3) but I don't know no I'm more sensitive to the cause of cows and : and uh well of mammals, but uh not seafood I could not do without on the other hand, (.) I eat some regularly, (.) but that is a food which- well it is the meat that replaced red meat let's say, (.) fish

F: fish?

L: yeah uh: (.) after that it's true that : I tell myself that (it makes up for) the fact that I don't eat meat anymore, (.) well I still eat eggs, (.) I don't know uh: I'm not a vegan [slightly despising tone of voice]uh (.) well I could not really say what I am. (.) but uh (.) but just no I don't want to buy meat. I don't want to participate in that: (.) in that process actually (.) in that (.) it's just uh that (.) uhm well, (.) I've already been speaking for 6 minutes so ((laughing))

Extract 3.2.10: Léa, narrative interview

L : mais en fait ce qui m'embête le plus c'est justement quand euh quand j'prends pas, (2) de devoir me- enfin me définir en tant que euh mangeuse ou pas mangeuse ou non de viande en fait. (.) et euh : (2) c'est pour ça que j'arrive pas à répondre à la question si j'suis végétarienne ou non, j- en fait, (.) je sais pas comment on appelle les gens comme moi. ((rires)) j'peux pas répondre quoi ((en riant)) désolée quoi

Extract 3.2.10 : Léa, narrative interview

L: but actually what bothers me the most is exactly when uh when I don't take, (2) to have to define m- in fact to define myself as uh meat-eater or not meat-eater or not in fact. (.) and uh: (2) that's why I cannot answer the question of whether I'm vegetarian or not, I- in fact, (.) I don't know what people like me are called. ((laughing)) I cannot answer that ((laughing)) sorry that

Extract 3.2.11 : Léa, narrative interview

L : ben ils [her boyfriend's parents] préparent à manger et il y a juste la viande qu'est que : (2) en fait c'est des gens qui par- qui posent beaucoup de questions, °et ça m'fait chier d'me justifier tout l'temps ° parce que j'ai pas envie d'manger d'viande, et : c'est vrai qu'c'était une fois, deux fois, la viande elle venait quand même toujours sur la table, et finalement ben : (2) ben : ouais on la mange un peu, (.)

mais on tire la gueule en espérant qu'la prochaine fois y en aura plus, ((rires)) mais ouais y en a tout l'temps quoi.

Extract 3.2.11 : Léa, narrative interview

L: well they [her boyfriend's parents] prepare something to eat and there is just meat that is : (2) in fact they are people who tal- who ask a lot of questions, °and it pisses me off to have to justify myself all the time° because I don't want to eat meat, and: it's true that it happened once, twice, the meat still came on the table, and finally well: (2) well you eat it a bit, (.) but you pull a face hoping that next time there won't be anymore, ((laughing)) but yeah there is that all the time or whatever.

Extract 3.2.12 : Léa, narrative interview

L : quelque part ça m'fait mal au cœur de dire à ma mère arrête de m'faire d'la viande j'aime plus ça ((rire)) parce que euh : (2) c'est pas une question d'éducation euh mais c'est (3) enfin euh ouais (2) enfin pour elle ce sera : (.) j'ai pas envie d'l'embêter avec mes histoires de plus d'viande pas d'viande, (.) fais comme t'as l'habitude de faire et euh : c'est bon j'me débrouille ((rire)) mais bon. (2) voilà. (.) donc oui, c'est souvent quand j'suis invitée chez les parents euh ben qu'ce soit ceux d'mon copain, ou ben mes parents quoi.

Extract 3.2.12 : Léa, narrative interview [after I asked her in which situations she eats meat]

L: somewhere it hurts me to tell my mother stop preparing meat for me I don't like this anymore ((laughing)) because uh: (2) it's not a question of education uh but it's (3) well uh yeah (2) well to her it will be: (.) I don't want to bother her with my stories of no meat anymore no meat, (.) do as you are used to doing it and uh: it's fine l'll manage ((laughing)) but well. (2) that's it. (.) so yes, it's often when I'm invited to the parents' place be it my boyfriends', or my own parents or whatever.

Extract 3.2.13 : Léa, narrative interview

L : j'suis encore euh au enfin à un point où j'me demande est-ce que je enfin est-ce que j'peux continuer comme ça, quoi enfin parce que (3) ben alors acheter du poisson, ça coûte cher hein (.) c'est vrai que j'sais pas peut-être que j'prenne le temps d'aller voir une diététicienne pis euh de regarder euh : en fait l'alimentation qui conviendrait le mieux, quoi (2) pour remplacer euh la viande

F : pour remplacer,

L : ouais ouais (.) parce que je ressens quand même un manque hein et pis c'est vrai que l'poisson ben j'peux pas en acheter tout l'temps (.) et euh

F : tu ressens un manque comment ? c'est d'la fatigue ?

L : c'est d'la fatigue ouais (.) et euh (2) ouaif : aussi d'voir tout l'temps dans un ouais j'suis pas une très bonne cuisinière non plus donc de voir dans son assiette soit des féculents ou ouais des fibres ouais

c'est (3) c'est un peu frustrant. (.)mais là j'pense c'est plutôt les habitudes que j'avais c'est un peu vraiment le repas avec d'la viande. tu l'sentais comme ça arriver enfin pour moi ça voulait dire que c'était l'heure de manger aussi j'pense

Extract 3.2.13: Léa, narrative interview

L : I'm still uh I mean at a point where I ask myself could I well could I continue like that, well because (3) well buying fish, it's expensive (.) it's true that I don't know maybe I should take the time to go and see a nutritionist and uh see uh: in fact the diet that would be the most suited, what (2) to replace uh meat

F: to replace,

L: yeah yeah (.) because I still feel a lack now and it's true that fish I cannot buy it all the time (.) and uh

F: how do you feel a lack? Is it tiredness?

L: it's tiredness yeah (.) and uh (2) yep: also to see all the time in the yeah I'm also not a very good cooker thus to see in your plate either starchy food or yeah dietary fiber yeah it's (3) it's a bit frustrating (.) but there I think that it's rather the food habits that I used to have it was really a bit the meal with meat. You could feel it arrive I mean for me it meant that it's time to eat also I think

*As Lisa's interview was conducted in English, the extracts were not translated.

Chapter eight: Responsibility and positioning

Extract 4.1.1 : Gaël, narrative interview

G : après 5 ou 6 ans donc j'ai fini mes études en Belgique, (.) et puis euhm j'ai eu des ennuis de santé mais qui sont pas dus au végétarisme, ça c'est un truc qui faut qu'j'dise, euhm : en fait euh en gros j'ai un peu euh j'ai un peu pété un plomb, (.) et pis euh voilà j'ai eu des ptits euh des ptits problèmes euh de santé euh pas très bien dans la tête voilà

F : ouais

G : et pis et pis voilà du coup, c'était une grosse une grosse remise en question de plein d'trucs, (.) en fait, et pis bon le le mode de vie, : euh le mode (ah) tout ça ça allait ensemble aussi, (.) et puis, en fait euhm :: c'est là que j'me suis rendu compte en voilà en bossant un peu dessus, que (2) pour moi, c'était euh quand même une euh une privation. (.) d'être voilà. Euh c'était un processus qu'était très euh : philosophique, (.) qu'était euh donc qu'était très euh (2) ouais qu'était un processus mental vraiment, j'étais pas dégoûté par le goût, c'était même plutôt l'contraire, j'ai toujours aimé euh la bonne chère euh la bonne table, (.) [...] vu que : (quand même) un ensemble de situation où dans ta tête ça va pas très bien tu t'dis qu'il faut quand même que tu lâches du lest par rapport euh par rapport à certaines

choses par rapport à des contraintes par rapport à des des choses (inaud.) et pis euh (.) et pis en fait voilà j'ai j'ai j'ai progressivement aussi euh lâché du lest par rapport à par rapport à ça quoi.

Extract 4.1.1: Gaël, narrative interview

G: so after five or six years I finished my studies in Belgium, (.) and uhm I had health troubles but not due to vegetarianism, that's something I have to say, uhm: in fact in a nutshell I blew a little bit a fuse, (.) and then uh well I had little uh little issues uh of health uh not very well in the head that's it

F: yeah

G: and and well so, it was a big a big questioning of many things, (.) in fact, and well the lifestyle,: uh the life (uh) all these things went together also, (.) and, in fact uhm:: that where I realized that well while working a bit on that, that (2) for me, it was uh still a uh a privation. (.) to be well. uh it was a process that was very uh: philosophical, (.) that was uh so that was uh (2) yeah that was really a mental process, I was not disgusted by the taste, it was rather even the opposite, I always liked uh good food, uh a good meal, (.) [...] given that: (still) a set of situations where in your head it's not going very well you tell yourself that you still need to cut yourself some slack in relation uh in relation to certain things in relation to constrains in relation to things (incomp.) and uh (.) and in fact well I I I progressively also cut myself some slack in relation to in relation to that.

Extract 4.1.2: Gaël, narrative interview (partly overlapping with extracts 2.4.4)

G : j'vis un peu avec cette contradiction, (.) maintenant, (.) et pis en fait c'est un truc que (.) que j'ai un peu appris à faire, (.) si on veut, que j'étais pas forcém- que j'étais pas forcément conscient au début, enfin (.) tu t'dis bon ben voilà il faut que j'sois le plus cohérent possible, (.) le plus intègre possible, (.) donc t'essaie de mettre des trucs de côté pour être le plus euh (.) voilà d'être le plus euh :: ouais :: un souci d'intégrité quoi mais bon , (.) et pis ben :: au bout d'un moment j'ai un peu dû faire le constat que : (.) ben on a tous un peu des incohérences quoi . (.) pis qu'on a tous un peu une part de (2) de de de :: (.) ouais, (.) enfin l'environnement fait beaucoup pis comme on a été élevé fait beaucoup aussi, et pis ben voilà quoi. (.) du coup : (.) c'est un peu : c'est un peu comme ça qu'j'me suis rendu compte que que (.) ça valait pas la peine que moi j'me : b- enfin j'me force à faire vraiment des efforts si ça me rend pas non plus très heureux (.) donc du coup, (.) et pis euh et pis voilà donc du coup maintenant j'vis avec cette contradiction-là quoi j'l'assume plus,

Extract 4.1.2: Gaël, narrative interview

G: I live a little bit with this contradiction, (.) now, (.) and in fact it's something that (.) that I learned to do a little bit, (.) if you want, that I was not necessary- that I was not necessarily aware at the beginning, well (.) you tell yourself ok well I need to be as coherent as possible, (.) as upstanding as possible, (.) thus you try to put things on the side in order to be the most uh (.) well to be the most uh:: yeah:: a

care¹⁴² about integrity well but ok, (.) and well:: after a while I had to notice that: (.) well we all have a little bit incoherencies what. (.) and that we all have a little part of (2) of of of:: (.) yeah, (.) well the environment makes a lot and how we were raised makes a lot too, and that's it. (.) so: (.) it's a bit: it's a bit like this that I realized that that (.) it was not worth that I: well that I force myself to really make efforts if it doesn't makes me that happy (.) so, (.) and uh well so now I live with that contraction and I assume it more,

Extract 4.1.3: Gaël, dialogical experiment

G : c'que j'leur dirais, (2) euhm :: (.) c'est que en fait, (2) en fait c'est assez dur parce que c'est un peu comme si j'étais d'accord avec les deux, en fait.

Extract 4.1.3: Gaël, dialogical experiment [reaction to the papers related to health]

G: what I would tell them, (2) uhm :: (.) in fact, (2) in fact it's quite difficult because it's rather as if I agree with both, in fact.

Extract 4.1.4: Gaël, dialogical experiment

G : l'autre personne est hyper dans la cohérence, (.) jusqu'au bout, (2) trop dans la cohérence, [...] donc pour être cohérent il faut renoncer à tout, (2) euhm :: (.) alors que que que voilà, et euh (.) et l'un et l'autre on a l'impression qu'ils :: (.) justement (.) il peut pas y avoir des contradictions dans leur euh dans leur euh (.) mode de réfléchir quoi. (.)

Extract 4.1.4: Gaël, dialogical experiment [reaction to the papers related to animal ethics]

G: the other person is extremely into coherence, (.) right to the end, (.) too much into coherence, [...] so in order to be coherent you must give up on everything, (2) uhm:: (.) while while well, and uh (.) and both of them you have the impression that they:: (.) exactly (.) there cannot be any contradiction in their uh in their uh (.) mode of reflection or whatever. (.)

Extract 4.1.5: Gaël, dialogical experiment

G : euhm : (2) ben disons que y a des gens qui deviennent végétariens justement (.) parce que c'est un mode de vie sain, (.)

F : ouais

G : voilà, (.) euh c'qu'est très bien, (.) j'dis pas l'contraire, euh (2) m :oi apr- mais après c'est vraiment euh ma vision du truc, c'est qu'j'ai l'impression que (.) que : de plus en plus, (.) euh on vit dans une société, (.) qui : qui contrôle de plus en plus ce genre de trucs.

¹⁴² The French word used (souci) can be translated both by care and by worry.

F : ouais

G : voilà. (.) on a un mode de vie sain, (.) donc (.) faut être mieux dans son corps d'accord, (.) mais euh (.) j'ai l'impression que (.) ben on passe pt-être à côté d certaines choses, (.) en ayant un mode de vie pt-être un peu (.) trop (.) sain

Extract 4.1.5: Gaël, dialogical experiment [reaction to the papers related to health; he states that one paper takes a hygienist position, I ask him what he means by that]

G: uhm : (2) well let's say that there are people who become vegetarian exactly (.) because it's a healthy lifestyle, (.)

F: yeah

G: so, (.) uh what is very good, (.) I'm not saying otherwise, uh (2) m: myself aft- but after it's really my view on the thing, it's that I have the impression that (.) that: more and more, (.) uh we live in a society, (.) that controls more and more these kinds of things.

F: yeah

G: that's it. (.) we have a healthy lifestyle, (.) thus (.) you have to feel better in your body okay, (.) but uh (.) I have the impression that (.) well maybe we miss out on some things, (.) while having a lifestyle that is maybe a bit (.) too (.) healthy

Extract 4.1.6 : Gaël, narrative interview

G : j'viens d'un milieu très très ouvrier, [...] y a un truc (.) qui fait que : c'est pas le : (.) ben dans mon esprit, c'est pas le (.) combat fondamental si on veut. (.) voilà. C'est -à-dire que. Ça participe d'une lutte, (.) globale (.) ça peut, (.) non. Ça participe ça- (.) j'allais dire ça peut participer mais ça participe d'une lutte globale, (.) euh : mais au même titre que d'autres trucs, au même titre que l'féminisme que : (.) que : voilà le l'antiracisme que voilà que plein d'autres trucs. (.) voilà. (.) mais : c'est pas euh : c'est pas la composante essentielle.

Extract 4.1.6: Gaël, narrative interview

G: I come from a very very working-class milieu, [...] there is something (.) that makes that: it's not the: (.) well in my mind, it's not the (.) fundamental important battle if you know what I mean. (.) that's it. I mean that. It participates to a global (.) fight (.) it can, (.) no. it participates it- (.) I was going to say it can participate but it participates to a global fight, (.) uh: but just like feminism and: (.) and uh anti-racism and well many other things. (.) that's it. (.) but: it's not uh: it's not the essential component.

Extract 4.1.7 : Gaël, narrative interview (partly overlapping with extract 1.2.4)

G : j'essaie de (.) de manger c'qui vient du coin, (.) plutôt que tu vois par exemple (2) bouffer des avocats bio qui viennent de de du fin fond du Pérou, (.) [...] j'essaie d'avoir (.) une éthique dans c'que j'bouffe mais un peu dans une autre manière. [...]

F : c'est quoi les raisons qui t'incitent à (.) à manger plus local ?

G : [...] ben une des raisons pourrait être que j'ai arrêté de manger d'la viande, c'était aussi pour des raisons environnementales, [...] pour moi ouais c'est une question de comment on allait faire pour tous vivre (2) euh (.) parce que clairement on pouvait pas tous toute la planète pouvait pas s'nourrir en mangeant d'la viande donc euh (.) [...] du coup en regardant aussi un ptit peu j'me suis dit que cet aspect-là j'pouvais le transposer euh (.) en :: ben voilà en mangeant des trucs de saisons qui viennent pas de (.) qui viennent pas de super loin ou qui ont pas fait des kilomètres en bateau ou en avion, (.) euh même en mangeant en essayant d'manger d'la viande qui vient un peu du coin, le plus possible, (.) du poisson du lac ou des trucs comme ça, (2)

Extract 4.1.7 : Gaël, narrative interview

G: I try to (.) to eat what comes from the region, (.) rather than avocados that come from from the depths of Peru, (.) it's a bit moronic, I would say thus uh (.) well I try anyway to uh to be careful with that what (.) I try to have (.) an ethic in what I eat but slightly in another way. [...]

F: what are the reasons that push you to (.) to eat more local?

G: [...] well one of the reasons could be that when I stopped eating meat, it was also for environmental reasons, [...] for me yeah the question of how we would do for all of us to live (2) uh (.) because clearly we could not all of us the whole planet be nourished by eating meat so uh (.) [...] so while looking a little bit I told myself that this aspect I could change it uh (.) into:: well into eating seasonal things that don't come from (.) that don't come from super far away or that haven't come kilometers by ship or plane, (.) uh even when eating when trying to eat meat that comes a little bit from the region, as much as possible, (.) fish from the lake or things like that, (2)

Extract 4.1.8 : Gaël, narrative interview

G : enfin c'est pt-être un peu con mais j'ai fait quand même cinq six ans et pis c'est déjà pas mal, ((rires)) si tout le monde pouvait faire pareil au moins ça ça serait cool

Extract 4.1.8: Gaël, narrative interview

G: well it's maybe a bit stupid but I still did five six years and that's already not bad, ((laughing)) if everyone could do the same at least that that would be cool

Extract 4.2.1 : Aurélia, narrative interview

A : j'ai quand même toujours été assez sensible à ça parce qu'mon frère [...] euh il est végétarien depuis qu'il est petit, (.) [...] mais c'est plus tard que vraiment je: j'me suis intéressée à: (.) que j'ai essayé d'arrêter en fait. (.) de: à m'poser des questions pourquoi (.) pourquoi y a des végétariens, pis (.)pis il: il m'a aussi un peu raconté, il m'a donné des enfin il m'a un peu expliqué et pis euh: c'est là qu'j'ai été plus sensibilisée, (.) j'ai fait plusieurs tentatives, en ess- en essayant d'devenir végétarienne, (.) mais ça s'est toujours soldé par des échecs, ((petit rire)) parce que: euh la fameuse excuse la viande c'est trop bon:

Extract 4.2.1: Aurélia, narrative interview

A: I was always quite sensitive to that because my brother [...] uh he's been a vegetarian since he was small, (.) [...] but it's later that really I : I get interested in : (.) I tried to stop in fact. (.) to ask myself questions about why (.) why are there vegetarians, and (.) and he : he also told me a little bit, he gave me well he explained to me a bit and uh: that's when I became more aware, (.) I made several attempts, tr- trying to become vegetarian, (.) but it always ended in failure, ((small laughing)) because: uh the famous excuse meat is too tasty:

Extract 4.2.2 : Aurélia, narrative interview

A : on était pas fiers mais voilà,

Extract 4.2.2 : Aurélia, narrative interview

A: we weren't proud but there you go,

Extract 4.2.3 : Aurélia, dialogical experiment [related to the papers on environmental impact]

A : moi j'mangeais des avocats, [...] les gens qui mangent d'la viande en général ils disent oui, (.) mais les avocats :, (.) ça fait des ravages au Mexique, : parce que : (.) c'est pas faux, hein mais (.) j'ai l'impression que (.) en tant qu'végétarien on fait jamais assez bien, (.) et : on a toujours euh : on sera jamais parfait en fait en fait on attend d'nous qu'on soit parfaits

F : ouais

A : alors qu'on essaie juste de : d'être un peu : plus un peu plus bienveillants et pis de faire le bien autour d'nous, mais c'est jamais assez,

F : ouais

A : et si c'est pas au niveau d'alimentation on dira qu'on prend l'avion, : et pis qu'ça pollue, : et pis qu'on a une voiture et pis donc on sera jamais : on sera jamais parfaits aussi [...] moi j'fais au mieux, enfin j'essaie de j'essaie de trier : j'essaie de de pas trop consommer enfin après c'est une démarche

euh (.) enfin j'essaie de faire euh (2) d'en faire euh le plus possible, [...] après y a des choses euh où j'suis pas encore au courant qu'c'est pt-être pas bien,

F : ouais

A : mais là j'essaie d'me tenir informée : (.) de tout ça,

Extract 4.2.3: Aurélia, dialogical experiment [related to the papers on environmental impact]

A: I used to eat avocados, [...] people who eat meat in general they say yes, (.) but avocados, : (.) it wreaks devastation in Mexico, : because : (.) it's not wrong, now but (.) I have the impression that (.) as a vegetarian we never do well enough, (.) and we always have uh : we will never be perfect in fact in fact they expect us to be perfect

F: yeah

A: while we just try to : to be a bit : more a bit more kind and to do good around us, but it's never enough,

F: yeah

A : and if it's not at the level of food one will say that we take the plane, : and that this is polluting, : and that we have a car and so we will never : we will never be perfect also [...] I do my best, well I try to I try to separate : [waste] I try to not to consume too much well then it's a approach uh (.) well I try to do uh (2) to do uh as much as possible, [...] after there are things I don't know yet that it's maybe not good,

F: yeah

A: but there I try to stay informed : (.) about all that,

Extract 4.2.4: Aurélia, narrative interview [about her relation with her brother]

A : on avait des discussions avec où: on parlait de l'élevage en fait comment ça s'passe, (.) surtout ces sujets-là. (.) pis maintenant euh après coup, (.) moi j'me suis renseignée parce que c'était un sujet qui m'intéressait pis maintenant c'est presque moi qui vais lui apprendre des choses pis lui il est végétarien il est pas: (.) il a pas poussé vraiment la réflexion plus loin, il continue à consommer du fromage et tout donc: (.) moi j'partage volontiers avec lui les raisons pour lesquelles ça serait bien (.) bien d'arrêter aussi

Extract 4.2.4: Aurélia, narrative interview [about her relation with her brother]

A: we had discussions with where: we spoke about animal farming in fact how it works, (.) especially these topics. (.) and now uh later, (.) I did some research because it's a topic in which I'm interested and now it's almost me who teaches him things and he is vegetarian he is not: (.) he didn't go further in his reflection, he continues to eat cheese and everything so: (.) I'm glad to share with him the reasons why it would be good (.) well to stop too

Extract 4.2.5: Aurélia, narrative interview [about articles she finds on the internet]

A : y'en a où j'me dit tiens le ton utilisé il est pas très (.) il est un peu bizarre donc j'vais faire attention à c'que j'lis là, (.) mais c'est vrai que j'vais pas tout l'temps regarder les sources

Extract 4.2.5: Aurélia, narrative interview [about articles she finds on the internet]

A: there are some where I think well the tone used is not very (.) it's a bit strange so I would be careful with what I read there, (.) but it's true that I won't check the sources all the time

Extract 4.2.6: Aurélia, dialogical experiment [related to the papers on nature/culture; she explains why she does not use arguments relying on physiology anymore]

A : c'est des arguments qu'j'ai déjà utilisé, hein le fait qu'on ait un intestin comme ça que c'est pour ça

F : d'accord

A : mais après on m' renseignant d'avantage j'me rends compte que (.) pt-être que c'est pas exactement la vérité et (.) j'préfère plus trop les utiliser

Extract 4.2.6: Aurélia, dialogical experiment [related to the papers on nature/culture; she explains why she does not use arguments relying on physiology anymore]

A: these are arguments that I already used, now the fact that we have an intestine like this that it is because of that

F: okay

A: but afterwards when inquiring more I realize that (.) maybe it's not exactly the truth and (.) I prefer not to use them anymore

Extract 4.2.7: Aurélia, after the dialogical experiment

A : en en fait si les gens ils se rendaient compte ils pourraient pas [implicitly: continue to eat meat]

Extract 4.2.7: Aurélia, after the dialogical experiment

A: well in fact if people would realize they could not [implicitly: continue to eat meat]

Extract 4.2.8 : Aurélia, narrative interview

A : bon la première année on a quand même occasionnellement mangé une ou deux fois d'la viande, (.) parce qu'y avait certaines occasions où (.) où des fois on avait pas trop l'choix, (.)

F : ouais

A : 'fin on a toujours le choix mais ouais.

Extract 4.2.8: Aurélia, narrative interview

A: well the first year we still occasionally ate meat once or twice, (.) because there were certain occasions where (.) where sometimes we didn't really have the choice, (.)

F: yeah

A: well we always have a choice but yeah

Extract 4.2.9 : Aurélia, narrative interview (partly overlapping with extracts 1.1.2 and 2.3.1)

A : justement y a pas seulement l'aspect éthique y a aussi euh l'aspect santé qui m'intéresse, et pis écologique, et pis : et pis même humain, parce que j'pense que les gens qui travaillent (.) dans ces secteurs dans les abattoirs et tout ça doit pas être facile pour eux, (.) enfin ouais y a tous ces aspects qui sont intéressants.

F : ouais.

A : mais pt-être que l'aspect éthique il est avant les autres,

Extract 4.2.9: Aurélia, narrative interview

A: precisely there is not only the ethical aspect there is also uh the health aspect that I'm interested in, and ecological, and: and even human, because I think that the people working (.) in these sectors in the slaughterhouses and all that it must not be easy for them, (.) well yeah there are all these aspects that are interesting.

F: yeah

A: but maybe the ethical aspect comes first,

Extract 4.2.10: Aurélia, dialogical experiment [in the reaction to the papers on health, speaking about her incoherence]

A : enfin faites c'que j'dis pas c'que j'fais et pis voilà ((rires)) mais voilà j'ai des moments où j'suis plus lucide que d'autres, des moments où j'me dit ah à quoi bon

F : ouais

A : pis des moments (.) où j'sais exactement pourquoi j'en mange pas,

Extract 4.2.10: Aurélia, dialogical experiment [in the reaction to the papers on health, speaking about her incoherence]

A: well do what I say not what I do and that's it ((laughing)) but that's it I have moments where I'm more lucid than others, moments where I tell myself ah what's the point

F: yeah

A: and moments (.) where I know exactly why I don't eat any,