Food, classed?

Social inequality and diet: Understanding stratified meat consumption patterns in Germany

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Prologue

During my Master's studies, I spent a considerable amount of time researching people's attitudes towards domestic and international redistribution, learned about theories of justice and fairness, and received detailed information about the history and workings of the European Union and its institutions. I planned to do a PhD on the emergence of authoritarian attitudes, and how they relate to different economic policy paradigms across countries. So in 2016, when the research for this dissertation project started, it was something completely new and unknown to me, at least theoretically. I had a strong sense of compassion for and interest in the topic since I went vegan more than three years prior to starting my PhD, and I was often accused of doing 'me-search'. I constantly felt the need to emphasize that my personal opinion would in no way bias my approach or influence my conclusions. My supervisor did not deal with the topic in his own research but realized how important it was or it was going to be in the near future. I quickly withdrew from all vegan activism and kept increasingly quiet in (usually pretty much heated) debates about the topic in the online- and in the offline-world. I did not want my personal involvement get in the way by tricking me into unfounded assumptions. However, I never shied away from talking to friends and strangers who were genuinely curious, let alone from taking sides on private occasions over dinner. I tried to be as unbiased as possible when I conducted my interviews, and perpetually improved my impartiality as a researcher, while growing more patient and understanding. Over the course of the years, I learned that there was indeed a lot to be said about the science behind meat consumption and meat production and its negative repercussions (if we can agree that scientific knowledge presents evidence-based, and in some sense 'objective' knowledge), and that other disciplines had adopted a much more straightforward approach that reflected these results. Many of these studies conveyed a strong sense of urgency. I found this inspiring and motivational, but I also realized how many studies lacked a sociological perspective. Constantly refraining from normative judgment, and trying to detach myself from my own - in many ways prejudiced and opinionated - viewpoint helped me see a broader picture. I enjoyed talking to and learning from other compassionate vegans and vegetarians who were doing research on the topic, but I felt as if this audience was not the audience that I wanted to address, or at least that it was only audience among many others.

Crucially, this project did not start out as a project about social inequality and classed patterns of food consumption. It was supposed to be a project about meat consumption and about vegetarianism, and thus necessarily about behavioral changes but could have taken many other paths – macro-comparisons between countries, vegetarianism as a social movement, the creation and proliferation of scientific knowledge, the role of cultural intermediaries, the gendered aspect of meat consumption, to name but a few.

However, talking to my interviewees, reading along online debates and media analyses, attending academic conferences, and exposing myself to different bodies of literature made me notice that there was a common theme looming under the surface. It was social class. It became increasingly obvious to me that many analyses on the topic of meat consumption hinged on, or at least bespoke issues of class, a classic and long-established but also contentious object of social scientific inquiry. In the process of data analysis, it became clear to me that an unequal distribution of economic, cultural, and social capital is a key part of the story, and that we would not be able to grasp the formation of any

kind of consumption patterns by disguising the role of resource endowments, and, for that matter, of social class. What Sayer (2005) described as 'the hidden injuries of class' became poignantly evident to me in many spheres of the social world, and the nature and relevance of consumption was merely one of those spheres – albeit an important and omnipresent one. I started shifting my perspective and applied a different lens as I looked further into the empirical topic. For one thing, this may have led me to sacrifice a more holistic view on the particularities of meat consumption. At the same time, I gained a profound understanding of the workings of social class and of people's perceptions of and judgments about social class, and differences in diets are just one entry point for this. While staying within the boundaries, and hopefully adding to the theoretical traditions of my own discipline, I hope to be able to reach out to scholars and practitioners from other fields who engage with the specific topic of meat consumption. With this dissertation, I hope to offer some insight into the relevance of social class for analyzing, and potentially changing, meat consumption patterns.

1 Introduction

Social movements such as 'Fridays for Future' or 'Extinction Rebellion' have recently sparked interest in and public visibility of climate protests and related policy demands. In this context, discussions about the environmental impact of various consumption patterns are in the ascendant. There is a plethora of scientific evidence by now that shows that meat production contributes to climate change, water shortages and overfertilization (Ripple et al. 2013, Tilman & Clark 2014, Hedenus et al. 2014, Springmann et al. 2016). On top of that, the excessive use of antibiotics in meat production is expected to lead to antibiotic resistance in humans (Silbergeld et al. 2008) while frequent consumption of (primarily red) meat has been found to increase the risk for cardiovascular and other diseases (Willett & Stampfer 2013, Shen et al. 2015). The resource inefficiency of meat production is also problematized in the face of global food insecurity and environmental injustice (Rosegrant et al. 1999, Austin 2010, Rulli et al. 2013, Westhoek et al. 2014). In light of this research, it seems reasonable to advocate for a reduction in national and global meat production and to change individual consumption practices, and an increasing number of people are willing to do so.

While these changes are desirable, they bear unforeseen challenges for societies with a largely unequal distribution of economic and cultural resources. Changes in consumption patterns do not come at ease for consumers whose social well-being centers around the social meaning of specific consumption patterns. Food consumption can take on different purposes for consumers across social groups, and dietary patterns are linked to consumers' social class position in direct as well as in subtle ways. In fact, there is ample empirical evidence by now that food practices remain intertwined with classed patterns of consumption, and that "social class (in combination with gender, race/ethnicity and age, among other factors) acts as a structural determinant shaping access to food, and especially to food that is healthy, appealing and desired" (Smith Maguire 2016: 12). This is why it is important to ask whether changes in (food) consumption practices – when they become evident in the aggregate – occur in similar fashion for people across the social spectrum. Food consumption practices as expressions of culture are still a vital area for empirical research on the interrelations between social class and cultural patterns. This is particularly evident against the background of a broader theoretical debate on the rapid erosion of social and cultural norms in many social spheres, which are assumed to result from the growing individualization and fragmentation of the social world (Giddens 1984, Beck 1992).

Only very few studies have thoroughly considered the socially stratified – or 'classed' – nature of meat consumption and of vegetarian diets; in spite of its increasing salience in public discourse and its explosive power in political debates. This is why in this thesis, I lay bare the extent to which socioeconomic positions and dietary choices are fundamentally linked to illustrate the intricate tensions between normatively desirable and universally necessary changes to the meat industry on one side and the classed nature of meat consumption on the other. I establish an important and substantial difference between deliberately chosen meat-free and deliberately chosen meat-reduced diets, or between 'vegetarianism' and 'flexitarianism'. I analyze consumers' motives and rationales, and trace these back to their material and non-material realities. By centering on the consumption of a food product – namely meat – that has increasingly gained publicity, evoked overt criticism and has thus partially moved from the private to the public realm, I do not only demonstrate how socioeconomic

position influences the emergence and nature of people's dietary patterns but also how consumers establish symbolic boundaries between themselves and others, thereby contributing to the continued significance of class position in reproducing socially stratified consumption patterns.

This thesis complements existing theoretical work (1) by adding a powerful example to underpin the theoretical relevance of cultural class analysis; (2) by adding an empirical case to highlight how class and status, as well as diffuse and specific status hierarchies may overlap, and how processes of symbolic boundary work can add to our understanding of inequalities in consumption patterns; (3) by adding an empirical case to demonstrate the fruitfulness of combining insights from cultural sociology and from social psychology; and (4) by adding a sociological account of meat-reduced diets and of the challenges these present to different groups of consumers to behavioral research on sustainable consumption.

The structure of this thesis is as follows: In chapter 2, I sketch out the existing theoretical debates that inform and underpin my research, and that this research can contribute to. In the process, I also elaborate on important analytical concepts and on key terminology that I will use throughout this dissertation. I mainly draw on two broad bodies of research: on cultural class analysis (section 2.1), with its 'objective' and its 'subjective' dimension, and on social psychological scholarship (section 2.2) that provides important psychosocial underpinnings for understanding behavioral change. In addition, I engage with applied research on sustainable or socially responsible consumption (section 2.3). I illustrate the tensions that arise from adverse perspectives on meat consumption practices.

Chapter 3 introduces the methodological approach of this thesis, and details the methods of data collection and analysis for the two empirical parts that follow. The first empirical part (chapter 4) is based on two large-scale quantitative data sets that are representative of the German population. It establishes empirical relationships between meat consumption practices and consumers' economic capital, measured as personal or household income, their cultural capital, measured as formal level of education, and their occupation. I conduct two separate analyses, one that pertains to consumers' level of meat consumption (section 4.2) and one that pertains to consumers' likelihood of following a meat-free diet (section 4.3). I briefly summarize and discuss the main findings thereafter.

The second empirical part (chapter 5) is based on qualitative data from 46 interviews with non-vegetarian and vegetarian consumers to gain an in-depth understanding of the mechanisms that underlie the relationship between meat consumption patterns and social class position. In a first step, I review empirical studies on food ideals, and demonstrate that respondents universally acknowledge most of these ideals, independent of their diet and of their social class position (section 5.1). After that, I advance two main lines of thought. I show that differences in consumption patterns originate from different capacities for implementing dietary changes. These capacities are significantly shaped by the material and non-material resources consumers have access to, and in section 5.2, I present six arguments as to why this is the case. These mechanisms are neither exhaustive nor mutually exclusive, and while some of them present necessary conditions for dietary changes towards meat-free or meat-reduced diets, none of them presents a sufficient condition. However, what makes meat consumption patterns distinctive and adds to their social stratification is their strong moral charge. In the final

empirical section (section 5.3), I discuss the processes of valuation and evaluation that unfold in the interviews, and describe which consequences these judgments have. In a last step, I elaborate on the interplay of the two previous sections and theorize how dietary, but also social inequalities may be reproduced as a result thereof (section 5.4). I conclude by summarizing the main findings and contextualizing them in light of previous empirical work. I discuss theoretical contributions, point to avenues for future research, and hint at the social and political implications of this study.

2 Theoretical underpinnings

Given the numerous perspectives that engage with the topic of meat consumption, theoretical and empirical literature from different social science disciplines and sub-disciplines underpins this thesis. In sociology, scholars analyze the extent to which consumption patterns become more individualized, or still map onto social class divisions in the contemporary. In sociology and social psychology, scholars ask how social and behavioral changes come about, and how different kinds of resources impact on people's capacities for change. In psychology, behavioral economics, moral philosophy, and environmental studies, scholars look for ways to steer consumer behavior in specific directions. These three theoretical angles can productively be applied to, and eventually be informed by, research on meat consumption. I present them in turn.

2.1 Meat consumption patterns as expression of classed lifestyles: Cultural class analysis

While theories of individualization have rendered the analysis of social class and of its impact somewhat invisible in lay accounts as well as in many sociological analyses, this does not mean that social class has become any less important in influencing people's life chances, positions and evaluations of the social world, and many scholars have rightfully acknowledged that (e.g. Van Eijck & Bargeman 2004, Gillies 2005, Lawler 2005, Atkinson 2007, Ollivier 2008*b*, Backett-Milburn et al. 2010, Van Eijk 2013, Valentine & Harris 2014). Many of them argue that, in order to become aware of the on-going relevance of social class, we need to update our understanding of what social class means, how to measure it, and how it impacts people's lives in explicit but also in implicit ways. Hence, a growing body of sociological research is devoted to revitalizing the analysis of social class and advocates for its enduring relevance to, among other things, explain differences in consumption patterns.

Marx conceived of class as an antagonistic concept, grounded in people's ownership over the means of production, and thus their material resources. It may be that traditional economistic concepts of class are too static and homogenizing to capture the changing nature of systems of social stratification, and that a wider range of inequalities based on access to cultural and social resources needs to be included in the analysis of social class (Bourdieu 1985, Payne & Grew 2005, Ollivier 2008*b*, Stamer 2018). Some authors have termed this more comprehensive approach towards analyzing social class 'cultural class analysis' (e.g. Bourdieu 1984, Lamont & Thévenot 2000, Savage 2000, Bennett et al. 2009). Cultural class analysts stress that class "is not only a matter of occupation, income and education, but something that is constituted through symbolic and cultural practices" (Van Eijk 2013: 530). These scholars have largely drawn on 'assets', 'capitals' or 'resources' to operationalize class position (Savage et al. 2005). In this theoretical framework, class is perceived as a multi-dimensional and gradational concept. It materializes in a body of work on cultural practices as an expression of social class position. This work about food consumption practices and about the ways these hinge on different resources can aptly be placed within this framework.

A prominent pioneer of cultural class analysis was the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu who recognized "the importance of economic privilege in capitalist societies without according it determinate and determinant causal efficacy" (Savage et al. 2005: 39). For Bourdieu, class divisions "are not

just economic, although they most certainly are, but [that] education, cultural competence and social connections also constitute important forms of privilege" (Flemmen et al. 2018: 132). Bourdieu's most important conceptual tools - social space, habitus, field and capital - have been taken up by many of his successors, and deployed to a variety of empirical subjects. The social space is "a social topology, [...] an analysis of relative positions and of the objective relations between these positions" (Bourdieu 1989: 16), a multi-dimensional space that consists of several sub-fields (the educational field, the political field, the economic field etc.) in which different types of capital become relevant to occupy and to maintain positions of power. Bourdieu distinguishes between cultural, economic and social capital. Economic capital consists of the material resources at one's disposal, mostly income and assets, but it also includes the possession of material goods like property. Cultural capital can be separated into objectified, embodied, and institutionalized cultural capital and describes educational resources in the form of objects like books or technical devices, knowledge acquired through parental and institutional socialization, and the obtainment of professional qualifications, certificates and credentials. Social capital is composed of enduring forms of social relationships and networks that people can use and mobilize for emotional, financial, professional or other types of support. In most cases, economic capital can easily be converted into non-economic capital and, albeit to a lesser extent, vice versa. The amount of overall capital and the composition of a person's different types of capital make up their position in the social space (cf. Bourdieu 1985).

Bourdieu conceives of social class as a multi-dimensional and gradational concept. Social groups with clear boundaries do not exist in reality, but have to be 'made', i.e. theorized, communicated, and represented (cf. Bourdieu 1985). To some extent, this conceptualization of the social space avoids the homogenizing and pigeonholing character of 'working class', 'middle class' and 'upper class' terminology.[1] Not to render social class irrelevant but to emphasize and account for the complexity of its workings, I make use of Bourdieu's conceptual tools to construe the distributional aspect of social class throughout this thesis. I conceive of social class as a multi-dimensional amalgam that rests on people's different resource endowments. To avoid homogenizing social groups along clearly defined class boundaries, I apply the terms socioeconomic position or socioeconomic background instead of social class as placeholders.

In which ways then, are capital endowments and consumption practices linked? This is where explanations diverge. Bourdieu argued that people want to maintain positions of power within the social space, but that this is not necessarily a deliberate or 'strategic' process. The social space is "a set of power relations which impose themselves on all who enter the field and which are irreducible to the intentions of the individual agents or even to the direct interactions among the agents" (Bourdieu 1985: 196). The structure of the social space is, potentially unwittingly, reproduced because people perceive their position in the social space as 'natural' and legitimate. People's position within the social space shapes their habitus, a set of skills and dispositions acquired through processes of socialization. These "mental structures through which they apprehend the social world, are essentially the product of the internalization of the structures of that world" (Bourdieu 1985: 18). People thus perceive the

[1] As Skeggs (2015) puts it: "The most effective forms of class analysis are concerned not with undertaking classification per se, but rather with exposing and critiquing the consequences of classification" (ibid.:218). The problem of the performativity of theoretical constructs does not only haunt survey research, but is also "pronounced in qualitative research where the need for stark comparisons often necessitates use of simple binary classifications" (Atkinson & Deeming 2015: 877).

world around them through a specific, through a classed lens. These different perceptions of the world result in different consumption preferences, which creates a homology between the social space and the space of lifestyles. That is, people tend to choose goods and practices homologous to their position in social space (Bourdieu 1989) because they learn what is 'for them' and what is 'not for them', and they rarely have any other choice than choosing what their class position dictates.

This happens through a process that Bourdieu calls 'symbolic violence'. Dominant actors in the social space (i.e. those endowed with a lot of economic, cultural or social capital) impose their categories of perception onto other actors, thereby legitimating their own position through 'naturalizing' it. Cultural critics and evaluators, also referred to as cultural intermediaries, are central in this process. They have the power to consecrate and legitimate certain objects, practices or goods and thereby "impose criteria of evaluation" (Lamont 2012: 208). They "impact upon notions of what, and thereby who, is legitimate, desirable and worthy, and thus by definition what and who is not" (Smith Maguire & Matthews 2012: 552). In line with Bourdieu, some authors have argued that cultural intermediation, or the ability to consecrate, is "one of the main ways in which the middle class legitimate their own power" (Skeggs 2015: 215). This is because when unequal distributions of capital map onto differences in lifestyles, the latter can be (mis)recognized as individual differences in taste or in preferences, thereby concealing the resource frameworks on which these lifestyle differences are premised and rendering them legitimate. The legitimacy and social recognition of certain consumption practices – their symbolic value - then also serves as an important asset in reproducing privilege.

How this process plays out in France in the 60s has been thoroughly described by Bourdieu in his seminal book 'Distinction' (1984). In this study, Bourdieu contrasted three 'class-specific' tastes: a 'lower class' 'taste for necessity', focused on the functional aspect of food and prescribed by material constraints, a 'middle class' taste characterized by cultural goodwill that aims either at emulating what is perceived as legitimate culture or at self-cultivation and asceticism, and a 'taste for luxury' among the 'upper classes', focused on the rare and the exclusive and used for conspicuous displays of wealth. Many cultural sociologists have criticized and qualified these assumptions. For example, Peterson (1992) challenged the idea that the 'upper-classes' exclusively draw on specific forms of legitimate, highbrow cultural consumption.[2] The author established the concept 'cultural omnivorousnes's as "the appreciation of all distinctive leisure activities and creative forms along with the appreciation of the classic fine arts" (ibid.: 122-123). Cultural omnivorousness is characterized by an "increased breadth of cultural tastes and participation and by a willingness to transgress previously entrenched boundaries between hierarchically ranked cultural items or genres" (Hazır & Warde 2015). This definition remains rather general and malleable, which is why studies on cultural omnivorousness suffer from methodological problems (Ollivier 2008*b*, Prieur & Savage 2013, Hazır & Warde 2015). What is more, a variety of theoretical as well as empirical studies deploy similar but incongruent terms, including 'eclecticism' (Ollivier 2008*b*, Prieur & Savage 2013, Hazır & Warde 2015), 'openness' (Ollivier 2008*b*,*a*, Roose et al. 2012, Prieur & Savage 2013, Hazır & Warde 2015), or 'cosmopolitanism' (Ollivier 2008*a*, Skey 2012, Cappeliez & Johnston 2013, Beagan et al. 2014).

What most of these studies agree on is that cultural omnivorousness, while at first construed as indicating inclusiveness, tolerance, and a democratization of tastes, clearly maps onto social divisions as

[2]In their early studies however, they did not explicitly refer to Bourdieu's work.

well, and that displaying an omnivore as opposed to a univore orientation towards cultural practices can in itself be a means of distinction (e.g. Johnston & Baumann 2007, Ollivier 2008*b*,*a*, Prieur & Savage 2013, Beagan et al. 2014, Johnston & Baumann 2014, Paddock 2015, Beagan et al. 2017). In the realm of food consumption, Cappeliez and Johnston (2013) and Beagan and colleagues (2014) encounter three modes of culinary cosmopolitanism in their work. 'Connoisseur' cosmopolitans express an 'aesthetic disposition' towards cultural items and heavily rely on expert and textual knowledge; 'pragmatic' cosmopolitans (unintentionally) ground their knowledge in personal experience and express cosmopolitan attitudes "as a way to make culinary and human connections, rather than primarily as an intellectual pursuit or a means to deliberately accumulate culinary knowledge" (ibid.: 447); and 'tentative' cosmopolitans express a 'taste for necessity' and an ambivalence towards new cultural items. In that sense, 'connoisseur' cosmopolitans resemble some of the characteristics identified by Johnston and Baumann (2014) as typical of 'foodies'.

These findings also indicate that new forms of distinction are not merely grounded in knowledge of and participation in a variety of cultural forms, but in their 'reflexive appropriation' (Bennett et al. 2009), which is not only contingent on people's cultural capital, but may even be a dimension of cultural capital itself.[3] In fact, Prieur and Savage (2013) have suggested that cultural capital should nowadays rather be understood as informational capital, whereby the basic divide between 'lower, middle and upper classes' is hardly carved based on high-brow and low-brow cultural practices or based on cultural omnivorousness or eclecticism but is instead epitomized by the ability to search for and acquire new knowledge. This new form of "emerging cultural capital denotes a knowing, reflexive, and somewhat playful mode of consumption involving transgressions of previously established hierarchical divides in cultural taste" (Jarness 2017: 359-360). That is, "the same object can be 'consumed' in different ways and (that) consumption patterns are underdetermined by behavior" (Roose et al. 2012).

Bourdieu's arguments have also been accused of "a kind of latent functionalism, where the process of reproduction seemingly allows the endless reproduction of power" (Savage et al. 2005: 42). While Bourdieu provides helpful tools for understanding the homology between capital endowments and lifestyle, including consumption choices, he neglects the role of people's justifications for their choices, as well as their normative judgments about what they consider 'good' or 'bad', 'right' or 'wrong'. That is, he does not pay much attention to the 'subjective' dimension of class and of consumption, of how people categorize, evaluate and justify consumption practices (Sayer 2005, Warde 2008, Grauel 2014, Lamont et al. 2014, Jarness 2017). To account for subjective processes of meaning-making, classification and evaluation in addition to the 'objective', distributional effects of class, Lamont and colleagues (2014) introduce the umbrella term 'cultural processes'. In a similar fashion, McLeod and colleagues (2015) apply the term 'generic processes' to "focus on how interpersonal interactions explain, heighten, or dampen the associations of inequitable social arrangements with individual outcomes" (ibid.: 8), and to cut across micro, meso and macro level explanations.

An analysis of these 'cultural' or 'generic' processes implies a shift from 'objective' matters of distribution to 'subjective' matters of recognition. That is, they involve thinking about processes of valuation (Lamont 2012), about identity and identity-signaling, as well as about status and the

[3]Bourdieu already alluded to this possibility when he "regarded the capability to playfully appropriate 'vulgar' products as a socially profitable one whereby the social meaning of such goods could be transformed" (Flemmen et al. 2018: 131).

creation and consequences of status hierarchies. Status is "a social ranking of individuals, groups, or objects as superior or inferior according to a shared standard of social value" (Ridgeway & Nakagawa 2014a: 3).[4] Ridgeway (2014) emphasizes that sociocultural and material, or 'objective' and 'subjective' processes often occur together in the reproduction of social class and inequality, and can therefore be difficult to distinguish. Similar arguments are highlighted by several other authors who, in dealing with contemporary manifestations of social class, draw attention to the concept of status as the symbolic aspect of class structure and as inherently linked to the reproduction of social classes (Lawler 2005, Kraus et al. 2011, Skeggs 2013, Ridgeway & Nakagawa 2014, Ridgeway 2014). Different lifestyle and consumption patterns can thus accrue not only from resource inequalities, i.e. from 'class effects', but from subjective evaluations of persons, goods and practices, i.e. from 'status effects' (cf. Chan & Goldthorpe 2007*a*).

One mechanism behind these 'cultural' or 'generic' processes involved in the creation of status hierarchies is symbolic boundary work. Lamont (1992, 2002) introduced the concept of symbolic boundary work to accommodate the subjective dimension of class into an analysis of social class and lifestyle. She defines boundary work as a process through which "individuals define their identity in opposition to that of others" (1992: 233) and which highlights "the role of symbolic resources (e.g., conceptual distinctions, interpretive strategies, cultural traditions) in creating, maintaining, contesting, or even dissolving institutionalized social differences (e.g., class, gender, race, territorial inequality)" (2002: 168). Symbolic boundaries are essentially the means through which social approval or disapproval is reified, produced and articulated. Lamont uses the concept of social boundaries in addition to symbolic boundaries to allude to the 'objective' as opposed to the 'subjective' parameters of social class. Lamont distinguishes between socioeconomic, cultural or moral boundaries as three fundamental frameworks to speak about social class. Socioeconomic and cultural boundaries do not necessarily entail judgments of worth, but are first and foremost perceptions of difference. Moral boundary drawing, on the other hand, pertains to "a process through which groups create a positive identity and sense of self-worth by distinguishing themselves from others onto whom they project qualities they despise or fear" (Sayer 2010: 174). Moral boundary work thus entails judgments of inferiority and superiority, and as soon as these judgments are widely and collectively shared, they create status differences, and are inextricably linked to social recognition - "the affirmation of positive qualities of human subjects and groups" (Lamont 2018: 423), and to its direct opposite, to stigmatization.

Ridgeway & Nakagawa (2014) draw a useful analytical difference between diffuse and specific status characteristics – the former pertaining to status hierarchies based on social group membership (class, gender, ethnicity); the latter pertaining to the status and social recognition that is attached to certain abilities or practices. Diffuse, class-based status hierarchies and specific status characteristics can overlap, and Bourdieu assumed this to be the default case. This assumption is challenged by many authors who argue that people may also strive for certain goods and value certain practices because these goods and practices are inherently 'good' and are valued by everyone instead of merely being a representation of what those in a specific class position deem 'normal' or most 'legitimate'. Specific status hierarchies may in some cases result from the association of certain practices and goods with

[4]This is reminiscent of Max Weber's work in which he distinguished between class as based on economic position, and status, i.e. social recognition based on lifestyles and worldviews, as two analytically distinct forms of social stratification. Weber asserted that class and status often overlap, and that status can be a powerful force in reproducing class.

powerful actors, but there are cultural processes of valuation and devaluation that do not inevitably recreate diffuse status hierarchies. Sayer (2005), for example, argues that "dominant values - especially moral values - are not necessarily reducible to the values of the dominant. They may include moral values of propriety which are good rather than merely posh" (ibid.: 177). He takes the position that some goods are valuable regardless of who has access to them, and that these internal goods may also universally be strived after, that is, their inherent value is recognized by everyone. If this was not the case, there would be no social conflict and it would never be contested who has command of certain goods or practices. Likewise, Warde (2008) notes that internal disputes about the worth of cultural forms have independent dynamics and are more than a function of social and cultural inequalities. Sayer (2005) refers to goods that are universally desirable as 'internal goods'. In contrast to 'external goods' which are also consumed or practiced for reasons of prestige or popularity, internal goods do not lose any of their value if everybody had access to them. That it, external goods increase their value with scarcity because rarity bestows distinctiveness and exclusivity.

2.2 Meat consumption patterns and dietary changes: Reflexivity, agency, and emotional states

Many theories that emerged from and are debated within the sociology of culture, in the literature on social stratification and on social class, have important underpinnings in psychological research that can provide the micro-foundations to help explain meso- and macro-level outcomes (cf. DiMaggio & Markus 2010, Kraus et al. 2012, Collett & Lizardo 2014). McLeod et al. (2015), for example, stress that "all too often, implicit social psychological theories reverberate through the discipline of sociology without any grounding in the relevant social psychological literatures" (ibid.: 21), and DiMaggio & Markus (2010) put it this way: "Without psychology, sociology of culture is given too strong assumptions and weak theory" (ibid.: 349). While social psychologists are well advised to integrate sociological insights into their assumptions and theories more thoroughly (cf. Lamont et al. 2017), the opposite is equally true, especially when scholars try to understand behavioral changes, and the role of reflexivity, agency, and of emotional states in processes of change. Against the backdrop of a meat-centered food culture, differences in dietary patterns necessarily point to instances of change and transitions over time, across as much as within individuals and groups.

This is why I engage with what could be conceptualized as the social psychological counterpart to much of cultural class analysis, and what established the groundwork for understanding the subsequent sections, and especially the interview data.

In sociology, several authors have engaged the concept of reflexivity to make sense of, or to explain, manifestations of social stability and social change in contemporary societies. According to the 'extended reflexivity thesis', "reflexivity refers to the act of an individual subject directing awareness towards itself, reflecting upon its own practices, preferences and even the process of reflection itself" (Adams & Raisborough 2008: 1168). One prominent sociological contribution to the extended reflexivity thesis was made by Margaret Archer who defines reflexivity as "the regular exercise of the mental ability, shared by all normal people, to consider themselves in relation to their (social) contexts and vice versa" (2007: 4) – an exercise that she calls 'internal conversations'. Archer argues that heightened levels of reflexivity portray a rather general shift in modernity from morphostatic

(stagnant, reproductive) to morphogenetic (dynamic, innovative) societies as these societies change ever so rapidly and as agents increasingly confront novel situations. Reflexivity is assumed to (having) become a universal condition, and one that powerfully feeds into post-modern theories of individualization. Resonating with the extended reflexivity thesis are accounts which define human agency as the deliberate enactment of personal choice. Based on this understanding, agency as the enactment of choice is often theorized as a universal human condition. An emphasis on individual choice, autonomy, and self-optimization pervades dominant discourses (e.g. Guthman & DuPuis 2006, Crawshaw 2007, Adams & Raisborough 2008, Warde 2008, Skeggs 2013, Cairns & Johnston 2015), and reverberates with research in numerous academic disciplines which "equate choice with agency, as well as with the related constructs of self-efficacy, self-determination, self-direction, freedom, free will, primary control, and autonomy" (Snibbe & Markus 2005: 703).

However, much of this knowledge has been generated in WEIRD (Western, educated, industrialized, rich, democratic) and – especially in the field of psychology – in 'middle class' contexts (with innumerable studies on undergraduate psychology students) (DiMaggio & Markus 2010, Markus & Kitayama 2010). It has also been generated by highly educated researchers, trained in formal institutions to conceive of the world in a particular way, with the privilege of being able to adopt a contemplative relation to the world (Sayer 2005). In fact, "only some people can accumulate the required cultural capital to become a self (see Carolyn Steedman 2000), only some people can acquire the right dispositions to become the selves that can be reflexive (Adkins 2000b), and only some selves are seen as capable of acquiring the knowledge for self-monitoring and self-responsibility (Vitellone 2002)" (Skeggs 2013: 20). The extended reflexivity thesis is tacitly built on the assumption that people's mental structures do not reflect the unequal social and cultural conditions of their upbringing and existence, and this is "a highly problematic claim for any sociological theory" (Farrugia & Woodman 2015: 636).

Admittedly, Archer identifies four different modes of reflexivity (communicative, autonomous, meta, fractured) but she fails to explain where these different modes originate and to what extent they map onto meaningful social divisions. She thus discounts the reproductive power of people's habitus which partly reflects an outdated understanding of the habitus as incapable of explaining individual and social change (Adams 2006, Farrugia & Woodman 2015). For Bourdieu, reflexivity is itself part of a particular type of habitus – usually one that is linked to the academic and scientific field (Sayer 2005, Adams 2006). Acknowledging that the common understanding of the habitus lends itself much better to analyses of stability than to analyses of change, other scholars have attempted to hybridize notions of habitus and reflexivity by pointing to an underdeveloped area in Bourdieu's theory.

Breaches – situations of crises or the transgression of different social fields - can call unassailable truths into doubt and challenge taken-for-granted assumptions (Lamont 1992, Southerton 2002, Sayer 2005, Adams 2006, Akram & Hogan 2015, Butcher 2019).[5] Breaches are a result of increased individual mobility, institutional reflexivity, an increased quantitative differentiation of social fields and the blurring of boundaries between others (McNay 1999). They open up the possibility for reflexivity and for change as the habitus is confronted with unfamiliar situational logics. However, there is a yawning gap between cognitively realizing the potential for change and implementing change in practice. Change is not an inevitable consequence of reflexivity, and "deliberation does not inevitably lead to innovation"

[5]Bourdieu applied the term 'hysteresis' to describe the "disjuncture between the embodied preferences of their upbringing and those demanded in a new context" (1984: 142).

(Butcher 2019: 1213).

Thus, it is essential to "direct critical attention towards the individualized opportunities available to transform embodied, partial, reflexive awareness into an opening out of choices for a relational and autonomous self-identity, by focusing on the ways in which opportunity, or the lack of opportunity, gravitates towards particular social groups" (Adams 2006: 525). That is, change in the face of reflexivity hinges (1) on a preference for change, and (2) on the capability for change. While these two aspects may be difficult to dissociate in reality, it makes sense to distinguish them for analytical purposes.

Preferences for change

As mentioned above, the dominant model of agency in much of the social and behavioral sciences represents embeddedness in an individualistic culture (Markus & Kitayama 2010), relies on the Western ideal of an autonomous self and expresses "an optimistic view of consumer freedom" (Arnould 2007: 99). However, agency may take on divergent meanings across social groups with different capital volumes, and this idea has been taken up by a number of authors in social psychological research (e.g. Snibbe & Markus 2005, Stephens et al. 2007, Markus & Kitayama 2010). Snibbe & Markus (2005) argue that the concept of agency has different meanings as a result of differences in the material options and constraints that people are faced with: For those with higher levels of education (which the authors apply as a proxy for socioeconomic position), being an independent agent "means actualizing and expressing one's unique, internal attributes - actions that often require arranging or changing the world to reflect those attributes". On the other hand, for those with lower levels of education, being an independent agent "means maintaining one's personal integrity - an action that often requires steeling oneself against situational exigencies" (ibid.: 705). Maintaining personal integrity is linked to being honest, loyal, and reliable towards others. Similarly, Stephens et al. (2007) assert that the exercise of individual choice is an essential part of 'middle classes" understanding of agency while models of agency in 'working class' contexts "reflect a preference for similarity to and connection with others" (ibid.: 827). This "conformity need not imply a blind imitation of others due to a lack of knowledge or understanding. Instead, it can be seen as an intentional adjustment to others' desires in order to fit in, belong, or maintain good relations with others" (ibid.: 826). In line with this, sociologists have argued that preferences for being unique and 'standing out', or for being similar and 'fitting in', reflect differences in socialization, in material conditions, and in educational pathways. These different preferences partially stem from an innate desire for social recognition (cf. Sayer 2005). Social recognition is easier to claim for those who are endowed with sufficient amounts of economic and/or cultural capital. Different preferences also stem from the need to rely on social ties and networks for support. This pertains to everyone but is even more important for those who lack other types of resources. For those void of these resources, "the negative consequences in terms of failures of adequate recognition between dominant and subaltern can be compensated by recognition among equals with their respective communities" (Sayer 2005: 67). These associations are of course not deterministic, and actors from all socioeconomic positions can theoretically engage with different models of agency. However, empirical studies have consistently shown that people from lower socioeconomic backgrounds put more emphasis on being 'ordinary' and 'respectable', and value 'fitting in'

with their respective communities while people from higher socioeconomic backgrounds more often appeal to self-development, uniqueness and the demarcation of difference (Gillies 2005, Sayer 2005, Stephens et al. 2007, Skeggs & Loveday 2012, Van Eijk 2013, Butcher 2019). In fact, that the 'middle and upper classes' desire to distinguish themselves from others portrays the crux of many sociological arguments about stratified patterns of cultural consumption, including Veblen's Theory of the Leisure Class (1899) and Bourdieu's Distinction (1984). However, a preference for distinctiveness among middle and upper classes can it itself be a collective habitus.

Capabilities for change

That people with fewer resources tend to value similarity over difference, or 'fitting in' over 'sticking out' should, however, not be seen as an innate predisposition, let alone as an attribute that is given a priori. It reflects the social and material inequalities of the world that people come to inhabit, and the degree of command they have over it. People experience different leeway in creating new strategies of action for themselves, and they feel differently constrained by structural constraints imposed onto them. In that sense, different preferences for personal change can be understood as psychological response mechanisms; as consequential adjustments to different social, cultural and material environments. In addition, there are certain goods which are universally valued and esteemed across cultures and social groups, so called 'internal goods' (see section 2.1 on cultural class analysis), and some people have privileged access to these goods while others may find it difficult to acquire them. Being aware of these differences in access can result in positive or negative affective responses which may be counterbalanced by the readjustment of preferences.

Obtaining valuable goods bestows people with self-respect (Rawls 1971), self-confidence and self-efficacy. AbuSabha & Achterberg (1997) define self-confidence as "the belief in one's own ability to succeed in one's efforts and achieve one's goals (ibid.: 1129). They conceive of self-confidence as a general personality trait whereas self-efficacy can and does vary across behavioral tasks or domains. Self-efficacy then reflects "a person's belief in his or her ability to overcome the difficulties inherent in performing a specific task in a particular situation" (ibid.: 1123). Similar concepts in the field of psychology that are related to models of agency and choice are autonomy, perceived mastery or control, internal locus of control, perceived behavioral influence, problem-focused coping, active coping, or tenacious goal pursuit (Snibbe & Markus 2005). Individuals with an internal locus of control, for example, tend to attribute events to their own actions while those with an external locus of control do rarely believe that their own behavior can affect events or outcomes (Antonetti & Maklan 2014). The locus of control thus describes "how people view the attainment of a particular outcome as being either within their control (internals), where their action determines the outcome, or outside their control (externals), where reward is controlled by forces other than one's self" (AbuSabha & Achterberg 1997: 1126). An external locus of control can again be subdivided into assigning control to chance, fate or luck on the one hand, or assigning control to powerful others on the other.

In the area of (sustainable) consumption, Antonetti & Maklan (2014) compare the concept of self-efficacy to the concept of perceived consumer effectiveness, and also draw similarities between self-efficacy and perceived behavioral control. The latter is an important component of the commonly

applied Theory of Planned Behavior. Droomers et al. (2004) argue that self-efficacy is the crucial mechanism involved in the transition from intention to actual behavioral change. An extensive review of related concepts in social psychological work is beyond the scope of this thesis. What is important is that numerous studies clearly link self-efficacy to economic and cultural capital endowments, pointing to the contingent and socio-genetic nature of human traits.

Perceived behavioral control and self-efficacy are positively linked to people's education (Droomers et al. 2004, Snibbe & Markus 2005) and to their income (Kraus et al. 2009, Sachweh 2011, Smith & Anderson 2018). Parental income is also a good predictor of children's self-esteem (James & Amato 2013). Perceived level of agency (in the sense of individual choice) is negatively associated with income poverty, and positively associated with level of schooling and employment status (Hojman & Miranda 2018). The same is true for locus of control: Backett-Milburn et al. (2006) and Fielding-Singh (2017), for example, find that respondents from lower socioeconomic backgrounds tend to explain their own and their children's body shape with reference to other family members and to biological factors, thereby construing overweight as inevitable and beyond personal control (i.e. displaying an external locus of control). In contrast, 'middle class' respondents desire to be in control of and potentially mould their children's diets when they perceive them as unsatisfactory (Backett-Milburn et al. 2010, Fielding-Singh 2017). Similarly, Davidson, Kitzinger & Hunt (2006) report that research participants from lower socioeconomic groups frequently link health discrepancies to socioeconomic inequalities and poor living conditions whereas research participants from higher socioeconomic groups are more likely to contest the role of environmental factors. Accordingly, Devine et al. (2006) argue that, as a result of stressful and insecure working conditions, parents rarely feel that they have the power to change their situation, i.e. to command agency over it. In addition, perceived behavioral control and related concepts map onto practices of sustainable consumption (Antonetti & Maklan 2014), political consumption (Stolle et al. 2005, Micheletti et al. 2012), and reduced meat consumption (Graça et al. 2019); and self-efficacy is frequently associated with more healthy diets (Fekete & Weyers 2016), and is a key component in explaining smoking cessation (Droomers et al. 2004, Thompson et al. 2009). Smith & Anderson (2018) identify a low sense of control, or what they call 'fatalism', as key psychosocial mechanism that links social disadvantage to poor health.

In brief, self-efficacy can be defined as 'the perceived capability to reach desired or avoid undesired outcomes as a result of one's individual actions'. Self-efficacy is a crucial precondition for behavioral change because alternative behaviors need not only be recognized (by way of reflexivity) but also be perceived as viable. Behavioral change needs to be experienced as something positive and realizable that can lead to expected outcomes and is 'worth the effort'. Access to necessary resources (in the form of knowledge, financial means or social support), having experienced significant and meaningful changes in the past as successful, and not having been ridiculed or shamed for failed attempts at behavioral change are important prerequisites for the formation of self-efficacy. Self-efficacy powerfully mediates the relationship between certain types of behavioral outcomes and socioeconomic position.

Emotional states

Preferences for certain types of changes may be greater than the capabilities for these changes.

That is, the capabilities to implement certain practices may be more unevenly distributed than the preferences for these practices (cf. Sayer 2005). Common emotional responses to this discrepancy are guilt (for those with high levels of self-efficacy) and shame (for those with low levels of self-efficacy). Guilt – as a feeling which can be rationalized – is associated with problem-focused coping while shame – as a feeling that is deeply engrained and difficult to articulate – is associated with emotion-focused coping (Antonetti & Maklan 2014).

Shame is the mirror opposite of self-confidence and pride (Sayer 2005, Antonetti & Maklan 2014), and directly impacts upon people's well-being when it results from not being able to live up to others' and to one's own standards (Sayer 2005, Davidson et al. 2006, Smith & Anderson 2018). Shame is a powerful emotional consequence of diminished self-efficacy, and thus partly of a lack of economic, cultural, or social capital (Reay 2005). Pride, on the other hand, is a "positive emotion associated with a sense of achievement and self-worth" (Antonetti & Maklan 2014: 121). Pride and confidence are not only preconditions for self-efficacy but are also crucial payoffs of experiencing self-efficacy.

Research suggests that respondents from lower socioeconomic backgrounds tend to show stronger emotions and use more emotive language during interviews than respondents with higher socioeconomic status (Davidson et al. 2006). Reay (2005) argues that this is because there is "less at risk for (the latter) in the choice process. Their resources of cultural, social and economic capital helped to alleviate feelings of risk, fear, shame and guilt" (ibid.: 922).

The prevalence of shame and pride speaks to the widespread occurrence of reflexivity as these emotions were not to exist without awareness of the value of certain choices, practices, or goods that one is awarded or denied (Mitchell & Green 2002, Adams 2006, Pugh 2013). People across social groups share certain ideas about what is wrong and what is right, and which goods contribute to their well-being (Sayer 2005). Adams (2006) puts it this way: "For the poorest, reflexivity compounds a distinct lack of agency" (ibid.: 525). Hence, the adjustment of preferences to fit the social and material realities people are faced with can also be regarded as important coping mechanism that helps avoid feelings of anger and shame. Taking emotional states and responses seriously encourages the acknowledgement that cultural practices and tastes "develop in conjunction with the structural conditions and inequalities that shape and constrain (...) choices" (Baumann et al. 2017: 16). It is frequently assumed that people only act according to their tastes when 'class-as-structure' is not restrictive and that, vice versa, when 'class-as-structure' is restrictive, taste is neglected and 'class-as-culture' is perceived as lack (Smith Maguire 2016).

Social psychological research lays out the individual micro-foundations for understanding the 'psychic landscape of social class' (Reay 2005), and helps understand people's capacities for reflexivity, agency and behavioral change. Preferences do not emerge out of a social vacuum, and behavioral change is not equally likely (i.e. preferred and feasible) for everyone. In short, 'social class' - as a shorthand for economic, cultural and social capital endowments – matters for our understanding of cultural tastes and practices because it systematically affects individuals' mental and emotional states.

2.3 Meat consumption patterns in applied research: Sustainable consumption

Finally, this thesis is also influenced by empirical and theoretical research on sustainable consumption, and may be able to contribute to this body of literature. A variety of studies develop and assess ways to steer consumers' practices into more sustainable directions (e.g. Prothero et al. 2011, Campbell-Arvai et al. 2014, Hartmann & Siegrist 2017, Lazzarini et al. 2018, Garnett et al. 2019). Applied research on sustainable consumption behaviors hinges on the idea that certain consumption practices are more desirable than others, and that research is needed to inform policy decisions, media campaigns, social movement strategies etc. about how to change consumption behaviors. Given the research findings cited in the introductory chapter (see chapter 1), a reduction in meat consumption levels is a potential way to that end.

A bricolage of research from different disciplines refers to similar phenomena by applying a different terminology. This includes research on political consumption, ethical consumption, conscious consumption, consumer social responsibility, or on consumer-citizenship. Very broadly, these terms refer to consumption practices that involve "the conscious and deliberate choice to make certain consumption choices based on personal and moral beliefs" (Devinney et al. 2006: 32). More concretely, "toward society as a whole consumers have a responsibility to avoid societal harm and even to act proactively for social benefit which may involve all three facets of consumer behavior—obtaining, use and disposal" (Vitell 2015: 768).

These patterns of consumption are benchmarked against standards defined more or less comprehenively, and apply to spheres of action that are defined more or less concretely (cf. Schlaile et al. 2018). Lim (2017), for example, primarily engages environmental aspects to define sustainable consumption practices: According to the author, these "occur when consumers successfully translate their inner beliefs and felt responsibilities around the sustainability into expressive sustainability actions " (ibid.: 76). Political consumerism is another rather narrowly defined concept. According to Micheletti et al. (2012), political consumerism is "the evaluation and choice of producers and products with the aim of changing ethically, environmentally or politically objectionable institutional or market practices" (ibid.: 145).

In contrast, other authors argue that the standards of normatively desirable consumption behavior should be defined more comprehensively and include social compatibility and personal care besides environmental protection (Heidbrink & Schmidt 2011, Schlaile et al. 2018). A more narrow perspective is criticized because it "conceptualizes the "socially conscious consumer" as a rational, individual decision-maker, motivated toward ethically augmented products" (Caruana & Chatzidakis 2014: 577), and because it runs the risk of neglecting the potential for different forms of ethical consumer engagement, deliberation and change (Johnston et al. 2011, de Bakker & Dagevos 2012). What is more, a narrow view on sustainable consumption lacks a systematic engagement with the barriers to behavioral change in the sphere of consumption.

The concept 'attitude-behavior-gap' is usually evoked to describe discrepancies between consumers' expressed statements and attitudes on one hand, and their consumption practices on the other, which are often not in line with these statements (e.g. Smith et al. 2008, Young et al. 2010, Prothero et al. 2011, Vitell 2015). The concept faces criticism across disciplines because it neglects the resources that

are necessary to translate attitudes into behavior (e.g. Schmidt & Seele 2012, Dubuisson-Quellier & Gojard 2016, Schlaile et al. 2018). Many empirical studies point to the pivotal role of the material (e.g. Horton 2003, lß, Schmidt & Seele 2012, Carfagna et al. 2014) and psychosocial (e.g. Schmidt & Seele 2012, Antonetti & Maklan 2014, Graça et al. 2019) preconditions for behavioral change; some of which have already been discussed in previous sections.

In line with this, many authors argue that a narrow view on sustainable consumption, including food practices, dominates much of the popular discourse; and that many popular food ideals and prescriptions ignore preconditions for change (Plessz et al. 2016). Food ideals or prescriptions can be seen as part of broader cultural scripts, or as part of a society's dominant cultural discourse.[6] In accordance with Bourdieu, these authors argue that the dominant food discourse reflects the values of a powerful group that tries to position their consumption practices as 'correct' and as most 'legitimate' through discursive constructions of value, and that this helps reproduce the group's advantages in society (see section 2.1 on cultural class analysis). In this framework, popular food ideals are interpreted as a means of distinction for those in privileged positions by which they legitimize and promote their own values and practices as universal despite the fact that these are not accessible for everyone (Johnston et al. 2011, Carfagna et al. 2014, Huddart Kennedy et al. 2018). Johnston et al. (2011), for example, argue that "in food discourse, privileged perspectives tend to be normalized and presented as 'classless' - despite the structural inequalities making it difficult for marginalized groups to eat with maximum efficiency, healthfulness, deliciousness and distinction" (ibid.: 296). Warde (1997) notes that the public discourse about food has increasingly been "drawn into expert discourses (of medicine, lifestyle, fashion and gastronomy) that present cookery as a matter of technical rationality rather than of practical judgment" (ibid.: 157). Voluntary meat reduction or meat abstention are but one of many elements of ethical consumption prescriptions (Johnston et al. 2011, de Bakker & Dagevos 2012, Beagan et al. 2014, Johnston & Baumann 2014, Hartmann & Siegrist 2017, Garnett et al. 2019).[7]

The two approaches outlined in this section seem hardly reconcilable, which points to significant tensions that can arise from different perspectives on the study of meat consumption. One perspective regards meat reduction as normatively desirable and necessary to render consumption practices more sustainable, and conceives of consumers as individual change agents. Another perspective construes demands for meat reduction as elements of a dominant discourse on ethical eating, and criticizes these demands for neglecting social differences and for blaming consumers for 'unethical' eating behaviors. The latter view may even conceive of the former as complicit in the creation and dissemination of unattainable food prescriptions. However, many authors who are skeptical of ethical consumption ideals acknowledge that there is inherent value in reducing meat consumption, and that it is indeed desirable – with the caveat that some consumer groups may need more resources, more time, or more support than others in achieving that goal.

[6] A dominant discourse in the Foucauldian sense is a way of thinking about an issue that circulates through society and defines what can legitimately or even only possibly be said about that issue. Dominant discourses constitute "an institutionalized system of knowledge and thought that organizes populations, and shaped the parameters of what thoughts are popular and even possible" (Johnston & Baumann 2014).

[7] Healthy eating, body image, or cosmopolitan eating are other elements (Crawford 2006, Guthman & DuPuis 2006, Johnston & Baumann 2007, Beagan et al. 2014, Cairns & Johnston 2015, Paddock 2015, Finn 2017).

3 Mixed-method design

This study draws on two different types of data which enables a broader understanding of the topic than would be possible by relying on either quantitative or qualitative data. Some authors have argued that the combination of quantitative and qualitative data in the same study is not only difficult, but may even be impossible due to the different ontological and epistemological assumptions that underpin the use of each type of data (Snape & Spencer 2003, Creswell 2009, Small 2011). Mixed-methods designs have sometimes been characterized as supporting a pragmatist approach because they apply any method that 'works at the time' to gain a better understanding of a research problem (Snape & Spencer 2003, Creswell 2009, Timmermans & Tavory 2012). Different methodological approaches can greatly complement each other but we have to be clear about the kinds of inferences we can draw and research questions we can answer on their grounds (Snape & Spencer 2003, Small 2011).

I use each type of data for a different purpose, assuming that they make up for each other's weaknesses and provide us with a more comprehensive picture of the phenomenon of interest. I thus employ a complementary mixed-methods design instead of a confirmatory design (Small 2011). The qualitative data is not used to confirm the results of the quantitative analyses or vice versa, but the data contribute to our understanding of the phenomenon in different ways. The quantitative analysis also preceded the qualitative data collection and informed the sampling strategy for the latter, a methodological approach sometimes referred to as 'sequential explanatory strategy' (Creswell 2009). However, interview respondents were not drawn from the pool of survey respondents which makes this a non-nested (Small 2011) or additive instead of integrative (Warde 2014) design.

In a first step, I use large-scale quantitative survey data from two different data sources to establish significant correlations and disclose meaningful relationships within the data, i.e. to provide a descriptive account of the link between socioeconomic position and meat consumption patterns. I follow a mainly deductive research approach in this first empirical part to test hypotheses that have been generated by previous research. However, due to inconsistent and ambiguous results regarding the link between income and meat consumption in previous research, I also explore theoretically plausible and statistically possible interaction effects that may help to draw a more nuanced picture of the data. In a second step, I use small-sample qualitative interview data to interpret the descriptive results, i.e. to provide an explanatory account of the hypothesized and empirically validated link between socioeconomic position and meat consumption patterns. I follow an abductive research approach in this second empirical part, generating arguments based on an iterative process that oscillates between data and theory. Timmermans & Tavory (2012) describe abduction as "the form of reasoning through which we perceive the phenomenon as related to other observations either in the sense that there is cause and effect hidden from the view, in the sense that the phenomenon is seen as similar to other phenomena already experienced and explained in other situations, or in the sense of creating new general descriptions" (ibid.: 171). The first and second aspect of this form of reasoning are relevant in this research: I approach the data equipped with some prior theoretical knowledge, including 'sensitizing concepts' (Blumer 1954), as well as with some empirical knowledge about relationships between observations that help me sort and make sense of the rich qualitative material. I alternate between multiple rounds of data analysis and further theoretical readings, considering and adding insights from various research perspectives and disciplines as I navigate through the data. Weight in this study is clearly given to

the rich qualitative data as these generate a plethora of interesting findings and suggestions for further research. In the following, I describe the nature of the data and the respective research strategies in detail, and discuss the relevant insights they can provide with regard to the aims of this study.

3.1 Part I: Quantitative analysis

The first empirical part of this study is based on two large-scale quantitative surveys that were carried out in Germany: the EVS (Einkommens- und Verbrauchsstichprobe) and the GSOEP (German Socio-Economic Panel).

The EVS is a large-scale survey, conducted in Germany by the Federal Statistical Office every five years since 1962.[8] It consists of a quota sample of 0.2% of German households (which amounts to about 60.000 households) and is representative of the German population.[9] It surveys household revenues, expenses and debts, asks about the purchase of consumer goods and about households' living situation in general. In addition, every fifth household compiles a food diary over the course of one month which features a detailed register of the quantity and price of foods, drinks and tobacco products that have been purchased. The Income and Expenditure Survey provides details about the amount of different meats and meat products a household purchased, as well as about the costs of these products, which enables a nuanced analysis of the consumption of different types of meat on the household level. The EVS includes several variables which measure a household's socioeconomic position that can be used as proxy variables for cultural and economic capital endowments: household income, household members' education and their main occupation. At the time this dissertation has been written, the latest available data were collected in 2013.[10]

The GSOEP is a longitudinal study of private households in Germany, conducted every year by the German Institute for Economic Research (Deutsches Institut für Wirtschaftsforschung, DIW). It covers approximately 15.000 private households and also contains individual-level data.[11] In the 2016 individual-level questionnaire, survey items about dietary behavior were included. Respondents were asked how often they consume poultry, fish and red meat, providing us with a good measure of individual meat consumption frequency. Further, respondents were asked whether they self-identified as vegetarians or as vegans. Available measures of socioeconomic position are income (on the individual and household level), education and occupation, and these will be used to roughly represent cultural and economic capital endowments. At the time this dissertation has been written, the latest available data were collected in 2016.[12]

Both data sets measure meat consumption frequency and vegetarianism differently and hence offer an excellent way to corroborate findings, or to advise caution in doing so. The data from both sources has been carefully explored and prepared for analysis in Stata 15, a software package for statistical analysis. For a first overview, I provide a set of bivariate results in each section, but primarily focus on results obtained from multivariate regression analyses. These include logistic, linear, and negative binomial models. A thorough description of relevant variables, data transformations, and choice of

[8] Respondents from East Germany are included since 1993.
[9] https://www.forschungsdatenzentrum.de/de/haushalte/evs
[10] https://doi.org/10.21242/63231.2013.00.00.3.1.0
[11] https://doi.org/10.1515/jbnst-2018-0022
[12] https://doi.org/10.5684/soep.v33

statistical models is provided in chapter 4.

Using both data sets, I attempt to answer the following research questions in the first empirical part of this thesis:

(1a) GSOEP 2016: In which ways do economic and cultural capital, measured as individual income and level of formal education, influence an individual's frequency of meat consumption?

(1b) EVS 2013: In which ways do economic and cultural capital, measured as household income and average level of formal education, influence households' levels of meat consumption, their expenses for meat as well as the price of the purchased meats?

(1c) GSOEP/EVS: How do these effects differ depending on the type of meat that is consumed?

(2a) GSOEP 2016: In which ways do economic and cultural capital, measured as individual income and level of formal education, influence an individual's likelihood of following a self-reported vegetarian or vegan diet?

(2b) EVS 2013: In which ways do economic and cultural capital, measured as household income and average level of formal education, influence households' likelihood of not purchasing meat for domestic consumption?

3.2 Part II: Qualitative analysis

The second empirical part of this study draws on qualitative data from two waves of in-depth interviews, amounting to a total of 46 interviews with consumers that were conducted in the spring and summer of 2018. The sampling strategy was informed by results from analyses of EVS and GSOEP data, representing a criterion based, stratified purposive (Ritchie et al. 2003) or selective sampling approach (Kelle & Kluge 2010). In order to make sense of consumers' different consumption patterns, the primary sampling criterion was to obtain variance in meat consumption ('maximizing difference') to be able to compare groups of consumers with different dietary patterns. A second primary sampling criterion was to decrease variation in capital endowments among vegetarians ('minimizing difference') to identify those commonalities between them that enabled or facilitated dietary changes. I adopted this strategy to reflect the results of the quantitative analysis, i.e. strong links between cultural capital (formal education), occupation (students and self-employment) and vegetarianism. Non-vegetarians with different capital volumes and compositions were recruited because associations between different types of meat consumption and cultural and economic capital were more ambiguous.

The first wave of interviewees consists of 23 vegetarians and vegans; the second wave consists of 23 meat-eaters (with internal variations in meat consumption). Based on the first wave of interviews, I wanted to understand in which ways different types of capital facilitate consumers' transition to and maintenance of meat-free diets. Therefore, I recruited 'most likely' cases with little internal variation in cultural capital endowments. Subsequently, I also recruited vegetarians and vegans who diverged in terms of capital endowments from what we would expect based on the survey data (i.e. less formal education, high incomes) for comparison. Based on the second wave of interviews, I wanted to understand in which ways different types of capital facilitate or hamper meat reduction, can lead

to different meat consumption patterns, and how these processes differ from transitions to vegetarian diets. Therefore, I recruited meat-eating consumers who were similar to vegetarians in terms of capital endowments, as well as meat-eating consumers who greatly differed from vegetarians in terms of capital endowments.

Respondents' socioeconomic position (i.e. their family background, their formal level of education, their financial resources and their current occupation) was inferred from the interviews. Respondents were not asked about their profession or about their income directly. Their dietary biographies were usually strongly linked to the conditions of their upbringing and to their educational and professional trajectories. Respondents also frequently mention or discuss financial options and constraints. That is, while absolute numbers that reflect respondents' individual or household income are not available, we know whether they encounter or have encountered material scarcity or financial difficulties. We also know about their profession and their standard of living. This allows ranking their economic capital vis-á-vis those of other consumers. Respondents' institutionalized cultural capital was either categorized as high (tertiary, i.e. university education), intermediate (secondary education, i.e. at least ten years of schooling and some further training) or as low (less than ten years of schooling). Highly educated consumers are overrepresented in the sample of meat-eaters.

Some secondary sampling criteria were introduced to account for other relevant sociodemographic characteristics that are associated with n meat consumption patterns. All interviewees were recruited from two urban areas in Germany. I attempted to reach a balance between female and male respondents, and to talk to consumers from different age groups. Sociodemographic details about each respondent are given in Table 9 in the Appendix.

Interviewees were mainly recruited through advertisements in Facebook groups and grocery stores. Some were recruited through personal contacts or through snowball sampling. They were offered a small amount of money as incentive to participate, and could choose the location for the interviews. All respondents received an informed consent form to peruse and sign prior to the interview. Most interviews took place in cafés or in other public places, some took place in respondents' homes or workplaces, and a few took place at a research institute. No other persons were immediately present during the interviews. Respondents knew that the interviews dealt with food consumption practices and dietary change. However, they did not know that I was looking for the links between socioeconomic position and meat consumption patterns, and neither did I disclose my own dietary habits prior to the interview. Some vegetarian respondents rightfully guessed or even knew that I did not eat meat myself which needs to be kept in mind when interpreting their narratives and judgments (cf. Brown 2009).

In addition, it is very likely that some consumers are generally more interested, willing or able (e.g. due to time constraints or language barriers) to participate in research interviews. Consumers with an above-average predilection for food-related issues are likely to be overrepresented because they self-selected into the study. However, this should be true for vegetarians and meat-eaters alike, not posing a large problem for the purpose of this study. In addition, a self-selection bias based on interest in the topic was partly counteracted by snowball sampling, i.e. respondents who referred me to relatives or acquaintances.

Interviews were audio-recorded, and upon completion, field notes about respondents' appearance,

about the interview situation and surroundings, and about informal conversations that happened before and after the interview were compiled. Interviews were semi-structured, and roughly followed one of two interview guides (modified for vegetarian and non-vegetarian respondents, respectively) which can be found in the Appendix (see Table 9). Interviews lasted between 30 and 90 minutes and were transcribed verbatim. They were analyzed in MAXQDA, a software package for qualitative data analysis.

While the interviews followed an interview guideline, they were very open and allowed for thematic deviations. Interview guidelines included questions about dietary histories and dietary changes throughout the life course, about food preferences and routines, practices of eating out, food shopping and dieting, and about the role of social networks, social gatherings and potential social conflict. Respondents were asked whether they would like to change any aspect of their diet, and if increasing or decreasing their budget would alter their food consumption practices. I probed them to tell me whether and why they were or had ever been on a special diet, and if they felt at ease with dietary changes or not. Albeit the interviews covered a range of different topics, their main purpose was to reveal the mechanisms that link capital endowments and meat consumption patterns. To that end, I drew on my respondents' explicit reasoning as well as on more implicit reasons that could be inferred from their narratives. I paid attention to the descriptive content of the interviews as well as to the meanings that interviewees assigned to objects, ideas, practices, and to their affective states. I thus gathered different types of qualitative information from the in-depth interviews: the 'honorable' – how respondents try to present themselves; the 'schematic' – the lenses through which they perceive reality; the 'visceral' – respondents' emotional landscape; and 'meta-feelings' – the discrepancy between what respondents feel and how they think they ought to feel (Pugh 2013).

I conducted all interviews myself which eased familiarization with the data. After collecting the data, I repeatedly read through the interview transcripts and summarized important parts. I approached the data with a set of theoretical ideas, sensitizing concepts, and assumptions about empirical relationships that helped me develop initial dimensions and categories for coding, as well as some preliminary arguments. After the first round of coding, I expanded my background knowledge by reading further empirical studies and theoretical literature from other disciplines that would support, contradict, or refine these preliminary arguments. Moving back to the data, I coded all interviews a second time using a more fine-grained coding scheme. Coding all interviews twice with a considerable time lag in between also imparted some intra-coder reliability. Oscillating between qualitative data and theory, a more and more coherent set of theoretical arguments emerged. These are presented in chapters 5.2 and 5.3.

4 Empirics I: Establishing links between socioeconomic position, meat consumption and vegetarianism

In the two chapters that follow, I draw on two different quantitative data sources based on samples representative for the German population (the EVS 2013 and the GSOEP 2016) in order to establish correlations between levels of meat consumption, vegetarianism and income, occupation and education as rough indicators of a person's socioeconomic position, controlling for demographics.[13] To reiterate, I attempt to answer the following research questions in the first empirical part of this thesis:

(1a) In which ways do economic and cultural capital, measured as individual income and level of formal education, influence an individual's frequency of meat consumption?

(1b) In which ways do economic and cultural capital, measured as household income and average level of formal education, influence households' levels of meat consumption, their expenses for meat as well as the price of the purchased meats?

(1c) How do these effects differ depending on the type of meat that is consumed?

(2a) In which ways do economic and cultural capital, measured as individual income and level of formal education, influence an individual's likelihood of following a self-reported vegetarian or vegan diet?

(2b) In which ways do economic and cultural capital, measured as household income and average level of formal education, influence households' likelihood of not purchasing meat for domestic consumption?

I review the interdisciplinary literature on the correlates of meat consumption and vegetarianism at first, and lay out a number of hypotheses about how meat consumption relates to cultural and economic capital. I will test these hypotheses in turn, and report results and limitations.

4.1 State of research

Most studies that use quantitative data to analyze the correlates of meat consumption either focus on a binary outcome variable like self-reported vegetarianism (Kalof et al. 1999, Bedford & Barr 2005, Vinnari & Tapio 2009, Mensink et al. 2016, Allès et al. 2017, Pfeiler & Egloff 2018), on a composite measure of meat consumption (Gossard & York 2003, Neff et al. 2018) or on dietary patterns composed of different food categories, with meat as one of many other food items (Fraser et al. 2000, Haveman-Nies et al. 2001, Heuer et al. 2015, Vainio et al. 2016, Krieger et al. 2019). One major advantage of the data that I use here is that they allow for a more fine-grained analysis, including different types of meat and different measures of vegetarianism. It will become clear that this is crucial for an in-depth understanding of the links between meat consumption and socioeconomic position.

Reviewing the empirical research to date, there are some rather conclusive findings, supported by evidence from both quantitative and qualitative studies. A clear link between meat consumption and

[13] All necessary syntax files and the codebook to reproduce the statistical analyses in Stata can be downloaded from https://doi.org/10.7802/2043 and is also available from the author upon request (einhorn@mpifg.de).

gender, as well as between meat consumption and age or cohort exists. Females tend to eat less meat (Fraser et al. 2000, Haveman-Nies et al. 2001, Gossard & York 2003, Daniel et al. 2011, Heuer et al. 2015, Neff et al. 2018). Correspondingly, the highest share of vegetarians is usually found among females living in single households and in urban areas (Bedford & Barr 2005, Mensink et al. 2016, Allès et al. 2017, Pfeiler & Egloff 2018). Metropolitan areas are also generally associated with lower levels of meat consumption vis-á-vis rural or semi-rural areas (Newman et al. 2001, Gossard & York 2003, Beagan et al. 2014, Pohjolainen et al. 2015). In most studies, age exhibits a reverse u-shaped relationship with the frequency of meat consumption and a u-shaped relationship with the likelihood of following a vegetarian diet. Opposing trends at both ends of the age distribution are usually hypothesized to result from different mechanisms (e.g. lifestyle choices versus health concerns) and to represent a mixture of age and cohort effects which are difficult to disentangle by using cross-sectional data.

While the present work focuses on the socioeconomic stratification of, or the role of economic and cultural capital for meat consumption, it is important to constantly keep its gendered nature in mind. Several scholars have dedicated a lot of research to understanding the link between sex, gender and meat consumption (cf. Adams 1990, Fiddes 1991, Rothgerber 2013). It is also necessary not to neglect lifecycle and cohort effects as well as structures of supply and access in different geographical areas. Methodologically, these aspects will be incorporated as control variables and potential mediators (i.e. as parts of interaction effects) as best as possible, but no explicit hypotheses are formulated. The variables of interest in my work are those that pertain to a person's or household's socioeconomic position.

What do we know about the link between socioeconomic position and meat consumption or vegetarianism? The literature on the link between meat consumption, vegetarianism, and socioeconomic position is not only scarce but also produces ambiguous results, especially regarding the role of financial resources. At first sight, not purchasing meat or purchasing less meat does not require any, or at least not more economic capital. In fact, 'economic vegetarians' are persons who do not consume meat out of necessity; they simply can't afford it (Lusk & Norwood 2016, see also section 5.2.1 on economic vegetarianism). This argument partially hinges on the price and availability of meat in different countries and regions. However, drawing conclusions from the price of meat neglects a plethora of social and cultural factors. The symbolic value of meat for most people in the Global North exceeds that of many other food items; and many people still acquire meat in times of economic hardship (Darmon & Drewnowski 2015). On the other hand, vegetarianism can paradoxically be facilitated or encouraged by a set of practices that require ample amounts of economic capital and cultural capital, as I show in chapter 5.2.

In their seminal book about the sociology of food, Mennell et al. (1992) asserted that vegetarianism is more widespread among the middle classes compared to other social groups. However, more recent empirical studies indicate that, while the effect of education seems to be fairly consistent, the effect of a person's individual or household income is not, which speaks to the potential benefits of conceptualizing socioeconomic position as a multidimensional construct. Operationalizing socioeconomic position as assemblage of different capitals instead of using a condensed and simplified typology of social class could produce more unambiguous and nuanced results.

Bedford & Barr (2005) and Allès et al. (2017), for example, find vegetarianism to be associated with lower incomes while Pfeiler & Egloff (2018) find the opposite. Alkon et al. (2013) emphasize the importance of meat for their interviewees from lower social classes. In a similar vein, Astleithner (2007) identifies a social milieu characterized by traditional values, comparatively low levels of education and high levels of meat consumption. However, she also finds high levels of meat consumption among a group of predominantly male, health-conscious and high-income consumers. That economic capital plays a very ambiguous role in research on meat consumption may result from the fact that only few studies consider potential differences between different types of meat. Studies that are able to distinguish between different types of meat point to the importance of doing so (Darmon & Drewnowski 2008, Daniel et al. 2011, Aston et al. 2013) for understanding the link between socioeconomic position and meat consumption patterns. For example, in their study of North American 'foodies' - a term for mainly upper- and middle class consumers with an 'aesthetic disposition' towards food - Johnston & Baumann (2014) find clear preferences for less meat of different types and of a different quality, combined with a clear distaste for strict vegetarianism. Following these more nuanced studies, it seems appropriate to distinguish between strict vegetarianism and a phenomenon called 'flexitarianism' or 'conscientious omnivorousness' (Singer & Mason 2007, Rothgerber 2015) which describes the deliberate choice to eat less meat but meat of a different quality (e.g. regarding production methods, animal treatment or nutrient richness) and, correspondingly, usually of a higher price.

Some studies have characterized flexitarianism and vegetarianism as dimensions of 'ethical' or political consumption (see section 2.3 on sustainable consumption). According to this literature, flexitarianism usually presents an upper- or middle-class phenomenon that is associated with high amounts of cultural capital and necessitates high amounts of economic capital.

Against the backdrop of the existing literature, I cautiously state the following hypotheses about the relationship between a person's economic and cultural capital, their meat consumption behavior (1-3), and their likelihood of following a vegetarian diet (4-5):

(1) Meat consumption levels decrease as a person's level of cultural capital increases.

(2) Economic capital does not influence a person's level of meat consumption.

(3) The price per unit of meat purchased increases with a person's level of economic and cultural capital.

(4) The likelihood of a vegetarian diet increases as a person's level of cultural capital increases.

(5) Economic capital does not influence the likelihood of following a vegetarian diet.

I will test these hypotheses in the empirical sections that follow, focusing on the level of meat consumption at first and on vegetarianism thereafter.

4.2 Level of meat consumption

4.2.1 Dependent variables

(a) SOEP

The SOEP 2016 individual questionnaire asks respondents to report how often they consume certain types of meat. The exact wording is: "How often do you eat meat, fish, or poultry?"[14] and for each category, the response options are "Never", "Once a month or less often", "On two to four days monthly", "On two to three days weekly", "On four to six days weekly" and "Daily", corresponding to numerical values from zero to five. From two of these, I created an additional variable which is an additive index of two original variables: the frequency of eating red meat or poultry, henceforth summarized as 'meat'.[15] The dependent variables are summarized in Table 1.

"How often do you eat..."	**Mean**	**Std. Dev.**	**Min**	**Max**	**N**
Red meat?	3.17	1.07	0	5	24408
Poultry?	2.49	1.02	0	5	24183
Fish?	2.00	0.94	0	5	24190
Red meat or poultry?	5.65	1.74	0	10	24121

Table 1: Summary of dependent variables, SOEP 2016

(b) EVS

Using EVS food diary data, I differentiate between red meat, white meat and fish as well as between fresh meat, processed meat, fish, beef, pork and poultry. I conduct separate analyses for all meats in total (excluding fish), for processed meat, fresh meat, fish, beef, pork and poultry.[16] I use three separate measures for each meat category as dependent variables in the subsequent analysis of EVS data:

(a) The weight of the purchased meat in grams per month.

(b) The expenses for the purchased meat in Euros per month.

(c) The price of the purchased meat in Euros per kilogram.

I use separate measures for the products' weight and their costs because data for the weight of some items (like preserved meat or fish products) is missing so I can only use data on expenses for these food items. While weight and costs correlate strongly, I use both measures to corroborate my overall results. The price per unit of the meat that was purchased by a household provides a good measure of its value and allows for some careful and preliminary conclusions about the potential relationships between the quantity and quality of meat products. A detailed summary of all dependent variables obtained from the EVS 2013 data can be found in Table 2.

[14]The category "meat" is somewhat ambiguous here. In the SOEP questionnaire, it seem to refer to red meat (i.e. beef, pork, sheep, veal etc.) because white meat (i.e. poultry) is dealt with in a separate question.

[15]I also create a variable from all three categories, including red meat, poultry and fish; but the analyses show that most factors influence meat and fish consumption differently. Therefore I decided to drop the variable altogether and stick to separate analyses.

[16]Sheep and goat meat was recorded but 96% of respondents did not buy any sheep or goat meat so it will not be analyzed separately.

	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max	N
Total meat consumed, grams	5809,2	5046,3	0	49887	11405
Total expenses for meat, Euros	54,6	45,6	0	602,7	11405
Value of all meats, Euros/kg	8,95	3,60	1,71	69,8	11042
Fresh meat consumed, grams	2793,8	3354,8	0	44750	11405
Expenses for fresh meat, Euros	20,2	25,1	0	348,73	11405
Value of fresh meat, Euros/kg	7,97	4,28	0,99	59,9	9474
Processed meat consumed, grams	3015,4	2595,3	0	27105	11405
Expenses for processed meat, Euros	34,4	29,2	0	369,95	11405
Value of processed meat, Euros/kg	9,81	3,70	0,99	73,28	10887
Fish consumed, grams	500,7	843,2	0	26029	11405
Expenses for fish, Euros	8,96	12,37	0	182,17	11405
Value of fish, Euros/kg	9,91	6,34	1,06	99,89	5966
Beef consumed, grams	617,4	1142,3	0	26660	11405
Expenses for beef, Euros	5,88	12,17	0	210,92	11405
Value of beef, Euros/kg	9,51	7,10	1,75	286,12	6054
Pork consumed, grams	1105,6	1822,8	0	37660	11405
Expenses for pork, Euros	7,10	10,68	0	191,74	11405
Value of pork, Euros/kg	7,14	3,21	1,49	46,47	7242
Poultry consumed, grams	904,6	1470,8	0	18580	11405
Expenses for poultry, Euros	5,62	9,37	0	160	11405
Value of poultry, Euros/kg	7,17	3,71	0,71	59,9	6349

Table 2: Summary of dependent variables, EVS 2013

4.2.2 Independent and control variables

(a) SOEP

The SOEP 2016 contains a lot of sociodemographic data that is available for analysis. I do not categorize respondents as members of distinct social classes; instead, I retain most of the variables in their original format. As discussed in section 2.1, I conceive of the concept of social class position as multidimensional and gradational, including different types and amounts of capital. Unfortunately, survey items rarely capture these details, and only provide approximate measures of economic and cultural capital. Especially cultural capital comes in many forms – institutionalized, objectified, and embodied. Standardized variables can, however, serve as proxies and be a starting point to look at the empirical links between social class and various types of outcomes. I will assess the influence of socioeconomic position on a person's meat consumption frequency by using household income[17] as a rough measure of economic capital, a respondent's level of education (measured by the CASMIN classification as a combination of general education and vocational training on a scale from 1 to 9) as a rough measure of institutionalized cultural capital, and occupation (with civil servants as reference group in all subsequent analyses).

As mentioned before, previous studies found several factors which are linked to an individual's level of meat consumption in addition to their class position, and these need to be taken into account. On the household level, I control for household type (single households are the reference group), region and

[17] I consider household income to be a better indicator of socioeconomic position than individual income as consumer goods like food are usually bought and shared across households. Household income is divided by the number of persons in the household to adjust for household size.

residential area. On the individual level, I control for a person's age, gender and migration background.

Independent and control variables derived from SOEP 2016 data are listed in Table 3.

	Type	**Description**	**N**
Household			
Household type	Categorical	Living alone, couple w/out children, couple w/ children, single parent, other	29870
Region	Binary	West/East Germany	29870
Residential area	Binary	Urban/rural area	29870
HH income (Euro/month)	Metric	Min=0; Max=45000 Mean=2901.81	28383
HH income (adjusted)	Metric	Min=0; Max=40000 Mean=1116.43	28383
Individual			
Age	Metric	Min=18; Max=102 Mean=46.3	29114
Migration background	Binary	0 (no)/ 1 (yes)	29866
Main occupation	Categorical	Student, employee, civil servant, worker self-employed, unemployed, pensioner	29870
Education	Ordinal	Min=1 (No qualification) Max=9 (University Degree) Mean=5.1	27632
Gender	Binary	0 (male)/ 1 (female)	29116

Table 3: Summary of independent and control variables, SOEP 2016

(b) EVS

Several indicators that depict a household's social class position are available in the EVS 2013 data. Again, I do not combine these to create a composite measure of households' social class category but analyze them separately. On the household level, I use household income per month in Euros. On the individual level, I use the principal earner's main occupation (with civil servants representing the reference group) as well as level of education which is a combination of general education and vocational training, based on a recent version of the CASMIN classification. I calculate households' average level of education, only including members of the household who have completed their education. The principal earner's level of education and a household's average level of education are highly positively correlated (0.91***) and I use the latter measure in the subsequent analyses. Differences in household size and composition influence the overall amount of food purchased and consumed, so all models control for a household's number of children aged 0-6, for the number of children aged 6-12 and the number of persons older than 12.[18] Households' demographic characteristics are included as further control

[18]Based on caloric intake recommendations for different age groups by the German Nutrition Society (DGE), it is reasonable to set these age thresholds to account for differences in the amounts of consumed food.

variables. These are household type (with single households representing the reference group), region, residential area and male-to-female-ratio.[19] To control for the impact of key individual demographic variables, I include the principal earner's age and migration status. Table 4 provides a full description of all independent and control variables used in the analysis of EVS 2013 data.

	Type	**Description**	**N**
Household			
Household type	Categorical	Living alone, couple w/out children, couple w/ children, single parent, other	11405
Region	Binary	West/East Germany	11405
Residential area	Binary	Urban/rural area	
Gender ratio	Metric	Min=0 (Only males) Max=1 (Only females) Mean=0.55	11405
Average adult age	Metric	Min=19; Max=94 Mean=52.1	11240
HH income (Euro/month)	Metric	Min=13.3; Max=16970.3 Mean=3436.9	11405
Average education	Metric	Min=1 (No qualification) Max=9 (University degree) Mean=5.6	11398
HH members > 12	Ordinal	Min=1; Max=8 Median=2	11405
HH members 6-12	Ordinal	Min=0; Max=3 Median=0	11405
HH members < 6	Ordinal	Min=0; Max=3 Median=0	11405
Principal Earner			
Age	Metric	Min=19; Max=94 Mean=52.4	11405
Migration background	Binary	0 (no)/ 1 (yes)	11405
Main occupation	Categorical	Student, employee, civil servant, worker self-employed, unemployed, pensioner	11405
Education	Ordinal	Min=1 (No qualification) Max=9 (University Degree) Mean=5.7	11398
Gender	Binary	0 (male)/ 1 (female)	11405

Table 4: Summary of independent and control variables, EVS 2013

[19] I use households' male-to-female ratio to account for the importance of gender in influencing households' overall levels of meat consumption.

4.2.3 Methodological considerations

The four dependent variables based on SOEP 2016 data approximate normal distributions and do not contain an excessive amount of observations at zero. Strictly speaking however, they are ordinal instead of continuous variables. For ease of interpretation and comparability, I treat the variables as continuous and run linear regression models to estimate the regressors' effects. As a robustness check, I run different specifications of ordered logit regression models. The results can be found in the Appendix (15), and do not differ in significant ways.

The dependent variables obtained from the EVS 2013 data consist mainly of non-negative integers. Most of them present log-normal distributions; that is, the original pattern is highly skewed with a long right tail while the log-transformed variable approximates a normal distribution. We can treat this type of data as count data with very large counts, suitable for Poisson or negative binomial regression modeling.[20] Negative binomial distributions relax the assumption of Poisson distributions that the mean equals the variance. The variables used here have a variance that is larger than their mean; they are over-dispersed which makes negative binomial models more suitable but which can also be accounted for by specifying Poisson models with robust variance-covariance estimates (Cameron & Trivedi 2009).

Most dependent variables also show a significant number of observations at zero, indicating that a household did not consume the respective type of meat during the study period. Households which did not consume any type of meat in the study period are defined as vegetarian households and will be omitted from the analyses in this chapter and analyzed separately in chapter 4.3. However, there is a substantial number of households that eschew the consumption of one type of meat in particular. Take, for example, the distribution of the amount of pork a household consumed within a month as summarized in Table 5, the respective expenses for pork and the price per unit of pork bought as shown in Figure 1:

	Total	**Perc.**	**Cum.**	**Single**	**Perc.**	**Cum.**	**Couple**	**Perc.**	**Cum.**
0	4163	36.5	36.5	2065	56.0	56.0	1144	28.3	28.3
1g-1kg	3202	28.1	64.6	1050	28.5	84.5	1142	28.2	56.5
1kg-2kg	1948	17.1	81.7	373	10.1	94.6	838	20.7	77.2
2kg-3kg	901	7.9	89.6	103	2.8	97.4	386	9.5	86.7
3kg-4kg	512	4.5	94.4	55	1.5	98.9	234	5.8	92.5
4kg-5kg	261	2.3	96.7	24	0.6	99.5	117	2.9	95.4
5kg-10kg	366	3.2	99.9	17	0.5	100	163	4.0	99.4
>10kg	52	0.5	100	1	0	100	24	0.6	100
N	11405			3688			4048		

Table 5: Consumed pork: full sample, single households and couples without children, EVS 2013

[20] https://blog.stata.com/2011/08/22/use-poisson-rather-than-regress-tell-a-friend/

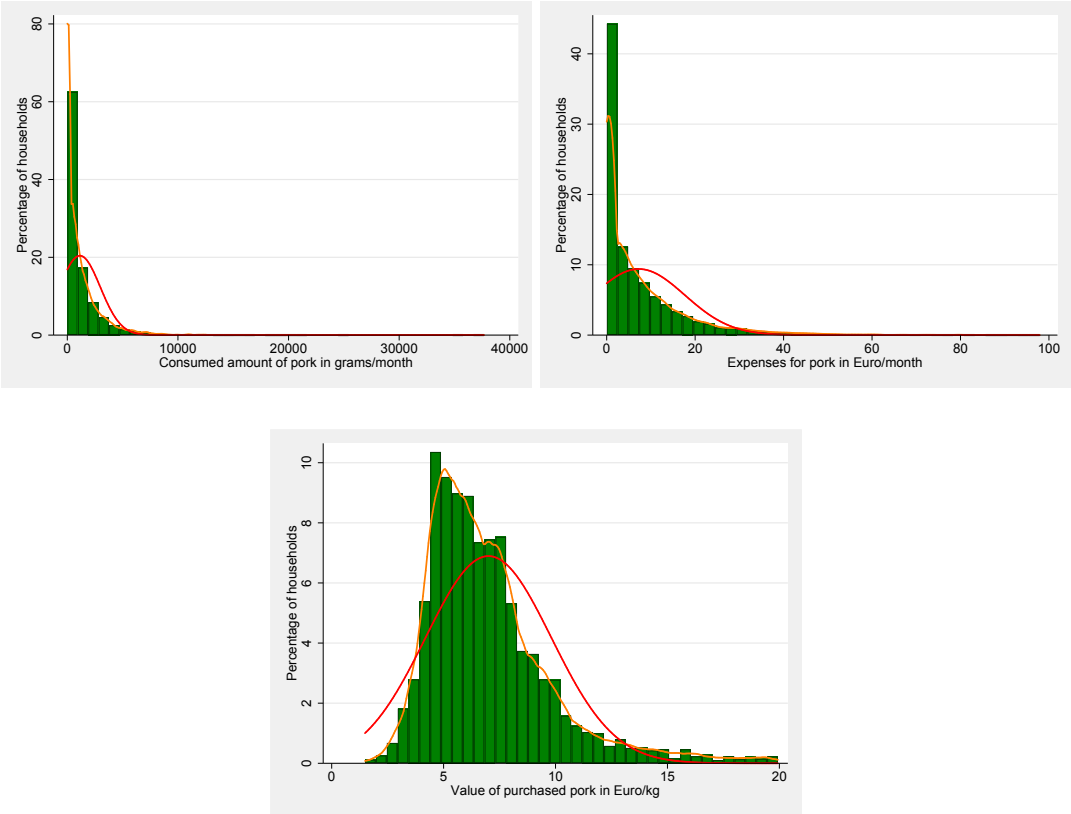

Figure 1: Distribution of dependent variables for pork, EVS 2013

More than half of all single households, more than a quarter of cohabiting couples without children, and more than a third of all households did not consume pork in the study period. About 28 percent of all households consumed a very low amount of pork (between one gram and one kilogram), independent of household size. The skewed nature of the overall distribution of pork consumption neither results only from households that abstain from pork nor only from the comparatively low amount of pork consumed in smaller households. Ignoring the non-normal distribution does not necessarily lead to biased parameters, but ignoring the large number of observations at zero and estimating linear regression models using ordinary least squares (OLS) regression can do so (Humphreys 2013). Simply estimating linear regressions using logged versions of the dependent variables also creates a number of problems (Nichols 2010). Therefore, I keep the observations at zero and use statistical methods to account for them.

Having some knowledge about how the observations at zero were generated would be ideal. Non-consumption of pork (or of any other type of meat) could be a result of religious prescriptions, of health or taste considerations or it could simply be the case that the household did not buy any pork in the study period. If non-consumption is a result of a decision-making process that is different from the decision about how much pork is consumed (which is, for example, the case for religious prescriptions), the zeros are considered structural zeros and it is appropriate to use a two-step procedure for analyzing the data (Humphreys 2013). This can be done by manually estimating separate models for $y = 0$

(logistic regression) and for $y > 0$ (linear or log-linear regression) or by using hurdle models which use a binary model in a first step and a zero-truncated linear, zero-truncated Poisson or zero-truncated negative binomial regression model in a second step to predict non-zero values or counts. The variables available here do not allow for and analysis of the precise reasons for the decision not to consume a specific type of meat and it has to be assumed that some households did not purchase any pork (or beef, poultry, or fish) in the study period but may do so at a different time. The data is then censored and zeros are not structural but are a result of the data-generating process. However, the observations at zero may also be of both types: partially structural and partially a result of censoring.

Taking these aspects into consideration, I specify zero-inflated negative binomial regression models. Zero-inflated models are applied to treat the unusually large number of observations at zero. They do not split the sample but instead use all observations to model the non-zeros, taking into account that some of them may have been produced by a different data-generating mechanism than the positive values. A regular negative binomial model will be used to analyze the composite meat variable which has no observations at zero. A regular negative binomial model will also be used for the dependent variables measuring the value of the purchased meat because these were only calculated for households at $y > 0$. To check for robustness of the results, I compare all models to (zero-inflated) Poisson regression models with robust variance-covariance estimates and to hurdle models or to regular linear regression models using both original and log-transformed versions of the dependent variables (see section 9 in the Appendix). Whenever the results are significantly different for different model specifications, I advise a cautious interpretation of results. However, the results regarding the interpretation of social class background variables are fairly robust across model specifications.

4.2.4 Results

(a) SOEP

Bivariate results provide a first glance into how meat consumption relates to income, education and main occupation. Respondents who report eating red meat on two to four days per month have the highest household income on average, while those who report eating red meat each day have the lowest average household income. Similarly, those who report eating poultry only once a month or less often have the highest average household income and respondents who report eating poultry on a daily basis have the lowest average household income. When it comes to fish, we see only minor differences in average incomes across consumption levels. The difference between fish and meat is even more pronounced when we look at respondents' level of education. While red and white meat consumption show a significant negative correlation with education (Spearman's $\rho = -0.06, p = .00$ for both), fish consumption shows a positive, albeit less significant correlation ($\rho = 0.02, p = .02$). Most respondents report eating red meat on two to three days weekly, regardless of their main occupation. The same is true for poultry, except that most pensioners and self-employed respondents eat poultry less frequently: on two to four days per month. Fish is consumed on two to four days per month by most respondents, regardless of their occupation. However, a more in-depth analysis of the data reveals whether these bivariate findings still hold when we account for the composition of the respective groups in terms of age, gender, residential area etc.

I calculate linear regression models for each category of the dependent variable based on SOEP data.

Preliminary analyses indicate that consistent and strong interaction effects between the independent variables of interest and gender exist. That means that the strengths of the effects of respondents' social class background heavily depend on whether they identify as male or as female. I therefore report all regression results for men and women separately, in addition to results for the full sample. Table 6 reports the results of these regressions. Vegetarians - respondents who report eating red meat, poultry and fish only once a month or less often - are excluded from the analysis. Models with slightly different sample sizes based on diverging definitions of vegetarianism were also calculated and are shown in the Appendix (see section 9).

	Red meat			**Poultry**			**Fish**			**Meat**		
	Women	Men	Total	Women	Men	Total	Women	Men	Total	Women	Men	Total
East	0.036	0.072**	0.055***	0.055*	0.050*	0.054**	0.031	0.123***	0.074***	0.093*	0.124***	0.111***
	(0.023)	(0.024)	(0.017)	(0.023)	(0.025)	(0.017)	(0.022)	(0.024)	(0.016)	(0.037)	(0.039)	(0.027)
Urban area	-0.047*	-0.048*	-0.048***	0.047*	0.042	0.045**	-0.021	0.028	0.002	0.004	-0.006	0.002
	(0.020)	(0.021)	(0.014)	(0.019)	(0.022)	(0.014)	(0.018)	(0.020)	(0.014)	(0.032)	(0.033)	(0.023)
Couple w/	0.385***	0.168***	0.273***	0.157***	0.105**	0.124***	0.066*	0.033	0.046*	0.543***	0.267***	0.395***
	(0.031)	(0.031)	(0.022)	(0.031)	(0.033)	(0.022)	(0.029)	(0.031)	(0.021)	(0.050)	(0.050)	(0.035)
Single parent	0.118**	0.033	0.041	0.155***	0.124*	0.129***	-0.033	-0.065	-0.054	0.269***	0.147	0.164***
	(0.037)	(0.056)	(0.030)	(0.037)	(0.058)	(0.030)	(0.035)	(0.055)	(0.029)	(0.060)	(0.089)	(0.048)
Couple w/out	0.338***	0.087**	0.209***	0.103***	0.046	0.066***	0.046	0.005	0.024	0.443***	0.128**	0.274***
	(0.028)	(0.030)	(0.020)	(0.028)	(0.032)	(0.021)	(0.026)	(0.030)	(0.020)	(0.045)	(0.049)	(0.033)
Other	0.249***	0.030	0.145***	0.054	0.020	0.033	-0.060	0.046	-0.013	0.303**	0.041	0.174*
	(0.062)	(0.065)	(0.045)	(0.061)	(0.068)	(0.045)	(0.058)	(0.065)	(0.043)	(0.099)	(0.104)	(0.072)
Age	-0.004***	-0.008***	-0.007***	-0.008***	-0.009***	-0.008***	0.010***	0.008***	0.009***	-0.012***	-0.017***	-0.015***
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Female	(omitted)	(omitted)	-0.363***	(omitted)	(omitted)	-0.029*	(omitted)	(omitted)	0.016	(omitted)	(omitted)	-0.390***
			(0.013)			(0.013)			(0.013)			(0.021)
Migration	0.023	-0.075**	-0.023	0.199***	0.281***	0.238***	0.269***	0.200***	0.237***	0.223***	0.212***	0.218***
	(0.028)	(0.029)	(0.020)	(0.027)	(0.030)	(0.020)	(0.026)	(0.029)	(0.019)	(0.045)	(0.046)	(0.032)
HH Income	-0.000	0.000*	0.000	-0.000***	-0.000***	-0.000***	-0.000	0.000	0.000	-0.000***	-0.000	-0.000**
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Education	-0.033***	-0.012**	-0.025***	-0.022***	-0.016***	-0.020***	0.014***	0.025***	0.019***	-0.056***	-0.028***	-0.046***
	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.003)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.003)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.003)	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.005)
Student	-0.173**	-0.144**	-0.150***	-0.054	0.054	0.115*	0.120*	-0.002	0.053	-0.224*	-0.092	-0.140*
	(0.057)	(0.054)	(0.039)	(0.055)	(0.057)	(0.039)	(0.053)	(0.054)	(0.038)	(0.091)	(0.086)	(0.063)
Worker	0.067	0.096**	0.069**	0.067	-0.012	0.021	-0.004	0.061	0.020	0.132**	0.087	0.091*
	(0.037)	(0.037)	(0.025)	(0.036)	(0.039)	(0.025)	(0.034)	(0.037)	(0.024)	(0.059)	(0.059)	(0.040)
Unemployed	0.029	0.051	0.029	0.041	0.080	0.060	-0.087*	0.080	-0.020	0.071	0.121	0.089
	(0.043)	(0.051)	(0.033)	(0.042)	(0.053)	(0.039)	(0.040)	(0.051)	(0.031)	(0.069)	(0.052)	(0.048)
Self-employed	-0.086	0.052	-0.012	-0.115*	-0.062	-0.078*	0.050	0.052	0.038	-0.204**	-0.021	-0.100
	(0.049)	(0.046)	(0.033)	(0.048)	(0.048)	(0.033)	(0.046)	(0.046)	(0.032)	(0.078)	(0.081)	(0.052)
Pensioner	0.065	0.033	0.034	0.039	-0.040	0.001	0.015	0.101*	0.045	0.096	-0.006	0.031
	(0.039)	(0.046)	(0.030)	(0.038)	(0.048)	(0.030)	(0.036)	(0.046)	(0.028)	(0.062)	(0.074)	(0.047)
Constant	3.215***	3.787***	3.704***	2.921***	2.993***	2.978***	1.411***	1.382***	1.400***	6.130***	6.777***	6.676***
Adjusted R^2	0.038	0.031	0.069	0.049	0.060	0.054	0.039	0.036	0.037	0.055	0.063	0.071
Root MSE	0.945	0.916	0.934	0.923	0.956	0.939	0.883	0.906	0.894	1.509	1.458	1.488
Observations	11579	9980	21559	11504	9861	21365	11500	9859	21359	11468	9846	21314

Note: Linear regressions based on SOEP 2016, without vegetarians. Standard errors in parentheses. Asterisks indicate level of significance.
*p<0.05 **p<0.01 *** p<0.001.

Table 6: Influences on meat consumption frequency, SOEP 2016

Looking at the demographic control variables first, I find that respondents residing in East Germany generally eat meat more frequently; male respondents residing in East Germany eat more red meat and more fish, and both genders eat more poultry. Urban areas are associated with a lower frequency of red meat consumption. Age is negatively related to red meat and poultry consumption, and positively related to fish consumption. Female respondents eat red meat and poultry less often than men, but there is no difference between genders when it comes to fish consumption. Respondents with a migration background eat fish and poultry more frequently than those without migration background, but there is no difference regarding red meat consumption.

Turning to respondents' socioeconomic position, household income does neither affect respondents' frequency of red meat consumption nor their frequency of fish consumption. It has a negative effect on the consumption of poultry. That is, persons with higher incomes tend to consume less poultry. These findings are significant for both genders but overall, they seem to be stronger for females as we still find a negative effect of income on the combined measure of meat consumption frequency for females as opposed to males. Respondent's level of education is consistently related to the level of meat and fish consumption, but in opposite ways: A higher level of education decreases red meat and poultry consumption, and increases the consumption of fish. This is true for both genders. A more diverse picture emerges when we look at the effects of a person's main occupation. Students of both genders consume red meat significantly less often than the reference group. Female students eat fish more frequently. There is no difference between students and non-students when it comes to the level of poultry consumption. Workers of both genders tend to eat more red meat than the reference group and female workers also tend to eat more poultry. Unemployed women eat less fish while unemployed persons eat more meat in general. However, this effect barely reaches statistical significance. On the other hand, self-employed women seem to eat less poultry and less meat in general compared to the reference group.[21]

To account for potential non-linear and more complex relationships, I test several interaction effects. I assume that one independent variable may be moderating the effect size or direction of a second one. This is primarily a strategy to increase the model fit. As a way to explore the data however, it reveals some interesting findings in and of itself. The relevant literature lacks any systematic, let alone haphazard consideration of interaction effects (except for certain variables interacting with themselves, like age). This is somewhat surprising, given the large amount of variables which show different results for females and for males. I limit my analysis of interaction effects to those that feature at least one social class background variable.

Regression coefficients cannot be treated as if they were unconditional effects when interaction terms are included into the model which complicates the interpretation of coefficients (Brambor et al. 2006). To provide an illustrative overview, I opt for a graphical presentation of statistically relevant interaction effects, depicted with 95% confidence intervals. Statistical interpretations of all interaction effects can be found in the Appendix (see section 9).

For all dependent variables, there is a significant interaction effect between a respondent's level of education and their occupational position as a worker. The first three graphs in Figure 2 show

[21]The majority of these effects still hold if we change the reference group to include all other occupations instead of only civil servants. The difference between unemployed and employed persons becomes non-significant and the negative effect of self-employment on meat consumption becomes stronger and holds across genders.

that education exerts a negative impact on the frequency of red and white meat consumption only for non-workers. The positive effect of a person's education on their level of fish consumption, however, is even stronger among workers.

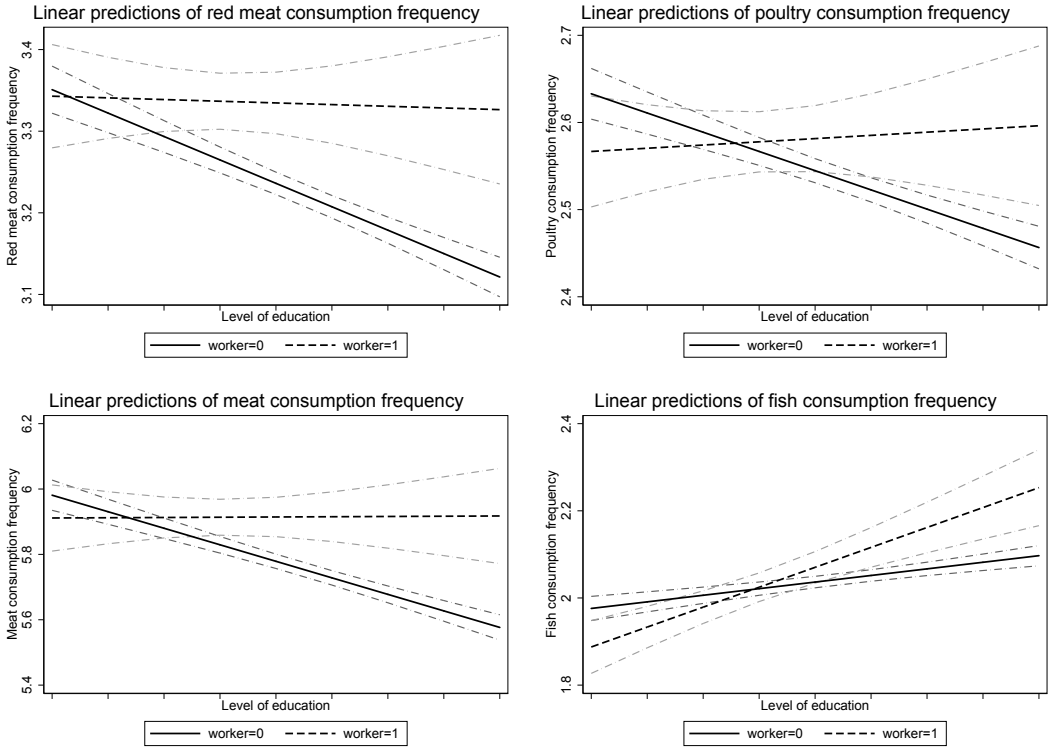

Figure 2: Effect of education on meat consumption for workers and non-workers

As already mentioned, the effects of many socioeconomic background variables significantly hinge on respondents' gender. We can see this in Figure 3. Women do not only eat significantly less meat than their male counterparts but their frequency of eating meat also decreases more strongly with increasing levels of household income and with increasing levels of education compared to men. Finally, in some cases, education and income moderate each other's effect. For poultry, higher levels of education lead to lower levels of consumption mainly for persons with lower incomes. The negative effect of education on poultry consumption diminishes as incomes increase, as can be seen in Figure 4. Looking only at well-off respondents, education does not make a difference for poultry consumption. This is a crucial insight which may help explain why previous studies are rather inconclusive regarding the impact of economic capital on meat consumption patterns.

(b) EVS

How do these relationships pan out if we look at a different data set? Does the EVS data lead to similar conclusions? I start by providing some bivariate results. On average, and excluding vegetarian and pescetarian households, pensioners and unemployed respondents in single households consume the

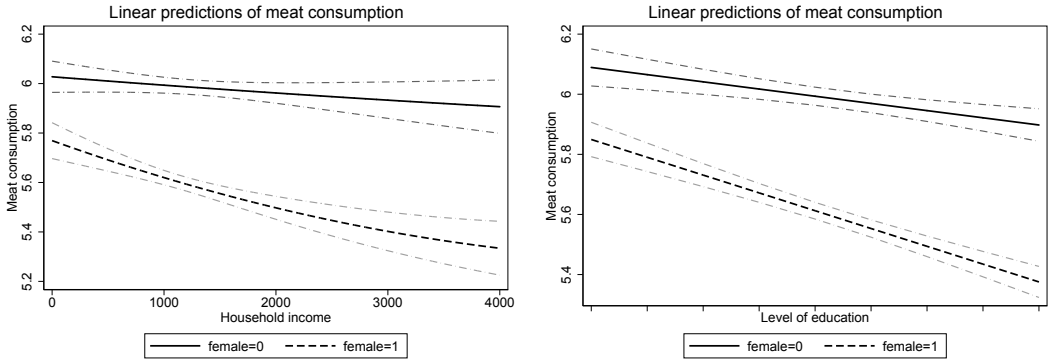

Figure 3: Effect of education and income on meat consumption by gender

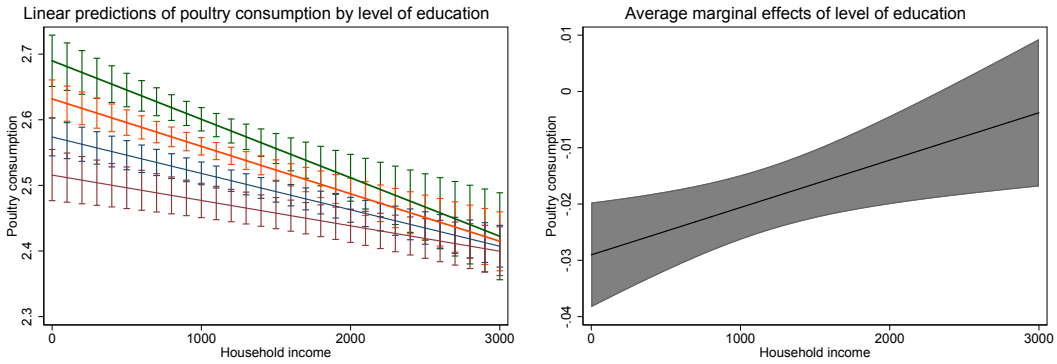

Figure 4: Effect of education on meat consumption dependent on income

largest amounts of beef per month (339 grams and 328 grams, respectively) and students consume the lowest amount of beef (188 grams), of poultry (356 grams) and of fresh meat (831 grams) per month.

Self-employed respondents consume the lowest amount of pork per month (301 grams) while unemployed respondents in single households consume the highest amount of pork (663g/month) and the highest amount of fresh meat in total (1,6kg/month). Workers consume the highest amount of processed meats (1,9kg/month) compared to students who consume the lowest amount (750g/month). Students also consume very little fish (147g/month) compared to pensioners in single households who consume the largest amounts of fish (321g/month). For respondents who live alone, household income does not significantly correlate with meat or fish consumption but higher levels of education are significantly negatively correlated with meat and fish consumption in general (Spearman's $\rho = -0.19, p = 0.00$ and $\rho = -0.05, p = 0.00$, respectively). For cohabiting couples without children, household income is significantly negatively correlated with pork ($\rho = -0.14, p = 0.00$), fresh meat ($\rho = -0.08, p = 0.00$) and overall meat consumption ($\rho = -0.08, p = 0.00$). The same is true for their principal earner's level of education ($\rho = -0.18, p = 0.00$ for overall meat consumption) and for the couple's average level of education ($\rho = -0.23, p = 0.00$ for overall meat consumption). Interestingly, household income does not make a difference for cohabiting couples with children. Couples with children report lower levels of fresh meat consumption ($\rho = -0.15, p = 0.00$) and processed meat con-

sumption ($\rho = -0.17, p = 0.00$) as their level of education increases. Lower levels of meat consumption are generally reported by respondents who have completed their full maturity certificates ("Abitur") and, among them, by those who have received general instead of vocational training. When it comes to the price of meat, households in which the principal earner is a civil servant or is self-employed purchase beef of the highest value (9,98 Euros and 10,82 Euros per kilogram, respectively), pork of the highest value (7,81 Euros and 8,03 Euros per kilogram), poultry of the highest value (7,80 Euros and 8,11 Euros per kilogram) and overall meat of the highest value (9,65 Euros and 9,87 Euros per kilogram). Meat of the lowest value was on average purchased by households whose principal earner is a worker or is unemployed (7,69 Euros and 7,19 Euros per kilogram, respectively). Households' income and their average level of education correlate significantly and positively with the price of the meat and fish that is purchased ($\rho = 0.22, p = 0.00$ and $\rho = 0.17, p = 0.00$, respectively). On average, non-vegetarian and non-pescetarian households spend 22,3% of their domestic food budget on meat and meat products and 3,6% on fish and fish products. Households with higher levels of education spend a significantly lower share of their domestic food expenses on meat and meat products compared to households with lower levels of education ($\rho = -0.29, p = 0.00$). This correlation does not hold for fish and fish products.

Can these correlations still be found after accounting for individuals' and households' demographics? Table 7 shows the results of zero-inflated negative binomial regression models for beef, pork, poultry and fish consumption and expenses and of regular negative binomial regression models for the respective meat price per unit. Table 8 shows the results of zero-inflated negative binomial models for total fresh meat and processed meat consumption and respective expenses as well as the results of regular negative binomial regression models for meat consumption and expenses in total. There are no observations at zero for this last category, as household with zero total meat consumption are classified as vegetarian or pescetarian households by definition. Regular negative binomial models were also used to model the value of the meat that was purchased, i.e. its price per unit.

	Beef			**Pork**			**Poultry**			**Fish**		
	Weight	Costs	Value	Weight	Costs	Value	Weight	Costs	Value	Weight	Costs	Value
East	0.85***	0.73***	0.91***	1.13***	0.965	0.87***	1.05*	0.955	0.89***	0.999	0.84***	0.90***
	(0.023)	(0.029)	(0.016)	(0.027)	(0.026)	(0.010)	(0.026)	(0.025)	(0.013)	(0.024)	(0.021)	(0.016)
Urban area	0.996	1.023	1.01	0.92***	0.93**	1.011	1.08***	1.09***	1.005	0.998	1.038	1.04**
	(0.022)	(0.033)	(0.014)	(0.019)	(0.021)	(0.010)	(0.022)	(0.025)	(0.012)	(0.020)	(0.022)	(0.015)
Couple w/	1.53***	1.65***	0.948	1.31***	1.37****	1.015	1.22**	1.20**	0.961	1.27***	1.44***	0.978
	(0.109)	(0.174)	(0.044)	(0.087)	(0.101)	(0.032)	(0.080)	(0.084)	(0.037)	(0.026)	(0.102)	(0.046)
Single parent	1.23***	1.179	0.88***	0.153***	1.118	1.036	1.063	1.083	1.029	1.19**	1.22***	0.993
	(0.076)	(0.108)	(0.035)	(0.062)	(0.073)	(0.029)	(0.059)	(0.066)	(0.033)	(0.066)	(0.074)	(0.040)
Couple w/out	1.35***	1.45***	0.963	1.36***	1.44***	1.003	1.19***	1.20***	0.993	1.28***	1.42***	1.033
	(0.054)	(0.086)	(0.025)	(0.051)	(0.060)	(0.019)	(0.045)	(0.049)	(0.021)	(0.047)	(0.055)	(0.027)
Other	1.46***	1.70***	1.046	1.36***	1.46***	0.999	1.28***	1.26**	0.947	1.20*	1.33***	0.987
	(0.112)	(0.194)	(0.052)	(0.098)	(0.117)	(0.034)	(0.092)	(0.096)	(0.039)	(0.086)	(0.104)	(0.050)
Age	1.01***	1.01***	1.01***	1.01***	1.01***	1.00***	1.01***	1.01***	1.000	1.01***	1.01***	1.00***
	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Gender ratio	0.94	0.97	1.038	0.80***	0.86***	1.04*	0.86***	0.89**	1.06*	0.77***	0.86***	1.09**
	(0.041)	(0.062)	(0.029)	(0.032)	(0.039)	(0.020)	(0.035)	(0.040)	(0.024)	(0.029)	(0.034)	(0.030)
Migration	1.53***	1.50***	0.995	1.125	1.033	0.930	1.31***	1.139	0.844***	1.31***	1.26**	1.019
	(0.131)	(0.189)	(0.056)	(0.096)	(0.099)	(0.039)	(0.099)	(0.093)	(0.038)	(0.094)	(0.101)	(0.053)
HH Income	1.00**	1.00***	1.00***	0.99***	1.000	1.00***	0.999	1.00***	1.00***	0.999	1.00***	1.00***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Education	0.98**	1.01	1.03***	0.95***	0.97***	1.02***	0.98***	0.994	1.02***	1.01*	1.04***	1.02***
	(0.006)	(0.009)	(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.006)	(0.003)	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.003)	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.004)
Student	0.65***	0.58***	0.957	0.69***	0.67***	1.042	0.79**	0.69***	1.008	1.067	0.906	1.107
	(0.058)	(0.077)	(0.056)	(0.059)	(0.068)	(0.043)	(0.064)	(0.064)	(0.047)	(0.091)	(0.081)	(0.069)
Worker	0.93	0.868	0.92*	1.071	1.001	0.89***	0.957	0.82***	0.92**	1.059	0.915	0.90**
	(0.047)	(0.065)	(0.031)	(0.050)	(0.053)	(0.020)	(0.045)	(0.042)	(0.025)	(0.049)	(0.046)	(0.031)
Unemployed	1.01	0.889	0.89*	1.057	0.960	0.87***	1.000	0.75***	0.83***	1.104	0.84**	0.87**
	(0.070)	(0.091)	(0.041)	(0.068)	(0.070)	(0.028)	(0.063)	(0.053)	(0.031)	(0.069)	(0.057)	(0.040)
Pensioner	0.94	0.892	0.93*	0.952	0.89*	0.91***	0.920	0.79***	0.95*	1.073	0.984	0.981
	(0.045)	(0.064)	(0.030)	(0.044)	(0.046)	(0.020)	(0.043)	(0.040)	(0.025)	(0.048)	(0.047)	(0.032)
Self-employed	0.98	1.164	1.11**	0.85**	0.914	1.05*	0.87**	0.85**	1.07*	1.038	0.971	1.049
	(0.058)	(0.099)	(0.041)	(0.047)	(0.057)	(0.027)	(0.047)	(0.050)	(0.032)	(0.054)	(0.055)	(0.039)
Employee	0.92*	0.934	1.046	0.965	0.972	0.976	0.90**	0.85***	1.004	1.024	0.986	1.022
	(0.035)	(0.053)	(0.026)	(0.036)	(0.040)	(0.017)	(0.032)	(0.033)	(0.020)	(0.036)	(0.037)	(0.026)
Constant	608.9***	2.77***	6.38***	932.1***	4.01***	5.73***	893.8***	4.797***	6.30***	464.4***	2.56***	6.15***

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	Beef			**Pork**			**Poultry**			**Fish**		
	Weight	Costs	Value	Weight	Costs	Value	Weight	Costs	Value	Weight	Costs	Value
Zero-inflation												
East	0.21***	0.14*	-	-0.27***	-0.33***	-	-0.15**	-0.18***	-	0.13**	-0.44***	-
	(0.047)	(0.067)		(0.051)	(0.063)		(0.048)	(0.053)		(0.047)	(0.093)	
Urban area	-0.21***	-0.27***	-	0.09*	0.098	-	-0.11**	-0.10*	-	0.012	-0.036	-
	(0.040)	(0.056)		(0.043)	(0.051)		(0.041)	(0.044)		(0.040)	(0.068)	
Couple w/	-0.69***	-0.66**	-	-0.93***	-0.99***	-	-1.01***	-1.07***	-	-0.85***	-0.270	-
	(0.139)	(0.215)		(0.160)	(0.197)		(0.146)	(0.163)		(0.138)	(0.304)	
Single parent	-0.49***	-0.55***	-	-0.48***	-0.52***	-	-0.61***	-0.65***	-	-0.54***	-0.087	-
	(0.110)	(0.167)		(0.118)	(0.145)		(0.113)	(0.126)		(0.109)	(0.203)	
Couple w/out	-0.73***	-0.78***	-	-0.72***	-0.72***	-	-0.70***	-0.72***	-	-0.63***	-0.52***	-
	(0.074)	(0.111)		(0.082)	(0.099)		(0.076)	(0.083)		(0.072)	(0.148)	
Other	-0.50***	-0.381	-	-0.73***	-0.73***	-	-0.51***	-0.51**	-	-0.63***	-0.208	-
	(0.143)	(0.212)		(0.162)	(0.200)		(0.148)	(0.163)		(0.142)	(0.281)	
Age	0.003	-0.000	-	-0.01***	-0.01*	-	0.01***	0.01***	-	-0.01***	-0.02***	-
	(0.002)	(0.003)		(0.002)	(0.003)		(0.002)	(0.002)		(0.002)	(0.003)	
Gender ratio	-0.108	-0.159	-	0.14*	0.109	-	-0.24***	-0.28***	-	-0.17*	-0.126	-
	(0.068)	(0.088)		(0.068)	(0.080)		(0.068)	(0.073)		(0.067)	(0.095)	
Migration	0.041	0.158	-	0.260	0.278	-	-0.41*	-0.43*	-	-0.39*	-0.483	-
	(0.157)	(0.214)		(0.163)	(0.191)		(0.168)	(0.191)		(0.162)	(0.313)	
HH Income	-0.00**	-0.000	-	-0.000	0.000	-	0.000	0.000	-	0.000	0.000	-
	(0.000)	(0.000)		(0.000)	(0.000)		(0.000)	(0.000)		(0.000)	(0.000)	
Education	0.04***	0.05***	-	0.09***	0.11***	-	0.03**	0.04**	-	-0.03*	-0.019	-
	(0.011)	(0.015)		(0.011)	(0.013)		(0.011)	(0.012)		(0.011)	(0.018)	
Student	-0.096	-0.52*	-	-0.121	-0.323	-	0.171	0.102	-	0.150	-0.103	-
	(0.151)	(0.257)		(0.153)	(0.198)		(0.151)	(0.170)		(0.151)	(0.216)	
Observations	11080	11080	6051	11080	11080	7238	11080	11080	6345	11200	11200	5963
Zero Obs	5029	5029	-	3842	3842	-	4735	4735	-	5237	2478	-

Note: Zero-inflated negative binomial models based on EVS 2013, vegetarians and pescetarians (only vegetarians for fish consumption) are excluded. Incidence-rate ratios are reported for the negative binomial model. Asterisks indicate level of significance. *p<0.05 **p<0.01 *** p<0.001.

Table 7: Influences on beef, pork, poultry and fish consumption frequency, EVS 2013

	Fresh			**Proc.**			**Total**		
	Weight	Costs	Value	Weight	Costs	Value	Weight	Costs	Value
East	1.07***	0.92***	0.86***	1.09***	1.010	0.91***	1.10***	0.989	0.89***
	(0.022)	(0.020)	(0.010)	(0.017)	(0.015)	(0.007)	(0.019)	(0.015)	(0.008)
Urban area	0.994	1.018	1.02**	0.93***	0.93**	1.02*	0.96**	0.96***	1.013
	(0.017)	(0.019)	(0.010)	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.007)	(0.014)	(0.012)	(0.007)
Couple w/	1.58***	1.62***	0.955	1.70***	1.72****	1.87***	1.22**	1.83**	0.957
	(0.091)	(0.098)	(0.030)	(0.079)	(0.076)	(0.023)	(0.092)	(0.079)	(0.023)
Single parent	1.22***	1.23***	0.983	1.44***	1.43***	1.46***	1.063	1.444	0.971
	(0.059)	(0.063)	(0.026)	(0.054)	(0.051)	(0.018)	(0.058)	(0.051)	(0.019)
Couple w/out	1.51***	1.55***	0.974	1.58***	1.60***	1.001	1.73***	1.71***	0.981
	(0.048)	(0.052)	(0.017)	(0.039)	(0.038)	(0.012)	(0.045)	(0.039)	(0.013)
Other	1.55***	1.63***	0.967	1.69***	1.66***	0.964	1.80***	1.77***	0.957
	(0.097)	(0.106)	(0.033)	(0.082)	(0.077)	(0.024)	(0.093)	(0.080)	(0.024)
Age	1.01***	1.01***	1.00***	1.01***	1.01***	1.00***	1.01***	1.01***	1.00***
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.000)
Gender ratio	0.85***	0.91**	1.032	0.73***	0.78***	1.12***	0.80***	0.84***	1.09***
	(0.027)	(0.031)	(0.018)	(0.017)	(0.017)	(0.013)	(0.019)	(0.018)	(0.013)
Migration	1.29***	1.18*	0.91*	0.948	0.926	0.967	1.16**	1.051	0.93*
	(0.087)	(0.084)	(0.034)	(0.051)	(0.048)	(0.026)	(0.065)	(0.052)	(0.026)
HH Income	0.999	1.00***	1.00***	1.000***	1.000***	1.00***	1.000	1.00***	1.00***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Education	0.96***	0.99**	1.03***	0.96***	0.97***	1.02***	0.95***	0.97***	1.03***
	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.002)	(0.004)	(0.003)	(0.002)
Student	0.74***	0.71***	1.043	0.72***	0.70***	0.954	0.70**	0.70***	0.986
	(0.051)	(0.054)	(0.039)	(0.037)	(0.036)	(0.025)	(0.038)	(0.034)	(0.027)
Worker	1.022	0.945	0.91***	1.12***	1.07*	0.93***	1.07*	1.029***	0.93***
	(0.041)	(0.040)	(0.020)	(0.035)	(0.032)	(0.015)	(0.036)	(0.030)	(0.016)
Unemployed	1.055	0.909	0.86***	0.968	0.86***	1.012	1.000	0.88***	0.85***
	(0.057)	(0.052)	(0.026)	(0.040)	(0.034)	(0.019)	(0.044)	(0.034)	(0.019)
Pensioner	0.932	0.87***	0.93***	0.975	0.92**	0.95***	0.956	0.90***	0.94***
	(0.036)	(0.036)	(0.020)	(0.029)	(0.026)	(0.014)	(0.030)	(0.025)	(0.015)
Self-employed	0.85***	0.939	1.09***	0.92*	0.941	1.04*	0.88***	0.939	1.06***
	(0.039)	(0.046)	(0.027)	(0.033)	(0.032)	(0.018)	(0.033)	(0.031)	(0.019)
Employee	0.93*	0.93*	1.003	0.986	0.972	0.999	0.955	0.964	1.009
	(0.029)	(0.030)	(0.017)	(0.023)	(0.022)	(0.012)	(0.024)	(0.021)	(0.012)
Constant	1402.0***	7.13***	6.06***	1359.9***	12.04***	7.46***	2222.9***	16.82***	6.77***
Zero-inflation									
East	-0.18**	-0.24**	-	-0.094	-0.103	-	-	-	-
	(0.069)	(0.082)		(0.178)	(0.323)				
Couple w/	-1.30***	-1.39***	-	1.468	-1.425	-	-	-	-
	(0.258)	(0.322)		(0.853)	(1.154)				
Single parent	-1.61***	-0.62**	-	-0.755	-1.869	-	-	-	-
	(0.170)	(0.208)		(0.532)	(1.380)				
Couple w/out	-1.06***	-1.10***	-	-1.73***	-2.24***	-	-	-	-
	(0.128)	(0.158)		(0.400)	(0.644)				
Other	-0.63**	-0.58*	-	-1.456	-1.733	-	-	-	-
	(0.241)	(0.295)		(0.748)	(1.105)				
Age	-0.004	-0.002	-	-0.02*	-0.011	-	-	-	-
	(0.003)	(0.003)		(0.007)	(0.014)				
Gender ratio	-0.22**	-0.27**	-	0.39*	0.482	-	-	-	-
	(0.076)	(0.086)		(0.182)	(0.348)				
Education	0.08***	0.08***	-	0.10**	0.140	-	-	-	-
	(0.015)	(0.017)		(0.038)	(0.072)				
Observations	11080	11080	9470	11080	11080	10881	11080	11080	11036
Zero Obs	1610	1610	-	199	109	-	-	-	-

Note: (Zero-inflated) negative binomial regressions based on EVS 2013, vegetarians and pescetarians are excluded. Incidence-rate ratios are reported for the negative binomial model. Standard errors in parentheses.
Asterisks indicate level of significance. *p<0.05 **p<0.01 *** p<0.001.

Table 8: Influences on fresh, processed and total meat consumption frequency, EVS 2013

Again looking at the demographics first, I find the following: Respondents in East Germany eat less beef, more pork, more poultry and more processed meats than respondents in West Germany while they tend to buy meat that is cheaper. Respondents residing in urban areas eat less pork, less processed meats and more poultry than respondents in non-urban areas, with no difference in beef. Older respondents generally eat more meat of all types. As the share of women in a household increases, the household tends to consume less meat of all types (except beef) but meat of higher value. Households whose principal earner has a migration background consume more beef and more fish compared to their non-migrant counterparts.

While household income does not cause inflation of zeros, i.e. it does not impact non-consumption of any particular type of meat, it is positively related to the consumption of beef, of processed meats and negatively related to the consumption of pork. Wealthier households tend to spend more money per unit for all types of fresh meats, for processed meats and for meat in general. This indicates that they tend to buy meat of a higher quality, more non-conventional meat or more expensive cuts of meat. As a household's average level of education increases, their fresh, processed and total meat consumption decreases while the meat they consume is of higher value. This is true regardless of the type of meat. Highly educated households also tend to cause zero-inflation which means that they are more likely not to consume a particular type of fresh meat (beef, pork, poultry or fish) compared to households with less average education. Looking at the impact of respondents' main occupation, I find the following: If the household's principal earner is a student compared to a civil servant, the consumed amount of beef, pork and poultry decreases by 35%, 31% and 21%, respectively (holding all other variables constant). The amount of fresh meat consumed decreases by 26% and the amount of processed meat by 28%. If the household's principal earner is a worker, unemployed or a pensioner, the purchased meat tends to be of lower value compared to households in which the principal earners is a student, civil servant (the reference group), self-employed person or employee. Households with a worker as principal earner also tend to consume more meat than other households, which is primarily because of the larger amounts of processed meat that are purchased and consumed. Workers also consume significantly more pork and fresh meat in general. On the other hand, households with a self-employed person as principal earner pay 11%, 5%, 7%, 4% and 6% more money per unit for beef, pork, poultry, processed meats and meat in total than the reference group. These households also consume less pork and less processed meats but similar amounts of beef, poultry and fish as all other households.

Again, there are a number of interaction effects which show that the interpretation of the regression models is not as straightforward as the initial numbers suggest. Statistical interpretations of all interaction effects are available in the Appendix (section 9). First of all, age clearly exhibits a reversely u-shaped relationship with beef, pork, poultry, and processed meat consumption. On average, consumption increases until the age of 50 to 60 years and decreases again for older respondents (results not shown).

Respondents' age also influences the effect of their level of education. While the consumed amount of all types of meat (except for fish) generally decreases as respondents' level of education increases, this decrease is even more pronounced for younger respondents. Figure 5 shows the change in fresh meat and processed meat consumption in grams per month resulting from a one-unit change in a household's

average level of education dependent on the principal earner's age. Households with a 30-year-old head consume about 160 grams of fresh meat and 190 grams of processed meat less per month for every one-unit increase in the household's average level of education. The same increase in education decreases fresh and processed meat consumption by only 70 grams and 100 grams, respectively, for households with a 70-year-old head.

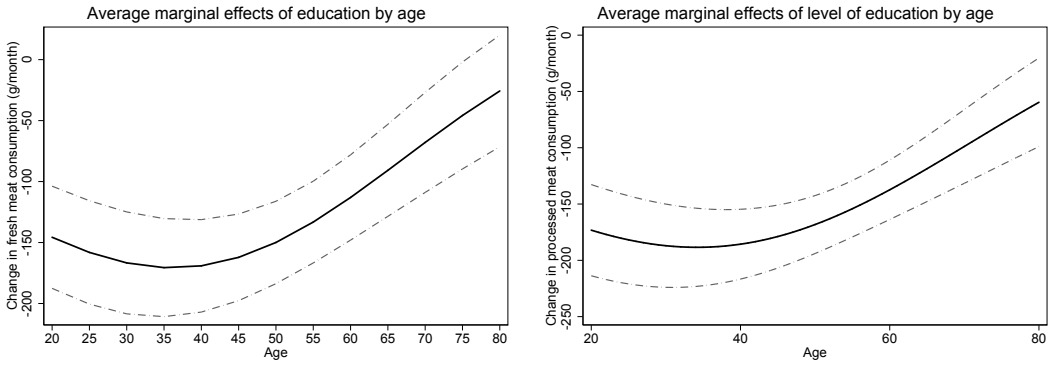

Figure 5: Effect of education by age on fresh and processed meat consumption

In a similar way, the effect of education on fresh and processed meat consumption hinges on household income: Higher levels of education decrease fresh meat consumption even more drastically for wealthy households than for low-income households. For a household with a monthly income of about 1000 Euros, a one-unit increase in the household's average level of education decreases monthly fresh meat consumption by about 100 grams (which is mainly a result of a decrease in pork consumption) and processed meat consumption by about 110 grams. The same one-unit increase in education decreases monthly consumption of fresh and processed meats by about 140 grams and 180 grams, respectively, for a household with a monthly income of about 6000 Euros (holding all other variables, e.g. household composition and size, constant). Vice versa, this also means that the negative effect of household income on monthly fresh meat consumption increases as households' level of education increases: Income does not make a difference for households with high levels of education but tends to increase overall meat consumption per month for households with lower levels of education. Households with lower secondary education on average increase their overall monthly meat consumption from 6.5 kilograms to more than 7 kilograms as their monthly household income increases from 0 to 6000 Euros, again holding all other variables constant. This is not the case for households with high secondary or tertiary average levels of education (Figure 6).

Additionally, there are a few interesting interaction effects which apply only to particular categories of meat. For example, households with more male than female household members tend to consume less beef when their principal earner is self-employed while households with a larger share of women than men tend to consume more beef when their principal earner is self-employed.[22] For poultry, I find two more interesting interaction effects, shown in Figure 7: First, a household's income has a negative effect

[22] A household's principal earner being self-employed instead of being a civil servant (the reference group) increases beef consumption for all-female households by 166 grams per month and decreases beef consumption for all-male households by 165 grams, holding all other variables constant. For households with gender parity, the effect is a decrease in monthly beef consumption of only 18 grams.

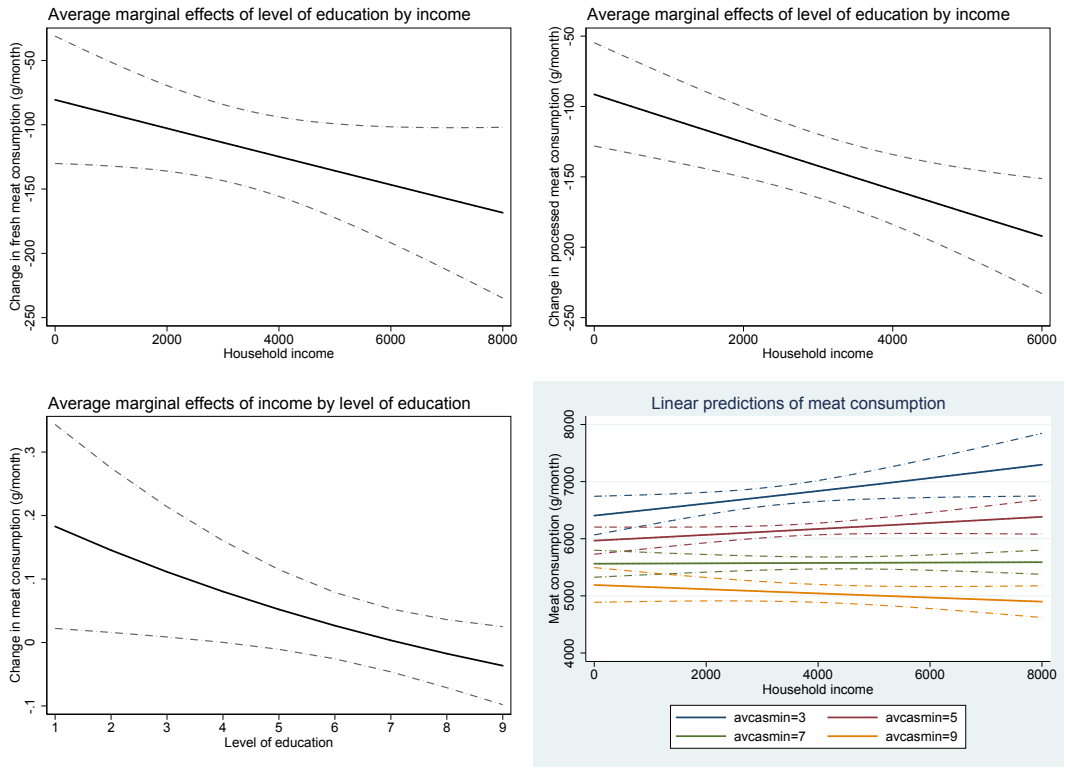

Figure 6: Interaction effects between income and education on meat consumption

on consumption only for those households residing outside of metropolitan areas. It does not make a difference for urban households. Second, higher levels of education are associated with increasing poultry consumption for workers and decreasing consumption for non-workers. While education does not influence fish consumption in general, it does so for pensioners. Their monthly amount of consumed fish increases as their level of education increases (Figure 8). These results highlight the importance of distinguishing between different types of meat in analyses of meat consumption levels whenever feasible.

4.2.5 Interim conclusion

I now compare the analysis of EVS and SOEP data and describe how the results relate to the research questions and hypotheses that were stated in the beginning.

According to hypothesis (1), I expected that meat consumption levels would decrease as a person's level of cultural capital increases. This relationship can unambiguously be confirmed. Higher levels of institutionalized cultural capital in the form of general and vocational training and education are consistently associated with lower levels of meat consumption. This is true for individuals' education (SOEP) as well as for households' average level of education (EVS) regardless of the type of meat. The only outlier seems to be the consumption of fish; however, the increased frequency of fish consumption associated with more education was only found in the SOEP data and was neither clearly confirmed nor rejected by EVS data. Highly educated EVS households do not necessarily eat more fish but

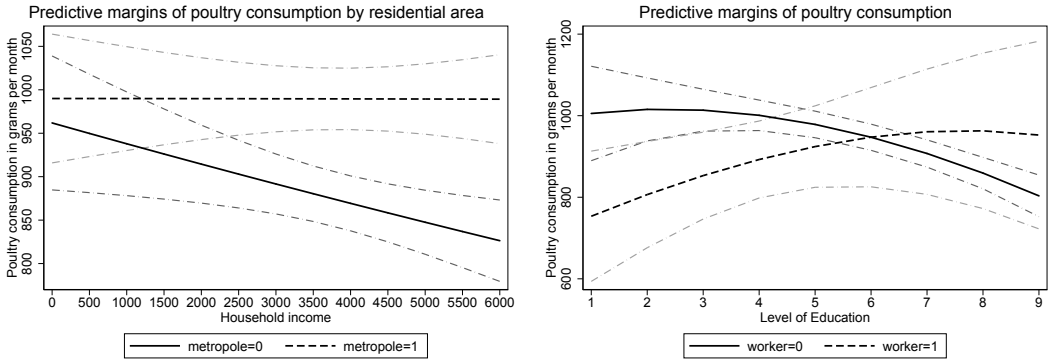

Figure 7: Interaction effects for poultry consumption

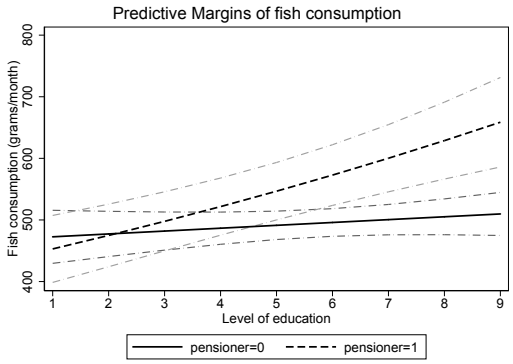

Figure 8: Interaction effect for fish consumption

they purchase fish of higher value which leads to higher expenses for fish. Crucially, the frequency of fish consumption (SOEP) cannot be equated with the amount of fish consumption (EVS). Eating fish more often does not necessarily translate into consuming larger amounts. Further, it is impossible to assign specific amounts of consumed fish to individuals within households which impedes conclusive statements. The negative effects of increasing levels of education on meat consumption are stronger for women than for men and in general most pronounced for the consumption of pork. Interestingly, education does not decrease meat consumption for workers (SOEP), and increases fish consumption more strongly for workers than for the reference group of civil servants. In addition, the impact of a household's level of education on meat consumption is more pronounced in younger households than in older households.

Hypothesis (2) stated that economic capital does not influence a person's level of meat consumption. This is only partly confirmed, with important differences between income levels and types of meat. Respondents' economic capital in the form of their household income shows a logarithmic relationship with the majority of dependent variables in both data sets (not displayed here), indicating that the effects of income are stronger for groups with lower incomes and flatten out as incomes increase. What is more, the effects of income depend on the type of meat under consideration. While larger incomes are linked to less frequent consumption of poultry but neither to red meat nor to fish consumption

frequency in the SOEP data, EVS data shows that the combined red meat category may not be affected because larger incomes influence beef consumption positively and pork consumption negatively. The opposite effects of income may simply cancel each other out in the SOEP data. Higher incomes also tend to be associated with increased consumption of processed meats and tend to prevent zero-inflation for beef consumption, i.e. wealthier households are unlikely not to consume any beef at all (EVS).

According to hypothesis (3), the price per unit of meat purchased increases with a person's level of economic and cultural capital. This is unequivocally confirmed. Based on EVS data, we see that increases in households' economic and cultural capital, measured as their income and average level of education, have significant positive effects on the value of the meat and fish that was consumed by the household. Wealthier and more educated households pay more for every unit of beef, pork, poultry, fish and processed meat they purchase. They may buy more expensive cuts, higher-quality meats, organic meats or frequent more expensive stores.

Due to a lack of previous research findings, I did not state hypotheses about consumers' occupation and their level of meat consumption. However, the results show that students eat less red meat in general and that female students eat more fish, even after controlling for residential area, age and education. Workers tend to eat more red meat and self-employed females eat less poultry and less meat in general (SOEP). Most of these findings are confirmed in the EVS analysis: Households whose principal earner is a student consume less meat of all types (except fish), working class households eat more processed meats and tend to purchase meat of lower value. The latter is also true for households whose head is unemployed or a pensioner. Households with a self-employed head consume less meat of all types but meat of higher value. Again, these results hold even after controlling for residential area, age, gender, education and income.

4.3 Vegetarianism

The previous analysis showed which factors influence the frequency of meat consumption, the amount of different meats consumed, the expenses for different types of meat as well as the value of the meat as an indicator of its quality. I will now turn to an analysis of vegetarianism, i.e. the complete absence of meat from one's diet, and try to provide some answers to research questions (2a) and (2b).

4.3.1 Dependent variables

The dependent variables in this chapter are dichotomous ones, i.e. being on a vegetarian diet or not. There are several difficulties in measurement, however. The units in the EVS data are households. This makes it exceptionally difficult to assign dietary patterns to individual household members. While one or more persons in a household may follow a vegetarian diet, their household will be considered non-vegetarian when a single member of the household purchases or consumes meat products. Vice versa, since food expenses away from home are only recorded as a single composite number, households may be incorrectly identified as vegetarian households when they do not buy meat for domestic consumption but eat meat when dining out OR when they do not buy meat for domestic consumption in the study period of one month but in a different month. To address the first problem, I analyze single households in addition to all households in the EVS 2013 sample and compare the results. The second problem remains; but for the purpose of this research, it is reasonable to assume that the majority of

households which abstain from meat consumption domestically also do so when eating out. One of the advantages of the EVS data collection method is that I do not have to rely on self-reported measures which are prone to bias due to divergent definitions of vegetarianism or due to social desirability. To corroborate findings, I present analyses based on SOEP 2016 data in addition. The SOEP offers a self-reported but individual-level measure of vegetarianism. Measurement problems become evident here: For several respondents ($N = 837$), the self-reported measure of vegetarianism or veganism diverges from the self-reported consumption frequency of red meat, poultry and fish. In Table (9), reported meat consumption frequencies of self-identified vegetarians and vegans are displayed. In turn, there are also a few respondents who report to never eat meat but who do not explicitly identify as vegetarian or vegan ($N = 130$).

"How often do you eat..."	**Red meat?**	**Poultry?**	**Fish?**
Daily [5]	0.83%	0.08%	0.08%
4-6 days per week [4]	1.88%	1.13%	0.9%
2-3 days per week [3]	11.95%	9.54%	14.43%
2-4 days per month [2]	25.32%	23.97%	33.88%
Once a month or less [1]	17.21%	19.16%	21.11%
Never [0]	42.22%	44.55%	29.00%
N	1331	1331	1331

Table 9: Meat and fish consumption of vegetarians/vegans, SOEP 2016

I create three dependent variables on the basis of SOEP data which correspond to either of the two survey questions or to a combination of both; the latter variable thus presents a very strict definition of vegetarianism, i.e. self-identification and reported consumption behaviors match.[23] Depending on the data source, the dependent variable is operationalized slightly differently.

1. EVS 2013 (a): A household does not spend any money on meat or meat products for domestic consumption in the study period.

2. EVS 2013 (b): A single household does not spend any money on meat or meat products for domestic consumption in the study period.

3. SOEP 2016 (a): A respondent reports being on a vegetarian or a vegan diet.[24]

4. SOEP 2016 (b): A respondent reports abstaining from red meat, poultry and fish; or eating red meat, poultry or fish once a month at most.

5. SOEP 2016 (c): A respondent reports being on a vegetarian or vegan diet AND abstaining from red meat, poultry and fish; or eating red meat, poultry or fish once a month at most.

[23] Pfeiler & Egloff (2018) also suggest the use of a lax in addition to a strict definition for the analysis of vegetarianism using SOEP data.

[24] "Do you follow a mainly vegetarian or vegan diet?" Response options were "Yes, vegetarian"; "Yes, vegan" and "No, none of the above".

Table 10 summarizes the dependent variables:

Data Set	**Definition**	$y = 1$	**Perc.**	$y = 0$	**Perc.**	N
EVS 2013	(a)	199	1.74	11206	98.26	11405
EVS 2013	(b)	146	3.96	3542	96.04	3688
SOEP 2016	(a)	1331	5.44	23120	94.56	24451
SOEP 2016	(b)	624	2.09	29246	97.91	29870
SOEP 2016	(c)	494	1.65	29376	98.35	29870

Table 10: Summary of measures of vegetarianism, EVS 2013 and SOEP 2016

4.3.2 Independent and control variables

For both data sets, I use logistic regression models to estimate the influence of socioeconomic variables on the likelihood of following a vegetarian diet. The independent and control variables are the same ones as in the above analysis of meat consumption frequency. Independent and control variables for SOEP 2016 data are listed in Table 3. Table 4 provides a description of all independent and control variables used in the analysis of EVS 2013 data.

4.3.3 Results

(a) SOEP

T-tests reveal that self-identified vegetarians have, on average, significantly higher incomes than non-vegetarians, independent of the definition of vegetarianism that was used (for definition c: $t(28381) = -5.5, p = .00$). The highest percentage of vegetarians is found among those who have completed high secondary or tertiary education. Fifteen percent of students, eight percent of self-employed respondents, and seven percent of employees report currently following a vegetarian or vegan diet while only about two percent of workers and three percent of pensioners do so. About nine percent of students and about four percent of self-employed respondents could be classified as strict vegetarians, i.e. their self-categorization and their reported consumption behaviors match.

Table 11 presents the findings of four logistic regression models based on SOEP 2016 data, using three different definitions of vegetarianism plus one definition of pescetarianism (no meat but fish is consumed) based on self-reported consumption patterns. Respondents in East Germany, older respondents, male respondents, respondents living in non-urban areas and respondents with a migration background are significantly less likely to follow a vegetarian diet than respondents in West Germany, younger respondents, female respondents, those living in urban areas and without migration background. Household income does not influence the likelihood of following a vegetarian or a pescetarian diet, which invalidates the bivariate results once controls are added. The likelihood of following a vegetarian or pescetarian diet increases with education.

Looking at occupations, there are some interesting results when it comes to the different definitions of vegetarianism. Students are twice as likely and self-employed persons are 67% more likely to self-identify as vegetarians as is the reference group (Model 1) while they are also more likely to report low or no levels of meat consumption (Model 2). Workers, on the other hand, are considerably less likely

to self-identify as vegetarians (Model 1) and unemployed persons and employees tend to report lower levels of meat consumption (Model 2) while they do not use the label vegetarianism correspondingly. This points to the different reasons why someone may eat no meat, and alludes to the symbolic value of dietary labels. Vegetarian diets may carry different symbolic meanings and connotations across social groups.

	Definition (a)	**Definition (b)**	**Definition (c)**	**Pescetarian**
East	0.776**	0.707**	0.652**	0.504***
	(0.066)	(0.090)	(0.096)	(0.092)
Urban area	1.327***	1.549***	1.504***	1.181
	(0.098)	(0.173)	(0.191)	(0.165)
Couple w/	0.456***	0.380***	0.419***	0.455***
	(0.042)	(0.047)	(0.058)	(0.081)
Single parent	0.672***	0.568***	0.598**	0.772
	(0.080)	(0.092)	(0.110)	(0.071)
Couple w/out	0.550***	0.467***	0.502***	0.583***
	(0.049)	(0.060)	(0.074)	(0.098)
Other	0.537**	0.472**	0.465*	0.799
	(0.120)	(0.134)	(0.153)	(0.272)
Age	0.987***	0.981***	0.972***	0.991
	(0.003)	(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.006)
Gender	2.559***	2.852***	3.063***	2.555***
	(0.180)	(0.295)	(0.361)	(0.344)
Migration	0.469***	0.491***	0.483***	0.521***
	(0.075)	(0.068)	(0.075)	(0.100)
HH Income	0.999	0.999	0.999	0.999
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Education	1.213***	1.184***	1.250***	1.181***
	(0.018)	(0.024)	(0.030)	(0.031)
Student	2.065***	2.562***	2.547***	1.708*
	(0.252)	(0.413)	(0.429)	(0.447)
Worker	0.632**	1.032	0.836	0.539
	(0.094)	(0.213)	(0.212)	(0.180)
Unemployed	0.932	2.276***	1.739*	1.276
	(0.151)	(0.444)	(0.417)	(0.391)
Pensioner	0.933	1.324	1.315	1.603
	(0.135)	(0.292)	(0.345)	(0.433)
Self-employed	1.669***	2.590***	2.816***	2.108**
	(0.216)	(0.486)	(0.563)	(0.539)
Employee	1.044	1.426**	1.428**	1.280
	(0.088)	(0.178)	(0.191)	(0.216)
Constant	0.028***	0.013***	0.009***	0.006***
Pseudo R^2	0.086	0.096	0.119	0.065
Observations	22132	26184	26184	25510

Note: Logistic regressions based on SOEP 2016 data. Standard errors in parentheses. Odds ratios are reported. Asterisks indicate level of significance. *p<0.05 **p<0.01 ***p<0.001.

Table 11: Likelihood of vegetarian/pescetarian diet, SOEP 2016

Some interaction effects are again worth taking a closer look at. Respondents in East Germany are less likely to self-identify as vegetarians compared to respondents in West Germany ($Pr_E = 0.046, Pr_W = 0.056$), but this effect is entirely explained by the difference between pensioners in East and West Germany ($Pr_E = 0.028, Pr_W = 0.060$). A similar effect can be found in Model (2): The difference between East and West Germany is mainly a function of the difference between pensioners in East and West Germany ($Pr_E = 0.008, Pr_W = 0.031$). Once the interaction is accounted for, region does not show a significant effect anymore. However, region is still significant for vegetarian diets using the strictest definition of vegetarianism (Model 3) and for pescetarian diets (Model 4) after adding the interaction between main occupation and region.

In Model (2) and (3), income shows a reversely u-shaped relationship with the probability of being on a vegetarian diet. The likelihood of eating meat only once a month or less frequently increases as a respondent's monthly income increases up to about 2250 Euros, and decreases again with higher incomes. The same finding is evident from Model (3), only with a slightly higher income as tipping point.

Equally interesting is the interaction between income and education: In all three models on vegetarianism, the effect size of one variable hinges on the value of the other variable. The likelihood of self-identifying as vegetarian decreases with increasing levels of income for highly educated respondents. In contrast, it increases with increasing levels of income for respondents with lower levels of education. The likelihood for all respondents converges at very high income levels. Figure 9 depicts this interaction effect. Vice versa, a wealthy respondent's level of education has barely any effect on their likelihood of self-identifying as vegetarian, but it has an effect for respondents with lower incomes. This effect is almost linear for respondents with an average monthly income of about 2500 Euros, and it approximates an exponential curve for incomes below that threshold (Figure 10).

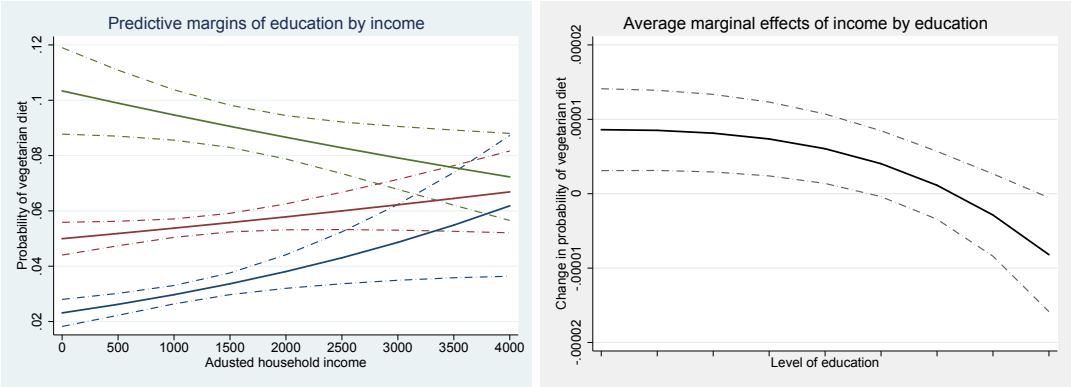

Figure 9: Effect of income on likelihood of vegetarian diet

(b) EVS

For EVS data, bivariate analyses show no significant differences in household income between vegetarian/pescetarian and non-vegetarian/non-pescetarian single households ($t(3686) = 0.6, p = .54$) but they do show significantly higher levels of education for vegetarian and pescetarian single households ($t(3685) = -5.9, p = .00$). The highest share of vegetarians can be found among respondents who have

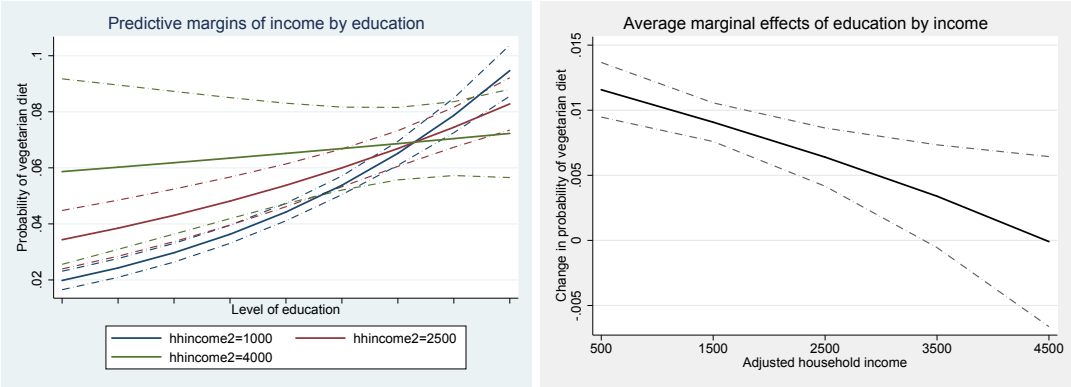

Figure 10: Effect of education on likelihood of vegetarian diet

obtained their general full maturity certificate (Abitur) but have not (yet) completed their tertiary education. It is likely that these are primarily students; in fact, almost 15% of students who live alone can be classified as vegetarians. The same is true for seven percent of self-employed respondents in single households but only for about two percent of pensioners.

Single households are much more likely to follow a vegetarian or pescetarian diet compared to any other type of household ($t(11403) = -12.6, p = .00$). This indicates that the share of vegetarian households among all households in the EVS 2013 data is not only lower because it is not possible to assign different diets to individuals within households; it is also lower because there may indeed be fewer vegetarians living in households of more than one person.

The majority of previous findings are supported: Household income does not have an impact on the likelihood that a household is classified as vegetarian or pescetarian (i.e. did not purchase any meat in the study period). A respondent's level of education or the household's average level of education, respectively, increases the likelihood that they follow a vegetarian diet or a pescetarian diet domestically. Students are three to five times more likely to fall into either category, and self-employed persons or households with a self-employed principal earner are more than twice as likely to be classified as pescetarian compared to the reference group.

	Vegetarian	**Pescetarian**	**V - single**	**P - single**
East	0.510***	0.596***	0.591*	0.635*
	(0.106)	(0.093)	(0.140)	(0.114)
Urban area	1.020	1.020	0.902	0.904
	(0.152)	(0.122)	(0.158)	(0.124)
Couple w/	0.129*	0.142*	(omitted)	(omitted)
	(0.112)	(0.111)		
Single parent	0.580	0.400*	(omitted)	(omitted)
	(0.288)	(0.184)		
Couple w/out	0.236***	0.259***	(omitted)	(omitted)
	(0.088)	(0.088)		
Other	0.283	0.277*	(omitted)	(omitted)
	(0.196)	(0.175)		
Age	0.987	0.987*	0.999	0.993
	(0.007)	(0.006)	(0.009)	(0.007)
Gender (ratio)	1.244	1.236	1.278	1.239
	(0.222)	(0.175)	(0.236)	(0.180)
Migration	1.474	1.208	0.730	0.816
	(0.616)	(0.449)	(0.454)	(0.402)
HH Income	0.999	0.999	0.999	0.999
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Education	1.237***	1.222***	1.247***	1.223***
	(0.049)	(0.038)	(0.057)	(0.043)
Student	3.739***	3.181***	5.529***	4.026***
	(1.432)	(0.992)	(2.428)	(1.433)
Worker	2.166	1.589	2.547	1.949
	(0.895)	(0.557)	(1.244)	(0.794)
Unemployed	1.958	2.056*	1.956	2.179*
	(0.842)	(0.690)	(0.954)	(0.830)
Pensioner	1.459	1.533	0.898	1.268
	(0.560)	(0.463)	(0.399)	(0.438)
Self-employed	2.388*	2.456**	2.310	2.682**
	(0.927)	(0.761)	(1.042)	(0.956)
Employee	1.519	1.536	1.482	1.565
	(0.468)	(0.376)	(0.528)	(0.444)
Constant	0.012***	0.030***	0.007***	0.018***
Pseudo R^2	0.134	0.145	0.072	0.060
Observations	11398	11398	3687	3687

Note: Logistic regressions based on EVS 2013 data, all households and single households. Odds ratios are reported, standard errors in parentheses. Asterisks indicate level of significance. *p<0.05 **p<0.01 *** p<0.001

Table 12: Likelihood of vegetarian/pescetarian diet, EVS 2013

Again, there are a few important interaction effects. First, income exhibits a logarithmic relationship with the probability of following a pescetarian diet, in all households as well as in single households. Its negative effect levels off as household income increases. Second, the effect of a household's average level of education on the likelihood of following a vegetarian diet depends on the principal earner's age. Education has no influence in households with a very young head (their likelihood of being a vegetarian household is already higher across all levels of education), but the positive effect of education on the probability of following a vegetarian diet steadily increases as a household's age increases (Figure 11). Third, and resembling the previous findings, pensioners residing in West Germany are somewhat more likely to follow a vegetarian diet compared to the reference group in West Germany ($Pr_P = 0.029, Pr_R = 0.020$), while they are less likely compared to the reference group in East Germany ($Pr_P = 0.004, Pr_R = 0.012$).

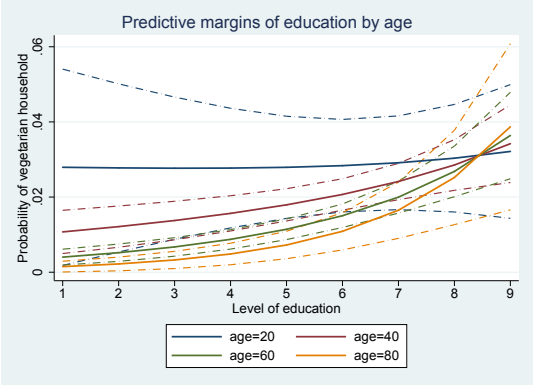

Figure 11: Interaction effect vegetarian households, EVS 2013

4.3.4 Interim conclusion

Hypothesis (4) stated that the likelihood of following a vegetarian diet increases as a person's level of cultural capital increases, and hypothesis (5) stated that economic capital does not influence the likelihood of following a vegetarian diet. Both hypothesis are confirmed by the data. In both data sets (EVS and GSOEP), economic capital - measured by household income - does not influence a person's or household's likelihood of following a vegetarian diet. Cultural capital - measured by a person's or a household's average level of education - increases the likelihood of following a vegetarian diet. The same is true for pescetarian diets. Holding income and education constant, students and self-employed consumers are more likely to follow a vegetarian diet than are consumers in other occupations.

4.4 Summary and Discussion

In the preceding chapter, I provided quantitative evidence in support of the hypothesized link between meat consumption patterns and socioeconomic position by analyzing data from two large-scale surveys conducted in Germany. The Income and Expenditure Survey (EVS) and the Socio-Economic Panel (SOEP) present different measures of meat consumption frequency and of vegetarianism, and they offer a unique way of looking at the link between socioeconomic background and diet.

First off, meat reduction and meat abstention relate to socioeconomic indicators differently. While cultural capital increases the likelihood of reduced meat intake and meat abstention alike, economic capital shifts the odds and mostly results in reduced meat intake. Economic capital bestows the ability to buy more expensive meat that is in line with consumers' intentions, e.g. organic or free-range meat. Vegetarianism and flexitarianism should thus be conceptualized as different empirical phenomena with potential differences in underlying rationales and intentions. This supports previous research that calls for conceptual distinctions (e.g. de Bakker & Dagevos 2012, De Backer & Hudders 2014, Rosenfeld & Burrow 2017, Pfeiler & Egloff 2018). I will further elaborate on the difference between vegetarian and flexitarian consumers, their motifs and their capital endowments in the second empirical part of this thesis (see chapters 5.2 and 5.3).

In addition, future studies should, whenever possible, break down aggregate measures of meat consumption to account for the subtle differences between different types of meat. This does not only pertain to meat from different animals or to fresh and processed meats. Especially an analysis of the price of meat as indicator of its quality seems conducive. The results reported here show that a more fine-grained analysis can be revealing: For example, economic capital is positively correlated with beef consumption but negatively with pork and poultry consumption. That different types of meat relate to indicators of social class position differently has also been reported in previous studies (Newman et al. 2001, Daniel et al. 2011, Aston et al. 2013, Neff et al. 2018), supporting the argument that the meaning and value of different types of meat may diverge and are construed differently across social groups.

What is more, the different measures of vegetarianism available in the GSOEP data point to another related phenomenon. Self-reported measures of vegetarianism or veganism do not neatly align with reported meat consumption frequencies. Potential reasons for this are divergent definitions of vegetarian diets but also differences in the meaning and symbolic value attached to the label 'vegetarianism'. The label seems to yield little value to workers, unemployed persons and employees who sometimes report eating little or no meat but do not assign the label 'vegetarian' to themselves. Vice versa, especially students may derive symbolic and identity-signaling value from being classified as 'vegetarians', and therefore self-categorize as such while still eating meat on occasion.

Secondly, it is important to conceive of food practices not solely in terms of individual decision-making but to acknowledge the role of everyday social contexts in which food practices have to be negotiated. Consumers in single households are much more likely to follow a vegetarian diet than consumers in any other type of household. Other studies have shown that dietary patterns within households tend to converge (cf. Bove et al. 2003) and that maintaining a vegetarian diet in a non-vegetarian household is often complicated by interpersonal conflicts, different dietary needs or simply by practical concerns (Menzies & Sheeshka 2012, Beagan et al. 2014, Graça et al. 2019). Children also influence domestic consumption patterns, and mediate the influence of economic capital. Households with children do not reduce their meat consumption as their household income increases while households without children do so. Tentative clues as to why this might be the case are discussed below (see section 5.2.6 on household relationships). Relatedly, gender differences in meat consumption patterns are also particularly evident in the data. This lends credence to numerous previous studies (Adams 1990, Fiddes 1991, Nath 2011, Rozin et al. 2012, Ruby 2012, Rothgerber 2013, Sumpter 2015, Mensink

et al. 2016). Fruitful directions for further research emerge from the potential interaction between gendered and classed patterns of meat consumption (Inglis et al. 2005, Beagan et al. 2014, Johnston & Baumann 2014), and some interesting relationships were revealed by the interactions found in the EVS and GSOEP data.

Finally, economic and cultural capital do not show the same effects across social groups, and they impact on each other's effects in a variety of ways. Income mostly affects the consumption patterns of those low in economic capital. Income effects usually diminish as economic capital increases. Furthermore, the level of economic capital does not make much difference for those with low levels of education. This corroborates previous studies that show that meat consumption practices are often deeply rooted and fulfil important social functions among social groups with low amounts of capital (Astleithner 2007, Alkon et al. 2013, Baumann et al. 2017). Accordingly, meat is especially price inelastic in these groups (Darmon & Drewnowski 2015). What is more, meat-reduced diets, vegetarian diets and pescetarian diets are more common among students and among self-employed persons, even after controlling for income and education. While survey data often renders a more in-depth analysis of the impact of other forms of cultural capital beyond formal education or of other forms of economic capital beyond income impossible, the findings reported here support the call for a multidimensional conceptualization of socioeconomic position when analyzing consumption and lifestyle patterns more generally.

5 Empirics II: Understanding links between socioeconomic position, meat consumption and vegetarianism

In the preceding chapter, I provided quantitative evidence for the link between meat consumption patterns and socioeconomic divisions. Insofar as formal education can be regarded as a proxy for cultural capital, there are clear links between meat-reduced or vegetarian diets and cultural capital as well as between certain occupations and meat-reduced or vegetarian diets. When it comes to the role of economic capital however, the findings so far are rarely straightforward which suggests a need for more in-depth explanations. The statistical analyses provide a plethora of thought-provoking results but are limited to revealing correlations without explanations.

To understand why socioeconomic position and dietary patterns are linked, I move from a quantitative, large-scale approach to a qualitative, small-scale approach. My objective is to disentangle the mechanisms which influence dietary patterns against the backdrop of the quantitative empirical evidence, and to relate them to relevant literature in turn. The arguments in this next chapter were constructed as part of an iterative process, constantly oscillating between theory and data (see section 3 on methodology), and will hopefully provide a comprehensive picture of the links between class, dietary changes, and meat consumption.

In what follows, I draw on 46 interviews with meat-eaters, meat-reducers, vegetarians and vegans from different social backgrounds, all of them residing in metropolitan areas in Germany. [25] I show that a majority of consumers – vegetarians, non-vegetarians, and consumers endowed with different amounts of economic and cultural capital alike – share a set of food ideals, including those that promote reduced meat consumption. I proceed by presenting six (partially overlapping) arguments to explain why meat-free or meat-reduced diets are more prevalent in some social groups than in others. These arguments do, in fact, not apply exclusively to meat-reduced diets. Most of them shed light on barriers to and facilitators of dietary changes more generally.

Finally, I analyze the subjective meanings that consumers attach to different consumption practices, and how social judgments about dietary behaviors may add to the perseverance of their stratification. These findings are more specific to the study of meat consumption and of meat-reduced diets.

The last section of this second empirical part zooms in on the interplay of class and status effects; or on how a combination of material conditions and of boundary work towards meat-eaters and meat-abstainers interacts in compounding dietary and social inequalities.

5.1 Food ideals and meat consumption

In this chapter, I seek to analyze whether and to what extent vegetarians, meat-reducers and meat-eaters in my sample place emphasis on different food ideals, or are differently aware of certain food prescriptions. This might be a potential explanation for the emergence of socially stratified dietary patterns. At first, however, I will provide a brief overview of the sociological literature on food ideals.

In a variety of studies that apply qualitative or ethnographic methods, food scholars assemble and classify the food ideals consumers themselves mention; or they directly analyze the food ideals that

[25] Anonymized versions of all interview transcripts as well as the code system that was developed and applied during analyis are available from the author upon request (einhorn@mpifg.de).

are referred to in popular discourse, i.e. in the online and offline media, in public or political debates.

More than 20 years ago, Alan Warde (1997) analyzed the changing nature of prominent food ideals in Britain. He highlighted that some food ideals clearly contradict each other, thereby imprinting anxiety and uncertainty onto consumers, and leaving them with feelings of guilt and unease. According to the author, the contemporary food discourse could most appropriately be described by four antinomies: novelty versus tradition, convenience versus care, health versus indulgence, and economy versus extravagance. He finds evidence for these antinomies not only in popular magazines and cookbooks but also in consumers' narratives and statements. Eva Barlösius (2016) focuses on food ideals in the context of Germany. She argues that the four basic imperatives of the contemporary dominant food discourse are a glorification of former times, the superiority of organic produce, an expression of skepticism, especially concerning food safety, and the importance of healthy and conscious eating. Again, as suggested by Warde (1997), these imperatives overlap but also partly contradict each other, thereby creating anxiety and a variety of different justifications for food choices.

Based on a historical analysis of changes in the dominant food discourse in the United States, Margot Finn (2017) identifies sophistication, thinness, purity and cosmopolitanism as the dominant food ideals of the contemporary discourse. Again, these ideals do partly overlap and partly clash. Finn's food ideals are also reminiscent of Johnston and Baumann's (2014) analysis of gourmet food writing and of 'foodie' culture in North America, in which the authors extract two main food ideals: authenticity (including local provenance, purity and tradition) and exoticism (including cosmopolitanism, extravagance and novelty).

Other authors focus on consumers' accounts and narratives to assess which food ideals are also prominently discussed in private. Based on interviews with consumers in Germany, Grauel (2014) identifies four main food ideals: a clean conscience, frugality or thriftiness, healthy eating, and indulgence or pleasure. In a similar vein, by talking to Canadian families of varying social backgrounds, Beagan and colleagues (2014) identify several themes that were mentioned frequently. These were healthy eating, ethical eating (including instances of cosmopolitan eating and vegetarianism), body image, frugality or thriftiness, and an aesthetic disposition towards food.

Despite geographical differences (although all studies were conducted in Western, advanced capitalist countries) and slight differences in focus and in terminology, there are in fact many commonalities in these discourses. Some food ideals may universally be valued, and some are prominent parts of a dominant cultural discourse on food across countries. It becomes evident from these exemplary studies that, across cultural contexts, healthy eating, or 'healthism' (Crawford 1994, 2006), is widely acknowledged as a prominent element of the contemporary food discourse. Many empirical studies in different research traditions find that healthy eating is of major importance for most consumers, regardless of their socioeconomic position (Backett-Milburn et al. 2006, Beagan et al. 2014, Cairns & Johnston 2015, Smith Maguire 2016, Baumann et al. 2017, Beagan et al. 2017, Fielding-Singh 2017, Stamer 2018). Similarly, vegetarians and non-vegetarians alike share a concern for healthy eating (Beardsworth & Keil 1991, Fox & Ward 2008, Vainio et al. 2016, Pfeiler & Egloff 2018, Graça et al. 2019, Oleschuk et al. 2019).

An emphasis on body image and on thinness, paralleled by a disdain for overweight and obesity, is often related to healthy eating. This is especially salient among women, but no longer restricted to

them (Beardsworth & Keil 1997, Guthman & DuPuis 2006, Beagan et al. 2014, Cairns & Johnston 2015, Finn 2017). While some studies have found that eating disorders and body weight concerns are most prevalent among women in higher socioeconomic positions (Beardsworth & Keil 1997, Inglis et al. 2005), the body image ideal increasingly presents a challenge to consumers of all social groups as it becomes tied up with notions of health and self-discipline, and scaffolds processes of stigmatization (Guthman & DuPuis 2006, Vartanian et al. 2007, Valentine & Harris 2014, Cairns & Johnston 2015).

Mirroring these findings, the interviewees in my sample almost unequivocally refer to a healthy eating theme; in fact, only four of them do not evoke healthy eating as one of their major concerns when shopping for and preparing food. However, references to healthy eating have different implications for their meat consumption. Some of them switched to a meatless or meat-reduced diet as a result of health or weight loss considerations:

> *"For me it is simply for health reasons so I said: I know that meat is unhealthy, at least in its highly processed form in which we usually consume it. And I just don't want that. I also don't need it."*[26]

(Dominik, vegetarian, male, 25, low EC, intermediate to high CC)

> *"I think it was in 1980 when I realized that eating, eating meat is bad for your health. (. . .) Well, and in 1981, I said: Ok, that's it. I stop eating meat; it's really unnecessary and to a large extent health-damaging"*[27]

(Emil, vegan, male, 59, high EC, high CC)

> *"And I eventually lost some weight as a result of not eating meat (.)- so at first – at first my reasons were mainly pragmatic ones and then I started to gain more and more information"*[28]

(Samuel, vegan, male, 35, high EC, high CC)

Other respondents speak about forgoing certain types or cuts of meat or about consuming less meat overall in order to eat more healthily. A few vegetarians acknowledge that controlled meat consumption may not necessarily lead to bad health:

> *"I still eat fish. I do that. And yeah, fish is not only healthy but also tastes really good."*[29]

(Sophia, pescetarian, female, 33, intermediate EC, high CC)

> *"But other than that I wouldn't – you need to cut down (on meat) for health reasons. We eat way too much pork; so we gave up on that sausage stuff. "*[30]

[26] "Für mich einfach auch aus gesundheitlichen Gründen, dass ich gesagt hab: Ich weiß, dass Fleisch ungesund ist, in der verarbeiteten Form wie wir es zu uns nehmen meistens. Und das möcht' ich einfach nicht. Ich brauch's halt auch nicht."

[27] "Aber das Essen, Fleischessen gesundheitsschädlich ist ist mit so ab 1980 bewusst geworden. (. . .) Naja und dann hab ich – so und dann 1981 hab ich gesagt: So, jetzt ist Schluss. Jetzt här ich auf mit Fleischessen, das ist wirklich, ist überflüssig und weitgehend gesundheitsschädlich"

[28] "Und ohne Fleisch hab ich dann tatsächlich ein bisschen was abgenommen (.), also erst – also in erster Linie war es so pragmatisch gemacht und in der Zeit danach hab ich mich immer mehr informiert."

[29] "Ich ess noch Fisch. Das mach ich. Und ja, Fisch ist erstens gesund und zweitens schmeckt's unglaublich gut"

[30] "Aber ansonsten würde ich jetzt nicht unbedingt – man muss es ja auch gesundheitlich einschränken. Also Schweinefleisch essen wir ja viel zu viel, deswegen halt auch diese Schmierwurstsachen nicht mehr"

(Werner, meat-eater, male, 60s, intermediate to high EC, intermediate CC)

Still others hold that meat is an important part of a healthy diet and that they do not plan on changing their consumption habits:

> *"But according to my knowledge, a one-sided diet – vegan and vegetarian diets are kind of one-sided because humans simply need dairy protein and things, so you need to take care"*[31]

(Barbara, flexitarian, female, 62, high EC, high CC)

> *"I don't think that meat consumption is unhealthy, I don't – I am still the omnivorous, an omnivorous mammal so I don't think it's not healthy"*[32]

(Lukas, flexitarian, male, 51, high EC, high CC)

A strong sense of an ideal body image also reverberates with the large majority of interviews. This is evident in interviews with female and male respondents alike (although they tapped into different sets of beauty ideals). Weight is a prominent topic for most interviewees, and a large share had tried at least one type of weight loss diet throughout their life. In addition to having weight concerns, many respondents value fit bodies and exercise regularly. Some are athletes, or were athletes at some point in their lives. While this usually has implications for their dietary regimen, meat plays an ambiguous role. Some respondents consider meat (and especially white meat) as a source of protein conducive to, or even indispensable for a slim and fit body. Especially diets low on carbohydrates usually contain excessive amounts of meat:

> *(before going vegan): "Then I tried some low-carb diets where you only consume a restricted amount of carbs per day – some of them were ketogenic, which means below 30 grams of carbs per day – so I had, I don't know, scrambled eggs from six eggs and a whole package of bacon for breakfast, and something like a pound of chicken and mayo for dinner"*[33]

(Elias, vegan, male, 29, intermediate EC, high CC, self-employed)

> *"I went to the gym and was on a low-carb – or rather on a no-carb diet"*[34]

(Jacob, meat-eater, male, 67, intermediate to high EC, intermediate CC, self-employed)

> *"R: It's true that some people think like that – especially those who really – if you are on a low-carb diet for example, then you mainly eat meat. Because somehow you need to compensate."*[35]

[31] "Aber nach meinen Informationen ist eine einseitige Ernährung – und vegan und vegetarisch ist irgendwo einseitig, weil der Mensch braucht auch einfach tierische Eiweiße und so weiter, da muss man schon genau hingucken"

[32] "Dass ich da nicht der Meinung bin, dass Fleischkonsum ungesund ist, bin ich nicht – ich bin nach wie vor der allesfressende, das allesfressende Säugetier, insofern find ich das nicht ungesund"

[33] "Ich hab teilweise so kohlenhydratarme Ernährungsformen ausprobiert, wo man ne begrenzte Anzahl pro Gramm Kohlenhydrate am Tag zuführt - das war dann auch irgendwann in den ketogenen Bereich, also unter 30 Gramm Kohlenhydrate am Tag - dementsprechend gab's dann natürlich, weiß nicht, 6 Eier als Rührei und ne Packung Speck zum Frühstück und dann irgendwie abends noch ein Pfund Hähnchen mit Mayo oder sowas"

[34] "Bin ins Gym gegangen und hab dann eigentlich mehr No-Carb als Low-Carb-Diät gemacht"

[35] "Manche sind der Meinung das stimmt, also gerade die, die irgendwie wirklich dann ja, eben wenn du zum Beispiel Low Carb isst, dann isst du größtenteils viel Fleisch. Weil irgendwo musst du ja irgendwo ausgleichen"

(Sophia, pescetarian, female, 33, intermediate EC, high CC)

> *"I: So you don't buy any meat at the discount store?" – "Usually not, but there are exceptions. We have – my wife has three sons who live with us – or partly live with us – and one of them does a lot of bodybuilding, and if you want to stick to organic poultry to feed him, you don't have a chance. So we buy poultry in bulk from the discount store."*[36]

(Marco, meat-eater, male, 60s, intermediate to high EC, high CC, self-employed)

> *"I trained and I also took part in competitions. Well, and then I started to completely adjust my diet in order to be able to perform well. (. . .) I had something in the morning and, you know, as I said, a lot of veggies and fish. Fish was good, I also had meat from time to time, but only white meat"*[37]

(Regina, meat-eater, female, 71, intermediate to high EC, intermediate CC)

Others, however, do not think that meat is a necessary component of a nutritious and fueling diet. They refer to alternative sources of protein and nutritional energy; and some even feel that meat is an impediment to their fitness:

> *"Those who do bicycle racing will know Simon Gesche, a German cyclist, he won a stage of the Tour de France two years ago, and he also went vegan quite some time ago, and there are other athletes, also other cyclists, who are vegan for the most part. And others - so that, that athletes eat vegan diets becomes more and more widespread"*[38]

(Linus, vegan, male, 39, intermediate EC, high CC)

> *"Well, there's a lot of proteins, like lentils if you want those - if I realize that I lack protein, I go for lentils or kid - how do you call them - kidney beans, exactly"*[39]

(Lina, vegan, female, 20, low to intermediate EC, student)

> *"R: If I want to lose weight, I eat a lot of avocado, and I add - even though they contain a lot of oil - olive oil on top, and I eat a lot, or I like to eat Harzer cheese. Because it has a lot of protein." – "I: And not much fat?" – "R: Not much fat, but the protein is much more important. That's what I did when I ran the marathon"*[40]

[36] "I: Also kaufst du Fleisch auch nicht so gerne im Discounter?" – B: Ne, eigentlich nicht, wobei man muss wieder einschränken, wir haben mittlerweile - meine Frau hat drei Söhne, die bei uns wohnen, oder teilweise wohnen, und der Eine davon, der is', der macht ganz gerne Bodybuilding und wenn du den nur mit biologischem Hähnchenfleisch sattkriegen willst, da hast du keine Chance. Das heißt, das wird dann auch in Mengen vom Discounter gekauft"

[37] "Hab' dann noch dabei meine Wettkämpfe gemacht und mein Training. Ja, und da hab' ich angefangen, da wurde die Ernährung natürlich jetzt total abgestimmt auf Leistung erreichen. (. . .) Morgens dann gegessen und so weiter, dann eben, wie gesagt, nur noch gemüselastig und Fisch. Fisch war gut, Fleisch dann und wann, aber helles Fleisch und ja"

[38] "Also wer aktiv Radsport betreibt, weiß (?), kennt Simon Gesche, ein deutscher Radrennfahrer, der hat vor zwei Jahren mal Touretappe gewonnen zum Beispiel, der lebt auch vegan seit einiger Zeit - es gibt andere Sportler, also auch andere Radsportler, die größtenteils vegan leben (.) und auch Andere, auf dieses, dass Sportler irgendwie vegan sich ernähren, das (.) hört man immer mehr"

[39] "Also da gibt es ganz viel Proteine, oder mit Linsen, wenn du willst - also wenn ich weiß, dass mir Protein fehlt, dann Linsen oder Kid - wie sagt man? Bohnen, genau"

[40] "Wenn ich dann wieder mehr abnehmen will, dann ess ich viel mehr Avocado, da kommt da zusätzlich, obwohl viel Öl drin ist, nochmal Olivenöl drüber und ich ess auch sehr viel, oder gerne Harzer Käse. Weil da sehr viel Eiweiß drin ist" – "I: Und auch nicht so viel Fett?" – "B: Ne, ne, nicht viel Fett, aber viel wichtiger ist das Eiweiß. Angefangen hab ich damit zur Marathon-Zeit"

(Hans, meat-eater, male, 70s, intermediate EC, intermediate CC)

> *"For example, I eat 150 grams of nuts, I know that, because I always buy a tin of nuts at (discount grocery store) or something. And they come in a tin and it's 150 grams. And my husband, you know, who wants to have energy from nuts, has to eat twice as much, that's what I mean. And there's also peeled hempseeds, they are a great source of protein, and he needs to eat more of that"* [41]

(Natalia, vegan, female, 54, low EC, intermediate CC)

Some manifestation of an ethical eating theme is also pervasive in existing research, and elements of that are often identified as motives for vegetarian and meat-reduced diets. The food ideal that Grauel (2014) calls 'clean conscience' in his study of German consumers clearly resonates with the North American dominant ethical eating discourse which, for Johnston & Baumann (2014), is characterized by an emphasis on local provenance and seasonality, organics, sustainability and animal welfare. Connections between the notion of ethical eating and related concepts like ethical consumption, sustainable consumption, or political consumerism are evident here (see section 2.3 on sustainable consumption).

Ethical eating is, in fact, another reoccurring theme discussed by the interviewees in this study as well. It revolves around animal welfare, seasonal, regional and organic purchases, as well as waste avoidance. Environmental justice, food justice, and working conditions in the meat and dairy industry are only minor issues, if mentioned at all. The value of organically farmed products and the reduction of plastic packaging and food waste are commonly discussed. When asked whether they would modify their consumption practices if they were on a larger budget, vegetarians and non-vegetarians alike indicate a preference for more organic products. However, depending on the material resources available to them, respondents use different strategies to explain why they do not regularly buy organic products, despite wanting to do so. Mainly those endowed with little economic capital cite higher prices as the main impediment to frequent organic purchases. Several respondents, mostly but not necessarily with higher amounts of economic capital, attenuate tensions between ideal and actual organic food consumption practices by being skeptical about the truthfulness and credibility of organic labeling schemes, or about the organic or alternative food industry as a whole:

> *"People use the term organic' way too frequently I think, but I try to somewhat orient myself towards it"* [42]

(Jacob, meat-eater, male, 67, intermediate to high EC, intermediate CC, self-employed)

> *"This stuff that you buy in the supermarket; that you buy at Rewe or at Edeka (German supermarket chains) – you never really know if that's really organic, do you?"* [43]

[41] "Zum Beispiel esse ich 150 Gramm Nüsse, ich weiß das, weil ich immer eine Dose kaufe, im Netto oder so. Und die sind in einer Dose und haben 150 Gramm. Und ich meine, so ein Mann, welcher Power von Nüssen will, muss doppelt (so viel) essen, so meine ich das. Oder es gibt jetzt diese geschälten Hanfsamen, auch super Proteinquelle, also muss er mehr essen"

[42] Das Wort 'bio' wird eigentlich zu häufig genutzt, aber ich versuche halt irgendwo mich ein bisschen daran zu orientieren"

[43] Und das, was man so im Supermarkt so kauft, wenn man bei Rewe oder bei Edeka – ob das alles wirklich so Bio ist, das weiß man ja auch nicht immer unbedingt, ne?"

(Luise, meat-eater, female, 43, low EC, intermediate CC)

> *"Well sure, of course you can buy potatoes, you can buy organic potatoes at Aldi (German discount grocery store), and these potatoes are from Egypt. I don't know what is organic about that really, but I don't believe in this whole thing anyways"* [44]

(Werner, meat-eater, male, 50s, intermediate to high EC, intermediate CC)

Other elements of the ethical eating discourse like climate and resource protection are discussed by the majority of interviewees independent of their diet, but they are a little more salient for vegan and vegetarian interviewees, who assign high priority to them. Waste avoidance is an important topic for about half of all interviewees, with vegetarians and non-vegetarians in equal shares. The only marked differences are a higher prevalence of animal welfare motifs among vegetarians than among non-vegetarians (83% versus 65%), and, vice versa, a higher salience of concerns about regional and local products among non-vegetarians compared to vegetarians (57% versus 13%).

Some respondents discuss food prescriptions with ease and confidence while others are more cautious and uncomfortable. At some point during the interview, all of them express negative feelings of shame or guilt for not being able to live up to certain popular prescriptions, e.g. when they discuss body image and health concerns, weight, consumption of junk foods, of cheap meats, of ready-made products, or producing too much waste. This is equally true for male and female interviewees of all ages, as well as for vegetarians and for non-vegetarians. These emotional responses to some food ideals are a good indicator of their legitimacy, and of the extent to which they have been internalized by consumers. While negative emotions may be engendered by fear of shame or humiliation as potentially resulting from stigmatization (see section 5.3.4 on consequences of boundary work), interviewees may also sincerely value certain food ideals, feel proud for being able to implement them into practice or feel ashamed and frustrated for lacking the necessary resources to live up to their ideals (see section 2.2 on emotional states).

Consequently, conversations with interviewees who command low levels of either cultural or economic capital are more often imbued with feelings of shame or guilt:

> *"At some point (we ate at McDonald's) every other Sunday. And that's – well, people make mistakes. (. . .) It was a mistake because, of course, McDonald's serves unhealthy food. At least that's what I think"* [45]

(Tim, meat-eater, male, 46, low to intermediate EC, intermediate CC)

> *"I try to get back into it, exercise more and eat more healthily but it's difficult"* [46]

(Levi, meat-eater, male, 25, low EC, low to intermediate CC)

[44] Also ich mein klar, du kannst natürlich die Kartöffelchen, da kannst du beim Aldi natürlich die Bio-Kartöffelchen kaufen, die dann aus Ägypten kommen, aber ich weiß nicht, was da dann wirklich Bio sein soll, aber ich glaub da eh nicht an das Ganze so wirklich"

[45] Na teilweise jeden zweiten Sonntag. Und das ist (.) – ja, Fehler, die man macht. (. . .) Fehler in der Hinsicht, weil's natürlich ungesunde Ernährung ist bei McDonald's. Find ich zumindest."

[46] "Ich versuch da jetzt auch wieder reinzukommen, mehr Sport zu machen und gesünder zu ernähren, aber es ist halt schwierig"

"Well, I had an ambiguous relationship with food for sure – when I was maybe 12 or 13 – and I was pretty chubby back then - I affixed notes to the fridge, like 'Stop!', 'Hands off!', I don't know, 'You don't want to look like this!'" [47]

(Elena, vegan, female, 24, low EC, still in education)

"I have to be very consistent if I want to lose weight. I am at my maximum weight again these days and that is not acceptable" [48]

(Anita, meat-eater, female, 70s, intermediate EC, low to intermediate CC)

"Well, if I look back 10 to 15 years, we ate at McDonald's basically every week. Yes, awful – I attended dancing lessons with my wife and we always ate at McDonald's afterwards. And the bad thing was that we knew one of their employees and he always served us three times as much. We went there quite frequently, well, admittedly" [49]

(Matthias, meat-eater, male, 40s, intermediate EC, high CC)

Conclusion

In this chapter, I showed that a) vegetarians, meat-reducers and non-vegetarians, and b) respondents in different social positions do not differ substantially when asked to reflect about their food ideals. Interviewees unanimously discuss a variety of popular food ideals, but attach different priority to them. They all elaborate on the topics of healthy eating, body image, and ethical eating with its various implications and interpretations. While healthy eating is a very prominent theme in the interviews, there is no clear consensus about the relationship between meat consumption and health – except that excessive amounts of consumption are not beneficial. Accordingly, some vegetarians primarily cite health and body image ideals as reasons for their diet. However, many vegans and vegetarians place heavy emphasis on the ethical eating repertoire as defined by Johnston & Baumann (2014). These findings resonate with the distinction between health and ethical vegetarians in the respective literature (Beardsworth & Keil 1991, Astleithner 2007, Ruby 2012, Rosenfeld & Burrow 2017, Graça et al. 2019). In general, the food ideals that are frequently linked to vegetarian or meat-reduced diets are, at least discursively, valued by a large majority of consumers, and differences in food ideals or in awareness of them cannot readily account for differences in consumption practices. Importantly, non-vegetarians subscribe to the ethical eating repertoire to a large extent as well, sometimes even more strongly than vegetarians do (when it comes to locality and seasonality for example). The interviewees in my sample are all aware of the types of foods considered healthy and nutritious (e.g. vegetables and fruit), of foods considered harmful and unhealthy (e.g. fast food), as well as of the

[47] "Also ich hatte so ein bisschen ein ambivalentes Verhältnis auf jeden Fall zum Essen – ich hab mir dann auch früher, also mit – ich glaub mit 12 oder 13 – da war ich halt recht pummelig auf jeden Fall und dann hab ich mir halt an den Kühlschrank immer so Zettel geheftet, irgendwie so Stop', Finger weg', keine Ahnung, Du möchtest nicht so aussehen'"

[48] "Ich muss sehr konsequent sein um mein Gewicht runterzukriegen. Ich hab jetzt wieder mein Höchstgewicht und das geht nicht"

[49] "Also ich sag' mal, wenn ich so 10, 15 Jahre zurückdenke, da war McDonald's sag' ich mal wöchentlich angesagt. Genau, schlimm, da hab' ich mit meiner Frau n Tanzkurs besucht und sind nach dem Tanzkurs noch immer bei McDonald's vorbeigefahren. Und blöderweise kannten wir einen Mitarbeiter da, der uns dann immer mit dem dreifachen versorgt hat, von dem, was wir bestellt hatten. [lacht] Waren wir eigentlich sehr häufig da, doch, muss man sagen"

negative repercussions of factory farming (for animal welfare, for the environment, or for the quality of food).

Resembling these findings, other studies conclude that all consumers discuss ethical issues when talking about their food consumption practices (Adams & Raisborough 2008, Johnston et al. 2011, Beagan et al. 2014, Grauel 2014), and that a plurality of consumers draws on dominant ethical eating discourses, independent of socioeconomic position (Johnston et al. 2011, Paddock 2016, Smith Maguire 2016, Beagan et al. 2017). This includes negative perceptions of the impact of meat production on the environment and on animal welfare (Oleschuk et al. 2019). The term 'ethical eating' based on a very specific understanding of ethicality in consumption practices and may therefore be misleading (cf. Johnston et al. 2011, de Bakker & Dagevos 2012). While vegetarians focus much more explicitly on the moral components of their consumption practices, considerations of what is 'right' or 'wrong' are an important part of all interviewees' explications. A few interviewees, for example, cooked and provided for care-dependent elderly people, or volunteered for a food bank. These are food-related and ethical practices which risk being left out of the equation.

5.2 Material and non-material realities: The role of economic, cultural and social capital

In this chapter, I elaborate on the mechanisms that link capital endowments to food practices and that can help understand classed (meat) consumption patterns. I show how economic, cultural, and social capital endowments shape consumption preferences and practices, in enabling and in constraining ways for different social groups. Some mechanisms foster dietary change while others impede change, and change does by no means necessarily result in meat-free or meat-reduced diets. However, the latter do usually necessitate dietary changes.

In short, based on my qualitative interviews and carefully collated with existing research from different fields, I argue that 1) although reducing consumption does not require economic capital per se, voluntary meat reduction is significantly linked to financial resources; 2) institutionalized cultural capital in the form of university education is conducive to meat reduction as it fosters scientism and the ability to quickly gather and exploit new sources of information; 3) people with higher amounts of cultural and/or economic capital are more likely to value self-improvement and 'standing out' which encourages dietary changes and also aids in dealing with social conflict arising from such changes; 4) culinary adventurousness is an important precondition for the adoption and maintenance of meat-reduced diets, and cultural and economic capital foster culinary adventurousness in a variety of ways; 5) familiar foods are an important compensatory tool that can offset negative emotions arising from a lack of economic capital, from stressful schedules, or from social conflict; and 6) the type of households people inhabit can significantly weaken or strengthen the aforementioned mechanisms, thereby mediating their effects.

The set of arguments that I present may not be exhaustive, and neither of them presents a sufficient condition for explaining meat consumption practices or dietary changes more generally. Some mechanisms interact and overlap in generating the classed food practices we observe, and they are entangled in complex and dynamic social structures and systems of food provision and supply. I separate them for the sake of brevity and analytical clarity. They bear relevance in the interviews that I conducted

and they are backed up by existing research from different research areas.

5.2.1 Economic vegetarianism

Studies about cultural consumption and about food consumption usually deal with the presence of certain goods and practices, not with their absence. Cutting meat consumption partially or completely is a practice defined negatively; one that is characterized by the lack of something. How do we conceive of such a practice? And how do we conceive of the relationship between the absence of consumption and the role of material resources?

At first sight, it is easy to think that economic capital is of no relevance. People need money to buy things; they don't need money to refrain from buying things. Thus, meat avoidance can be a strategy of thriftiness, or even a sine qua non in the face of economic deprivation. The fact that some people may shun meat because it is too expensive is referred to as 'economic vegetarianism' in the respective literature (Lusk & Norwood 2016). In fact, I find some evidence for this phenomenon. Some interviewees report that in certain situations, material circumstances demand meat abstention. Meat abstention or meat reduction are not perceived as a voluntary choice but as a necessity:

> *"So I didn't eat as much meat as before because I didn't want to spend the money for it, you know (.) because I didn't have a lot of money and that was a way for me to easily save money because I didn't buy meat anymore. Sometimes I still bought it, sometimes I didn't"*[50]

(Lena, meat-reducer, female, 27, intermediate EC, high CC, student)

> *"It's not like I was totally crazy about meat but in general, I still think that meat dishes just taste better. Well, definitely. But for example I don't buy meat from (discount grocery store) anymore, and because I need to take care of my budget, there's not a lot of meat on my menu"*[51]

(Alina, meat-reducer, female, 28, low to intermediate EC, high CC)

> *"I am really – how shall I put it – I am really cost-conscious, I am a really cost-conscious shopper and I buy meat when I think that I can afford it. And if I can't, then I can't, you know? Then I am also fine with a meat-free dish"*[52]

(Luise, meat-reducer, female, 43, low EC, intermediate CC)

This resonates well with the results of the analysis in chapter 4.3 which revealed discrepancies between self-defined vegetarianism and meat consumption frequency. Vegetarianism as a voluntary

[50] "Da kam Fleisch dann einfach nicht mehr so oft vor, weil ich halt auch das Geld nicht dafür ausgeben wollte, also (.) weil ich nicht so viel Geld hatte und das war irgendwie was, wo ich für mich gut dran sparen konnte, weil ich's nicht mehr gekauft hab - manchmal hab ich's noch gemacht, manchmal nicht"

[51] "Ich war jetzt nicht so, dass ich total fleischverrückt war, aber ich finde halt generell, bis heute Essen mit Fleisch schmeckt einfach besser. Also, definitiv. Heute is' es aber so, dass ich zum Beispiel nicht mehr aus'm Aldi das Fleisch kaufen würde, da ich aber schon auf's Geld achten muss, is' halt auch einfach nicht so oft Fleisch auf'm Speiseplan"

[52] "Aber ich bin halt sehr, wie soll ich sagen, bin halt sehr kostenbewusst, also ich gehe sehr kostenbewusst einkaufen und kauf' mir das halt dann, wenn ich mein', dass ich mir das leisten kann. Und wenn halt nicht, dann halt nicht, ne? Dann tut's mir auch mal n Essen ohne Fleisch"

dietary practice is a well-defined category that comes with clear boundaries and with a distinct label. Economic 'vegetarians', on the other hand, may choose to eat meat if they had a choice and if they could afford to do so. Some survey respondents report very little or no meat consumption but sidestep the vegetarian label. They may conceive of their meat abstention as lack, and prefer to conceal or ignore rather than showcase it. In contrast, some survey respondents adopt the vegetarian or vegan label but are occasional or frequent meat-eaters in practice. To a minor degree, this may result from definitional ambiguities related to the terms 'vegetarian' or 'vegan'. However, what it also indicates is that some people derive a benefit from categorizing their diet and putting it on display (see section 5.3 on boundary work).

Vegetarianism and flexitarianism as choices, on the other hand, are more often related to prosperity rather than scarcity. Previous studies about vegetarian diets have produced ambiguous results with regard to the links between meat avoidance and economic capital, but they have also shown that voluntary meat reducers tend to be wealthier than vegetarians and omnivores are (see section 4.1). My own analysis in chapter 4.2 confirms these relationships but also indicates that across the income distribution, different mechanisms may be at play. No unidirectional link between vegetarianism and economic capital is found in existing research, and this may result from the fact that, depending on how vegetarianism is measured, economic vegetarians and voluntary vegetarians are usually lumped together into a single category. That voluntary meat reducers tend to be wealthier points, among other things, to the important role of money in being able to afford more expensive meat products. These can be of higher nutritional quality (i.e. different cuts of meat, less diluted meat, meat free from antibiotics) and/or of preferred origin (i.e. humanely raised, from organic agriculture, from local farms) in order to offset ethical or health concerns related to meat consumption (see section 5.1 on food ideals):

> *"I don't buy much meat – and if so, I buy some kind of – not necessarily organic meat, like I'm not intentionally looking for an organic butcher, but at least I buy meat at the meat counter"*[53]

(Sandra, meat-eater, female, 34, intermediate to high EC, intermediate CC)

> *"Over the course of the years I became less and less interested in meat and in meat products. For different reasons – on the one hand, it's about the quality of the meat and about the circumstances the animals are raised in – I find these very cruel to the animals, and I don't think that the meat is of good quality. I have a few options where I can purchase meat from a farm (...). And I buy some meat there and freeze it"*[54]

(Barbara, meat-eater, 62, high EC, high CC)

> *"Something that changed is our approach towards meat consumption. As I said earlier, we*

[53] "Fleisch kauf ich jetzt nicht so viel - wenn, dann kauf ich's aber tatsächlich irgend - zwar jetzt nicht unbedingt Bio-Fleisch, dass man dann extra sich nen Bio-Metzger sucht, aber dann wenigstens an der Fleischtheke"

[54] "Also ich bin im Laufe der Jahre immer weniger an Fleisch und Wurst interessiert. Das hat verschiedene Gründe, zum Einen is' die Qualität teilweise sehr zu hinterfragen und die Bedingungen unter denen die Tiere gehalten werden, die erscheinen mir auch erstens tierquälerisch und zum Zweiten glaub' ich auch nicht, dass das ne gute Fleischqualität ist. Ich hab' einige Möglichkeiten mir Fleisch direkt vom Hof zu besorgen (...). Und da nehm' ich schonmal was ab und frier' das ein"

don't eat meat every day, but if we eat meat, we purchase it from our butcher of trust and we definitely spend some more money on high quality products"[55]

(Matthias, meat-eater, male, 40s, intermediate EC, high CC)

While for voluntary vegetarians, meat avoidance may either be their preferred or the only affordable way to translate their food ideals into practice; voluntary meat reducers have more options at their disposal: buying alternative meat products that take health or animal welfare concerns into account and are therefore in line with their food ideals.

5.2.2 Scientism and communal knowledge

In shaping discourses and food ideals, one way in which cultural intermediaries construct value is by making claims to professional expertise (Smith Maguire & Matthews 2012). This expertise often derives its legitimacy from recourse to scientific knowledge. A suggestive example is the discourse about healthy eating which is largely grounded in the language of scientific knowledge and nutritionism (Crawford 2006, Crawshaw 2007, Cairns & Johnston 2015). Importantly, most elements of the dominant food discourse that provide arguments for reduced meat consumption crucially draw on expert and scientific knowledge - studies about the health and environmental consequences of meat production and consumption are usually grounded in science. Though increasingly transmitted to the public in simplified and (more or less) accessible ways through various media channels, it takes time, effort, and trust in the soundness and reliability of scientific studies to comprehend and internalize their findings and conclusions.

Existing studies, not limited to the realm of food consumption, show that consumers with different amounts of cultural capital tend to draw on and value different sources of knowledge. Those with high amounts of cultural capital frequently cite and rely on expert knowledge. This may be due to the fact that persons who obtained university degrees or who visited formal institutions of tertiary education are more frequently exposed to scientific knowledge. They do not only improve their skills when it comes to researching and interpreting this type of knowledge; they are also taught to value certain types of expert knowledge over, or in addition to, other sources of knowledge like tradition, kin or peer groups. That is, they do not only gain the capability to quickly read and understand scientific information ('scientific literacy'), they also develop a preference for this type of information. That often means that elements of expertise (which are to a large extent analogous to scientific knowledge) are primarily debated among 'middle class' consumers (Crawford 2006, Backett-Milburn et al. 2010, Cairns & Johnston 2015, Plessz et al. 2016). Cappeliez & Johnston (2013) do not identify a straightforward homology between class position and reference to scientific knowledge but argue that those with higher amounts of economic and cultural capital frequently draw on and highly value expert, formal and textual sources of knowledge while those with lesser amounts of cultural and economic capital more often focus on interpersonal connections and rely on informal knowledge based on non-expert and personal sources.

[55] "Und was sich auch verändert hat is' einfach die Beziehung zum Fleisch. Also, ich hab' ja anfangs schon erwähnt, wir essen jetzt nicht jeden Tag Fleisch, aber wenn wir Fleisch essen, dann beziehen wir das schon vom Metzger des Vertrauens und geben für Qualitätsware durchaus etwas mehr Geld aus"

That is, consumers with less cultural capital – or, to be more precise, consumers without extended exposure to institutions of tertiary education - more often rely on their social networks and on kinship knowledge. In his study on changes in British food discourse, Warde (1997) observes that "professional and managerial households drew on written texts and expert advice about what to eat, and were concerned that even their everyday meals should be interesting, entertaining and pleasurable. [...] Lower-class households, by contrast, drew on experience, custom and their local connections, especially with kin, for culinary inspiration" (ibid.: 107). Alkon et al. (2013) find that their respondents from poor urban backgrounds generally enjoy cooking, but have little trust in non-kin cooking and hold dear the social aspects of eating despite great diversity in actual communal meal occasions. Plessz, Dubuisson-Quellier, Gojard & Barrey (2016) observe that their 'working-class' respondents mainly refer to friends and acquaintances to accommodate food-related prescriptions, and Inglis et al. (2005) conclude that "women of low SES valued traditions and familiar dietary practices on which they had been brought up as children" (ibid.: 340).

In section 5.2.2, I show that the majority of consumers draws on scientific elements of the dominant food discourse. However, those who spend a disproportionate amount of time elaborating on the details of nutritional science are in fact those endowed with high levels of embodied and/or institutionalized cultural capital. To be sure, some respondents with tertiary education only allude to certain studies or facts and apparently assume that I (the interviewer) am aware of the information they referred to. They may see me as being embedded in the field of scientific knowledge production, and thus deem further explanations unnecessary. However, many flexitarian, vegan and vegetarian respondents resort to scientific knowledge; make frequent recourse to scientific studies and articles, and mainly vegans elaborate on the details of these studies at great length - regardless whether they understood all of these details or not:

> *"It's the only thing that I am allowed to recommend based on scientific criteria. I could pretend that some meat is ok, but I've seen studies where people eat meat once a month, and it's not ok. They have a twenty percent higher risk of developing cancer (...) It looks as if you need to move towards veganism to be healthy, and take care of two or three things once you get there to have steady health benefits. For example, you need to get cobalamin (.) if you're male, omega-3 fatty acids, you need to supplement the long-chain ones because your body's own conversion rate is estrogen-dependent and if you don't have enough of that, nothing is converted"*[56]

(Elias, vegan, male, 29, intermediate EC, high CC, self-employed)

> *"These are basically soils that are also used for human sustenance, and animals have their own metabolic rate, that means that nine tenths is used for thermal energy and only one tenth is converted into meat"*[57]

[56] "Das ist das einzige, was ich auf wissenschaftlichen Kriterien basierend empfehlen darf. Ich könnt so tun, als wär ein bisschen Fleisch ok, aber ich hab Studien gesehen, wo Leute einmal im Monat Fleisch essen und es ist nicht ok. Die ham halt ne 20 Prozent höhere Krebserkrankungs-Rate (...) und es sieht so aus, als müsste für gesund man sich in die vegane Richtung entwickeln und wenn man vegan ist, zwei, drei Sachen beachten, die das dauerhaft (.) gesundheitsförderlich halten. Wie zum Beispiel Vitamin B12 zu supplementieren, (.) vor allem wenn man ein Mann ist, Omega-3-Fettsäuren, die langkettigen zu supplementieren, weil die körpereigene Umwandlungsrate Östrogen-abhängig ist und wenn man davon zu wenig hat, wird einfach nichts transformiert"

[57] "Das sind ja im Prinzip Böden, die auch für die menschliche Ernährung genutzt werden und das Tier hat ja selber

(Emil, vegan, male, 59, intermediate to high EC?, high CC)

> *"Sublingually, exactly, only one pump stroke, you don't really need more and it's already – well, there's different types of cobalamin, there's methylcobalamin, and that's already what your body can utilize, that's methylcobalamin"*[58]

(Elena, vegan, female, 24, low EC, vocational training)

> *"I think it's doable, absolutely. I met people who raised vegetarian kids and (.) They didn't seem to lack anything. Sure, depending on – I think if there were studies that provided conclusive evidence that you lack something or that there's something that can't be replaced by supplements, then I might change my mind"*[59]

(Hannah, vegan, female, 34, intermediate EC, high CC)

> *"I bought this book and there was plenty of science-based – well, not plenty, but some background knowledge and I was really interested in that (.) and at the same time, I worked in (name of a city) during college, at the faculty of medicine and neuro-science, and I conducted fMRI-studies and I read a lot about neurotransmitters, and in general a lot about chemical processes that happen in the body"*[60]

(Susanne, vegan, female, 28, low EC, high CC)

This resonates with research that shows that many vegetarian eaters are very health-conscious, aware of nutrients and of foodborne diseases (Bedford & Barr 2005, Fox & Ward 2008), and often cite medical knowledge. Post-secondary education (having a university degree) generally appears to be a good predictor of reduced consumption of (red) meat (Ricciuto et al. 2006). Moreover, post-secondary education bestows the ability to quickly find, access and understand scientific expertise, and to enhance ones' cultural capital in an ongoing process of self-improvement and learning. Digital media, new technologies, as well as the ability to handle online sources quickly and confidently are vital to the process of continued learning and self-education. Basically all flexitarian, vegetarian and vegan interviewees use online sources to obtain further information frequently, and are adept at dealing with this type of media. They value doing their own research and gathering information from various sources, instead of relying on just one source, one type of media, or on pre-processed knowledge:

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nen Stoffwechselumsatz, das heißt neun Zehntel gehen in Wärme verloren oder und nur ein Zehntel wird in Fleisch angesetzt"

[58]"Sublingual, genau, einfach, dass man so einen Pumphub, mehr brauch man da nicht und das ist dann halt auch schon dieses - es gibt ja so unterschiedliche B12-Formen - dieses Methylkobalamin und dann ist das halt schon dieses, was für den Körper besser verwertbar ist, das Methylkobalamin"

[59]"Also das halt ich auch für absolut machbar. Ich hab auch schon Menschen kennengelernt, die Veggie-Kinder haben und (.) die wirkten jetzt nicht so, als würde denen was fehlen [schmunzelt] - (.) klar, ne, je nach - ich meine jetzt wenn jetzt irgendwelche wirklich erhärtenden Forschungsergebnisse sagen würden, dass eine bestimmte Sache dann wirklich fehlen würde oder dass man die nicht durch irgendein Supplement oder so ersetzen könnte, dann würd ich das vielleicht davon abweichen"

[60]"Dann hab ich mir das Buch gekauft und da war halt auch viel dieses wissenschaftlich - so, also nicht viel, aber ein bisschen [schmunzelt] Hintergrundwissen drin und das hat mich dann halt total interessiert (.) und gleichzeitig im Studium hab ich in (.), in (Name einer Stadt) gearbeitet, im Institut für Medizin und Neuro - und hab da halt FMRT-Studien auch gemacht und mich viel mit Neurotransmittern halt beschäftigt, das heißt generell eher so halt dann auch mit chemischen Vorgängen im Körper"

"I did more and more research on the Internet and became less and less satisfied with myself, with my own standards – and then I watched the movie 'Earthlings', I streamed it on the Internet, and this movie gave me the final push to be like 'I need to change something'"[61]

(Emilia, vegan, female, 44, intermediate to high EC, high CC)

"It's probably gonna change even more. Because more and more people become aware and there are ever more opportunities to share your experience – that could be a blog or a podcast or some YouTube channel – as I said, there are series on Netflix – you know, there are all sorts of media where you can share your experience relatively independent from mainstream media or from industrial companies, and people are gonna realize that"[62]

(Liam, vegan, male, 29, intermediate EC, high CC)

"I: And what made you consider a no-carb-diet? Did somebody tell you about it?" – "R: I found it somewhere on the Internet, by accident. There are all sorts of diets out there, and this one said 'No-Carb'. And then I read through it, that you basically switch to a ketogenic diet, and so your body is forced to burn fat"[63]

(Jacob, flexitarian, male, 67, intermediate to high EC, intermediate CC, self-employed)

In contrast, respondents who spent less time in formal educational institutions, as well as older respondents, more often rely on knowledge acquired throughout their upbringing, on family traditions, and on skills and information that circulate in their networks and communities. They also cite more traditional media sources and secondary, i.e. sources of pre-processed information more often:

"Yes, it was still a thing – it was called household arts. And a big part of that was diet and cooking. You know, I learned a lot there. And I learned a lot from my grandmother and from my mother-in-law"[64]

(Kerstin, meat-reducer, female, 61, low to intermediate EC, intermediate CC)

"In the beginning, when I was married, I didn't – well, I sometimes remembered how my mum used to cook, but not really. So it was basically learning by doing. And we already

[61] "Dann hab ich natürlich immer mehr im Internet geguckt und war immer unzufriedener mit mir selbst, so mit meinem eigenen Anspruch - hab dann den Film 'Earthlings' auf, im Internet gestreamt und das war für mich halt dann so der letzte Steinesanstoß, dass ich dachte Jetzt muss ich was ändern'"

[62] "Ich glaub das wird sich, das wird sich weiterhin verändern. Weil immer mehr Leute wach werden und es immer mehr Möglichkeiten gibt, auch seine Erfahrungen darzustellen, ob das jetzt n Blog ist, ob das jetzt n Podcast ist, ob das n YouTube-Channel ist, ob das - wie gesagt, es kommen Serien auf Netflix, also es gibt alle möglichen Kanäle, auf denen man relativ unabhängig von irgendwelchen großen Medien oder Industriekonzernen seine Erfahrungen schildern kann und ehm (.) da werden immer mehr Leute auch drauf stoßen"

[63] "I: Und wie sind Sie damals auf diese No-Carb-Diät gekommen? Hat Sie da jemand drauf gestoßen?" – B: Da bin ich drauf gestoßen im Internet irgendwo, per Zufall. Und es gibt ja alle möglichen Diäten, und da stand eben No-Carb. Und dann hab ich mir das durchgelesen, dass man eben den Körper umstellt auf ketogene Ernährung und (.) dass der dann gezwungen ist Fett zu verbrennen"

[64] "Ja, da gab's noch - Hauswirtschaft hat sich das Fach genannt. Und da war ein großer Bestandteil war Ernährung und Kochen. Doch, da hab' ich also sehr viel gelernt. Und von meiner einen Oma hab' ich viel gelernt und sehr viel hab' ich von meiner Schwiegermutter gelernt"

had a phone back then, no mobile phone however – so I called my sister or my mother: 'Listen, what was that again? How am I supposed to prepare that?'"[65]

(Renate, meat-eater, female, 50s, intermediate to high EC, intermediate CC)

"They (ready-made salads) are supposed to have a lot of iron. Because they are prepared, but they are not washed like you would normally do. Well, my personal trainer told me about that when I told him that I eat salad now every other day, ready-made salad. He said it's really unhealthy because it contains so much iron. And that it's much better to buy everything yourself and prepare it yourself (.), and that it's more healthy"[66]

(Levi, meat-eater, male, 25, low EC, low to intermediate CC)

"I watched this documentary the other day – my friend called me: 'You need to see this!'. I think it was on (public TV channel), 'Red Gold', and it was about where our tomato paste comes from. And canned tomatoes, you know? And since I watched that I always check whether something comes from China or from Florida. I try to buy things that travel only a short distance. (. . .) Now I usually watch shows about these things on television. Or I watch (name of a consumer magazine), I sometimes do that"[67]

(Regina, meat-reducer, female, 71, intermediate to high EC, intermediate CC)

"I don't like to watch cooking shows anymore because there are really too many of them and not all of them are good but the shows with (name of a TV chef) – he hosts a small cooking show where he travels through rural areas in Northern Germany, and he shows how the animals are kept, or the fish, you name it, and his cooking is very down-to-earth, and that's where I draw inspiration from – or, you know, from some magazines that you can buy"[68]

(Luise, meat-reducer, female, 43, low EC, intermediate CC)

That is, consumers with less cultural capital – or, to be more precise, without extended exposure to institutions of tertiary education - more often rely on their social networks, on more traditional media,

[65] "Anfangs, als ich verheiratet war konnt' ich - gut, man hat immer mal gesehen wie die Mutter das machte, aber so richtig auch noch nicht. Und dann war das halt so Learning by Doing. Und dann gab's damals auch schon Telefon, zwar kein Handy, aber dann hab' ich dann angerufen, oder meine Schwester oder meine Mutter: Hör' mal, wie war denn das noch? Wie muss ich das jetzt machen?"

[66] "Weil da ziemlich viel Eisen drin sein soll. Weil der wird halt zubereitet, aber das wird halt nicht so gewaschen wie man das normal macht. Also das wurde mir von nem Personal Trainer hat mir das erzählt und naja, hab ich erzählt "Ja, ich ess alle zwei Tage jetzt nen Salat, so nen Fertigsalat" - meinte er, das ist super ungesund, da ist total viel Eisen drinne. Und es ist viel besser, wenn du das alles selber kaufst und selber zubereitest (.) und ist halt gesünder"

[67] "Ich habe jetzt diesen Bericht gesehen, hat meine Freundin mich angerufen: Guck rein! Das war glaub' ich ZDFinfo, "Das rote Gold", wo es darum geht, wo unser Tomatenmark herkommt. Und die Stücke Tomaten, ne? Und seit der Zeit guck' ich genau auch, ob das jetzt aus China kommt oder aus Florida. Ich bemühe mich das einzukaufen, was kurzen Weg gehabt hat. (. . .) Aber jetzt mach' ich mehr so, dass ich mir im Fernsehen diese Sendungen angucke, wenn es darum geht. Oder auch in der Servicezeit, da guck' ich auch schonmal rein"

[68] "Ich guck' nicht gerne mehr Kochsendungen, weil das mittlerweile auch überhand genommen hat und auch nicht mehr alle wirklich gut sind, aber die von dem (?), das is' so ne kleine Kochsendung, der fährt so in Norddeutschland übers Land und zeigt da echt die Tierhaltung, oder halt Fische, was auch immer, und macht dann halt so ne ganz bodenständige Küche, also da hol' ich mir halt Inspiration, oder halt teilweise auch von irgendwelchen Zeitschriften die man sich kaufen kann, ne?"

and on familial knowledge when it comes to food - knowledge which is often more traditional and thus, in a country with a traditionally heavy emphasis on meat, less favorable to vegetarian diets. Meat is still considered an essential component of a proper meal of the form '2a + b', as described by Mary Douglas in 1972. This applies across socioeconomic groups (Beardsworth & Keil 1997). Several of my interviewees refer to the structure of the 'proper meal', either as part of their childhood socialization or as ongoing part of their cooking practices:

> *"Because my mother is not a good cook unfortunately and my father always worked, so we always had – we always had potatoes and veggies and some meat with it. It was always the same! Or some sausages. Always the same. If I was lucky we had pasta, for diversion. And it was just the same all the time"*[69]

(Hannah, vegan, female, 34, intermediate EC, high CC)

> *"In the meantime, my mum also changed a bit, but it was – I think it was more – if she thought about what to cook, it was always meat, a side dish and some veggies with it"*[70]

(Lena, meat-eater, female, 27, intermediate EC, high CC, student)

> *"We have potatoes, veggies and meat, or rice and veggies and chicken or something that has minced meat, as simple as that – really standard food"*[71]

(Anita, meat-eater, female, 70s, intermediate EC?, low to intermediate CC)

> *"My ex-boyfriend used to say 'My meals need to consist of three components' or something, like – he probably learned this at home at some point, his mother cooked meat, veggies, I don't know, carbs and there you go, this was his 'three-component-meal'"*[72]

(Sandra, meat-eater, female, 34, intermediate to high EC, intermediate CC)

Needless to say, these links are not deterministic. Many meat-eaters in my sample hold university degrees, and there are vegetarian and vegan respondents in my sample without tertiary education. The pursuit of higher education is neither a sufficient nor a necessary condition for a change towards a meat-reduced or a meat-free diet but it increases the likelihood of dietary transitions in general, including transitions towards meatless or meat-reduced diets. Vegetarian respondents also cite communal sources of knowledge when discussing their food practices, and they often discuss their dietary habits with other like-minded eaters in their social networks. However, homophily increases the chances that their close networks consist of a considerable number of like-minded eaters (see section 5.3.4 on consequences

[69] "Weil meine Mutter leider nicht so gut kocht und mein Vater hat gearbeitet - und dann gab's auch einfach immer - es gab immer Kartoffeln und Gemüse und irgendein Fleisch dazu. Das war immer gleich! Oder ein Würstchen. Das war immer gleich. Und wenn ich Glück hatte gab's mal Nudeln, so als Abwechslung. Und das war einfach immer gleich"

[70] "Bei meiner Mutter hat sich das auch so ein bisschen geändert mittlerweile, aber das war auch so – ich glaub das war eher – wenn sie überlegt hat, was sie jetzt kochen soll, dann war es halt Fleisch, Beilage und ein bisschen Gemüse dazu"

[71] "Wir essen einfach nur Kartoffeln, Gemüse, Fleisch oder Reis mit Gemüse und Hähnchen oder (?) mit Gehacktes und sowas – ganz Standard-Essen"

[72] "Also mein Ex hat auch immer gesagt: Mein Essen muss aus drei Komponenten bestehen" oder sowas, also so ein (.) – so wahrscheinlich auch von zuhause irgendwie mal mitgegeben bekommen, die Mutter macht Fleisch, Gemüse, keine Ahnung, Kohlenhydrate, und dann (.) war das sein Drei-Komponenten-Essen"

of boundary work), and in that way scientific and communal sources of knowledge overlap and are mutually reinforced.

What recourse to different sources of knowledge means is, of course, also historically contingent. As generations change and meat-less and meat-reduced diets traverse social group and network boundaries, communal sources of knowledge could easily become more conducive to vegetarian dietary patterns. A few vegetarian respondents who were raised on meatless or meat-reduced diets are paradigmatic examples.

Conclusion

While for some consumer groups, social capital provides the primary basis for food knowledge acquisition, for others it is a specific type of institutionalized cultural capital that provides this basis. Which type of capital people primarily draw on is influenced by their educational trajectories – the longer a person is exposed to institutions of tertiary education that disseminate scientific knowledge, the more likely this person is to increasingly rely on scientific rather than communal knowledge (assuming their contents differ). He or she also gains the ability to search for and make sense of different sources of information, thereby potentially further increasing their cultural capital. Most vegetarian and flexitarian respondents, and 'foodies' in particular, display a discerning attitude towards new food items and practices and appreciate a wide range of food items. New forms of cultural capital may thus indeed denote "a knowing, reflexive and somewhat playful mode of consumption (Jarness 2017: 359-360), or the 'reflexive appropriation' of new cultural practices (Bennett et al. 2009). In fact, Prieur & Savage (2013) suggest that cultural capital should nowadays rather be understood as informational capital, whereby the basic divide between 'lower, middle and upper classes' is hardly carved based on high-brow and low-brow cultural practices or based on cultural omnivorousness or eclecticism but that it is instead epitomized by the ability to search for and acquire new knowledge. These different modes of the appropriation of culture may, on top of that, be bolstered by differential uses of new information and communication technologies. In the online world, this has been described as the 'digital divide' that we witness as we move towards increasingly digitalized forms of communication and knowledge acquisition. As differences in Internet usage become more manifest, they are likely to further exacerbate inequalities in cultural capital created by different educational pathways (Zillien & Hargittai 2009, Hargittai 2010, Van Deursen & Van Dijk 2014, Plessz et al. 2016, Lindblom & Räsänen 2017).

In line with the argument in this section, several empirical studies have shown that information campaigns and the distribution of nutritional knowledge – for example when it comes to healthy eating recommendations – are for the most part ineffective in promoting dietary changes (Downs et al. 2009, Mollen et al. 2013, Campbell-Arvai et al. 2014, Robinson et al. 2014, Collins et al. 2019). The mere proliferation of further sources of scientific knowledge and expertise, albeit usually being targeted at a wide audience, is deemed unlikely to induce far-reaching changes (Alkon et al. 2013, Spaargaren et al. 2013, Dubuisson-Quellier & Gojard 2016, Thorslund & Lassen 2017), and may even foster social inequality (Ricciuto et al. 2006, Thompson et al. 2009, Darmon & Drewnowski 2015) as it disproportionately reaches out to those who have an affinity for scientific knowledge. To reiterate,

tertiary education does not necessarily make meat-reduced or meat-free diets more likely but facilitates dietary changes, including transitions to meat-reduced diets.

5.2.3 Substituting social capital, 'fitting in' and 'standing out'

In this section, I argue that it is easier for persons endowed with high amounts of cultural and/or economic capital to deviate from the eating norms of their social group, i.e. to adapt their dietary patterns in the face of potential social conflict. That is because they can partly substitute social capital for other types of capital, and in that way maintain social approval more easily than those who do not have as much access to culturally valued resources. Moreover, cultural and/or economic capital can facilitate access to new forms of social capital.

This argument draws on the idea that, in what people say and do, they strive for recognition by others. Lamont et al. (2014) define recognition as "the fact of being acknowledged and given validation, legitimacy, value, worth, dignity and full cultural membership" (ibid.: 584). Humans are social animals, they learn about social norms early on in their lives, adjust their preferences to those of their peer groups, and generally seek external validation for their actions. They are characterized by a "desire for recognition and self-respect, which they can only obtain through certain kinds of interactions with others" (Sayer 2005: 35). Social sanctions (or fear thereof) are thus powerful mechanisms in creating conformity (as well as adjustments of behavior) within groups (Cialdini & Goldstein 2004, DiMaggio & Garip 2012, DellaPosta et al. 2015). This is especially true for social sanctions by close peers (Sayer 2005, Smith & Louis 2008, Fine 2010).

Striving for recognition is a universal condition, but the opportunities by which recognition can be gained are not distributed evenly. The kind and degree of social recognition that people have access to hinges on their socioeconomic position, and that is because formal education and money are highly esteemed goods in contemporary Western societies, with the former consecrated by the state (cf. Bourdieu 1985, 1989, Lamont et al. 2014), and the latter consecrated by the workings and logic of capitalist economies. Cultural and economic capital can thus easily serve as symbolic capital (Bourdieu 1989) and become societal markers of legitimacy and of worth. In short, capital endowments impart status in diffuse status hierarchies (cf. Ridgeway & Nakagawa 2014), and foster self-confidence and self-efficacy (see section 2.1 on cultural class analysis and section 2.2 on dietary change).

People with limited access to cultural and economic capital rely on their social capital to maintain a sense of self-worth and self-respect to a larger extent than others. For them, the "failures of adequate recognition between dominant and subaltern can be compensated by recognition among equals with their respective communities" (Sayer 2005: 67). This is in line with studies that show that communal values like respectability, loyalty and care are most highly esteemed among members of the 'working classes' (Skeggs & Loveday 2012) who often emphasize their 'ordinariness', respectability and a desire not to 'stick out' but to 'fit in' with group norms and expectations. Holders of plenty of cultural and/or economic capital, in contrast, are more likely to violate social group norms, and to express their individuality in terms of difference from others (see section 2.2 on dietary change). They do not only risk less by deviating from others' expectations, they may even be encouraged to do so as college educations "impart values and practices relating to self-actualization and self-expression" (Snibbe & Markus 2005). However, a desire for distinctiveness may not reflect individual preferences but, in fact,

be an expression of a collective middle class habitus.

Traditionally, meat is an important part of family diets and food practices in Germany, just like in many other Western countries. Meat dishes are often seen as comforting and familiar, and meat can be a source of solidarity, group belonging and affiliation.

As long as the standard or 'default' diet in a given context is based on the regular consumption of meat and meat products, meat-reduced and meat-free diets are perceived as a departure from social eating norms. This departure quickly becomes evident as food consumption is a frequent and visible part of people's everyday behavior, and eating situations often involve social interaction. Therefore, social conflict is, to a greater or lesser extent, an inevitable part of transitioning towards meat-free diets.

All vegetarian and vegan interviewees report a range of difficult and confrontational situations, from misunderstandings to straight out hostility. This is the case for all interviewees who changed or attempted to change their diets, regardless of social position:

> *"Well, it was – it was really stressful. I basically – I moved out from my grandparents' place one year after deciding that I didn't want to eat meat anymore. And – well, let's say the meat thing was not the trigger but it was basically what the conflict was based on (. . .). It was a huge fuss. My grandmother was like 'Don't you like my cooking?', and I said 'I like it, but I don't want to eat it anymore, for health reasons, I don't need that' (. . .). And it was the same discussion with my mother"*[73]

(Emil, vegan, male, 59, intermediate to high EC?, high CC)

> *"I used to be an enthusiastic meat-eater and I always ate a lot of meat and when I told them 'I don't want this anymore', she (grandmother) started crying. But I needed to insist and she somehow adapted but (.) she was very reluctant. And soon after that, we stopped eating at my grandma's"*[74]

(Emilia, vegan, female, 44, intermediate to high EC, high CC)

> *"And then the waiter took all orders – everyone ordered meat dishes, they had real meat plates and stuff (. . .). And I sat there and I almost started crying. I was so hungry and I felt so bad, I really just wanted to stand up and leave" "And then the waiter took all orders – everyone ordered meat dishes, they had real meat plates and stuff (. . .). And I sat there and I almost started crying. I was so hungry and I felt so bad, I really just wanted to stand up and leave"*[75]

[73] "Ja, also das war richtig - richtig Stress war das. Also das war sozusagen, ja - ich bin dann bei meinen Großeltern ausgezogen, ein Jahr später, nachdem ich also (.) Fleisch nicht mehr essen wollte, aber - ich sag mal, das Fleisch war nicht der Auslöser, aber es war sozusagen die Basis des Konflikts (. . .). Das war ein Riesenaufstand. Also meine Großmutter: "Magst du mein Essen nicht?", ich sag "Doch, es schmeckt mir, aber ich will's aus gesundheitlichen Gründen nicht mehr essen, ich brauch das nicht" (. . .) Und bei meiner Mutter war die gleiche Diskussion"

[74] "Ich war halt immer eine, eine begeisterte Fleischesserin und hab immer so viel gegessen und als ich dann irgendwann gesagt hab "Ich will das nicht mehr", da hat sie halt geweint, ne. Und dann musst ich (.) irgendwie trotzdem hart bleiben [schmunzelt] und sie hat dann sich irgendwie angepasst, aber (.) sehr unwillig und da ham wir dann auch nicht mehr so lange bei meiner Oma gegessen"

[75] "So, hat der Kellner die komplette restliche Bestellung - alle haben Riesen-Fleischteller bestellt, also es gibt da halt richtige Fleischplatten und so (. . .) ja und ich saß dann halt da und ich war echt, ich war kurz vorm Heulen. Und ich war so hungrig und mir ging's so schlecht - ich wär am liebsten aufgestanden und gegangen"

(Mila, vegetarian, female, 30, intermediate to high EC, high CC)

> *(about a trip with a friend): "He was really offended by my comments (. . .). And on our way to (name of a city), we argued and fell out with each other, and we just said 'Let's not talk about this anymore today, let's just leave it here'"*[76]

(Dominik, vegetarian, male, 25, low EC, intermediate to high CC)

Vegetarian and vegan respondents often evoke their formal qualifications, their educational credentials and their personal literacy on the topic of meat consumption to offset the reservations and resentments they face within their family or peer networks. They frequently revert to their cultural capital and to elements of scientific expertise (see section 5.2.2 on scientism) to re-establish a sense of self-respect and confidence in situations of social conflict:

> *"And when I came back we had a lot of debates on principles because I also had a different mentality – it was the first time that I had my own will, and it took them by surprise. And on top of that, I told them that I was a vegetarian now. My father, quote: 'Really, you too? Don't you know that vegetarians die at a younger age?' And I was so flummoxed because (. . .) there is zero evidence that has ever shown that. It's simply incorrect. It's the other way around. And I thought this was so ridiculous (.) how quickly people pull random myths off their sleeves just to maintain their world view"*[77]

(Elias, vegan, male, 29, intermediate EC, high CC, self-employed)

> *"If there's a debate about the topic and someone is completely on the wrong track, I just mention the facts, you know? Well, soy production and – because people who don't eat vegan often say that soy is just as bad. Sure, but the soy production that harms the planet, where does it end up? And where do they produce the soy for your milk that is produced according to EU regulations? Well, you simply need to look at the facts and you realize that it feeds the animals that are slaughtered afterwards"*[78]

(Liam, vegan, male, 29, intermediate EC, high CC)

> *"Because you know, I am a physician, and then there's another physician but he is certainly not vegan. He sat next to my table, and he's severely overweight – and we started talking*

[76] "Und er hat sich sehr angegriffen gefühlt von den Kommentaren, die ich dazu gebracht hab. (. . .) Und auf der Fahrt nach [Name einer Stadt] hatten wir uns dann auch 'n bisschen zerstritten, in [Name einer Stadt] haben wir einfach gesagt: Ne, wir reden heute nicht mehr drüber, wir lassen das Thema liegen"

[77] "Und als ich zurückkam gab's generell ganz viele Grundsatzdiskussionen, weil ich auch anders getickt habe, ich hab zum ersten Mal nen eigenen Willen gehabt, das kannten die gar nicht (.) und hab dann auch gesagt "Ja, und ich bin jetzt auch vegetarisch", Zitat Anfang meines Vaters: "Was, du jetzt auch noch? Du weißt schon, dass Vegetarier früher sterben?!" Und ich war einfach so vor den Kopf gestoßen, weil (. . .) Es gibt null Studien, die das jemals gezeigt haben. Es ist einfach faktisch falsch. Es ist genau andersrum. Und das fand ich so krass, wie (.) wie schnell man aus der Hinterhand mit irgendwelchen Mythen feuert, um sein Weltbild aufrechtzuerhalten"

[78] "Wenn dann mal so ne Diskussion angezettelt wird und jemand ist komplett auf der falschen Fährte, dann auch mal wirklich Fakten eh zu nennen, ne? Also Sojaproduktion und - weil oft kommt ja von Leuten, die sich nicht vegan ernähren "Ja, aber Soja ist doch genauso schlecht!" Ja, die Sojaproduktion, die schlecht für diesen Planeten ist (.) wo geht die denn hin? Und wo wird das Soja produziert, was in deiner Milch ist und ehm nach EU-Normen dann halt verkauft wird also, da muss man sich einfach die Fakten anschauen und weiß einfach, dass das die Tiere füttert, die dann geschlachtet werden"

about – almost everyone I talked to was in their 50s or 60s – and almost everyone took blood pressure medication, and I said: 'I don't need that'. 'How do you not need that?', and I say 'I don't eat meat or dairy, it's really easy, that way you don't need that'"[79]

(Emil, vegan, male, 59, intermediate to high EC?, high CC)

Many vegetarian and vegan respondents gladly explain, and often pride themselves on their diets as being distinct, consistent, and as resulting from their individual choices. For some of them, their diet is an important part of their self-identity and a way to demarcate themselves from others (also see section 5.3 on boundary work):

"Well, it's important to me to have an ideal. Something that you are convinced of; something that you thought through (.) and (.) I don't know – if I didn't, if I didn't have an ideal, I may as well just kill myself. For me, it's not a real life to live without ideals and to give no fucks and to, you know, act just like everyone else does or something (.) just because it's easier"[80]

(Milan, vegan, male, 28, intermediate to high EC, high CC)

"And that was the moment when I decided that I also want to show everyone that I am a vegan, and for about one and a half years I followed a very strict vegan diet"[81]

(Annika, vegan, female, 27, low to intermediate EC, high CC, student)

"Because I am also proud of that – well, proud is a word that I don't like to use - but at least I do have these principles and I would never want to depart from them and I'd say that for me, it's part of a happy life"[82]

(Mila, vegetarian, female, 30, intermediate to high EC, high CC)

Many vegetarian and vegan respondents want their diets to be visible to others, and gladly adopt the vegetarian or vegan label to that end. However, there are also some vegan and vegetarian respondents who do not, or only marginally bear on their diet's symbolic value, and who clearly prioritize its inherent value. Both motivations usually overlapped.

All vegetarian respondents frequently note that they 'stand out' from others - not only related to vegetarian or vegan diets but more generally. They usually handle situations of conflict or demarcation

[79] "Weil ich ja Arzt bin und da ist dann noch ein anderer Arzt, aber der ist mit Sicherheit nicht vegan, der saß am Nachbartisch, der ist massivst übergewichtig und - dann ham wir eben auch über - und dann, mit fast jedem, mit dem ich gesprochen hab - der ist so Ende 50, Anfang 60 - fast alle nahmen Blutdruck-Medikamente, ich sag: "Ich brauch sowas nicht" - "Wie machst du das denn?", ich sage "Ich esse kein Fleisch und keine Tierprodukte, das ist ganz einfach, da muss man das auch nicht"

[80] "Also es ist für mich schon wichtig, ein Ideal zu haben. Irgendwie etwas, wohinter man steht; etwas, was man durchdacht hat (.) und (.) keine Ahnung, wenn ich nicht, wenn ich nicht mit einem Ideal leben würde, dann könnte ich mich auch direkt umbringen. Das ist halt für mich einfach kein richtiges Leben so wirklich, irgendwie ideallos zu leben und halt drauf zu scheißen und ich sag mal so, sich wie, wie die Anderen zu verhalten oder sowas (.), nur weil's halt leichter ist"

[81] "Und dann war irgendwie der Punkt, jetzt will ich auf jeden Fall das auch nach außen mich als Veganer geben und dann hab ich ungefähr anderthalb Jahre ach sehr strikt mich vegan ernährt"

[82] "Weil ich darauf auch stolz bin und - also stolz ist wieder so ein Wort, was ich eigentlich auch ungern benutze, aber zumindest, dass ich, dass ich für mich selber diese Prinzipien habe und davon (.) niemals abrücken wollen würde und halt sage für mich, für mich gehört's halt zu nem glücklichen Leben mit dazu"

with great ease, as if it was normal for them to be somewhat distinct. Many vegan and vegetarian respondents pride themselves on their dietary strictness and on their strong morals, and some evoke moral boundaries vis-á-vis meat-eaters, and even vis-á-vis meat-reducers (see section 5.3.1 on boundaries by vegetarians). Some of them had switched to a vegetarian or vegan diet because they wanted to challenge themselves, and "make their lives a bit harder" (Lena, flexitarian, female, 27, intermediate EC, high CC, student):

> *"Then I decided that I was just going to try that during the fasting period, and I was not like 'I want to be vegan now' but I simply tried it out. (. . .) As an experiment, to see how I like it and if it benefits me"*[83]

(Emilia, vegan, female, 44, intermediate to high EC, high CC)

> *"And then it basically changed because I used to always – I always made resolutions for the fasting period. Previously, this was usually about sweets, not to eat sweets, then it was about meat at some point (.) or even about both"*[84]

(Lena, flexitarian, female, 27, intermediate EC, high CC, student)

> *"I used to do a lot of challenges, and I still do that. And this is basically how it started. (. . .) I don't know, but I am always very extreme. I just cut out things and see what's the other extreme and at some point, I try to find the middle ground"*[85]

(Liam, vegan, male, 29, intermediate EC, high CC)

> *"That's when I went vegetarian for sure and (.) in 2014, it was basically just for fun that I tried out this challenge by Attila Hildmann with a friend – tried it for 30 days and then you realize: 'Hey, that's actually great'"*[86]

(Anna, vegan, female, 48, intermediate to high EC, intermediate to high CC)

> *"I am a little different anyways, because I am a teacher and I am a musician, and I travel a lot and I live abroad, and I have bilingual kids and I – you know? Et cetera. So I already started off as a misfit before I stopped eating meat. It's nothing new"*[87]

(Samuel, vegan, male, 35, high EC, high CC)

[83] "Dann hab ich halt für mich selbst beschlossen, dass ich halt während der Fastenzeit dann das einfach mal versuche, das gar nicht drauf ankommen lasse "Ich will jetzt vegan werden", sondern ich probier's einfach mal aus - (. . .) Genau, als Experiment, wie es mir gefällt, wie's mir bekommt"

[84] "Dann hat sich das eigentlich geändert, weil ich immer (.) also eigentlich schon seit ganz - seit langer Zeit in der Fastenzeit immer mir irgendwas vorgenommen habe. Das war früher eigentlich immer Süßigkeiten, also keine Süßigkeiten zu essen, dann war es irgendwann auch mal kein Fleisch zu essen (.) oder mal beides"

[85] "Was ich eigentlich häufig gemacht habe ist – auch jetzt häufig mache sind Challenges, und das war sozusagen ein bisschen der Startschuss (. . .). Ich, weiß ich nicht, bin aber auch immer sehr radikal. Ich cutte dann Sachen raus und gucke was, was das andere Extrem ist und probier dann irgendwann ne Mitte zu finden"

[86] "Da wurd ich dann auch (.) ja halt (.)vegetarisch auf alle Fälle und (.) 2014 war das wirklich mit ner Freundin aus Jux, diese Challenge vom Attila Hildmann, 30 Tage ausprobieren und dann stellt man fest "Hey, das is ne super Sache, ge?"

[87] "Ich bin ohnehin so ein bisschen anders, indem ich halt so ein Lehrer bin, der auch Musiker ist, der auch unterwegs ist, der auch im Ausland lebt, der bilinguale Kinder erzeugt hat, der - ne? Und und und. Insofern fing ich schon als Exot an; bevor ich aufgehört hab Fleisch zu essen. Das ist nichts Neues"

The meat reducers in my sample differ in their emphasis on distinctiveness and individual choice. They generally reject vegetarian or vegan diets as 'too radical' (see section 5.3.2 on boundaries by non-vegetarians), but they do so for different reasons. Some of them proudly portray their dietary practices as special and as different from others, and reject vegetarian diets because they see them as a gustatory sacrifice and find great pleasure in the taste of meat. These are mainly high-income respondents who could afford a flexitarian diet (i.e. buying fewer but more expensive meat products). Some of them fit into the 'foodie' category, displaying an 'aesthetic disposition' towards food (Johnston & Baumann 2014):

> *"I generally don't like to restrict myself in life – like saying 'I will never ever drink alcohol or eat meat again' or something. I can reduce my level of consumption and if I really crave something, I don't want to put a curb on that"*[88]

(Sandra, flexitarian, female, 34, intermediate to high EC, intermediate CC)

> *"And those farmers that I buy meat from, I know how the animals grew up and I know about the meat production, how the animals are kept and so on. That's why I buy local products, and that's why I say: 'You can eat vegan or vegetarian, whatever, but I take care not to support factory farming, and to buy high-quality meat that was produced in the area, and that's how I treat myself"*[89]

(Matthias, flexitarian, male, 40s, intermediate EC, high CC)

> *"Let's say I am not a huge fan of meat but I like to eat a piece of meat from time to time. I don't need to eat meat every day, because I also like veggies and I like vegetarian food. But only vegetarian food wouldn't suffice, you know? Once in a while, I like to eat a piece of meat. And then I try to be mindful of – if I buy meat for myself, I try to be mindful of (.) its origins, that the animals were somewhat raised decently"*[90]

(Jacob, flexitarian, male, 67, intermediate to high EC, intermediate CC, self-employed)

Other interviewees reduce their meat consumption, but reject vegetarian or vegan diets for their strictness, and emphasize the importance of adjusting their dietary practices to the needs and preferences of others, i.e. of 'fitting in' with others. They make frequent recourse to respectability and generally discredit extreme consumption practices of any kind:

[88] "Ich bin kein Freund davon mich grundsätzlich im Leben komplett einzuschränken - also so für irgendwas zu sagen "Also jetzt auch nie wieder Alkohol oder nie wieder Fleisch" oder sowas - ich kann mich ja reduzieren, aber wenn ich dann irgendwie die super Lust verspüre auf irgendwas, möcht ich mich nicht einschränken"

[89] "Also, die Bauern, bei denen ich einkaufen gehe, da kennt man natürlich auch den Werdegang der Tiere und man hat Einblick in die Produktion, in die Tierhaltung und so weiter. Das is' der Grund, warum ich dann letztendlich regional einkaufe, und das is' auch dann für mich der Punkt, wo ich sage: Ihr könnt vegan essen, oder vegetarisch, wie auch immer, aber ich achte darauf, dass ich nicht diese Massentierhaltung unterstütze, sondern dass ich qualitativ hochwertiges, in der Region produziertes Fleisch kaufe und das gönn' ich mir dann letztendlich auch"

[90] "Ich bin (.) nicht ein Fleisch-Fan, aber ich esse ab und zu gerne ein Stück Fleisch. Ich muss jetzt nicht jeden Tag Fleisch essen, weil ich ess auch gerne Gemüse und vegetarisch. Aber nur vegetarisch wäre mir nicht genug, ja? Also so ab und zu mal würde, ess ich gern ein Stück Fleisch. Und dann versuch ich halt drauf zu achten, dass es eben auch - wenn ich mir irgendwo Fleisch selber kaufe, dass es eben auch (.) aus ner vernünftigen Aufzucht der Tiere irgendwie kommt"

"I like to eat vegetarian dishes, so for me you don't – but this rigorous thing, this – well, there are many vegetarians and vegans in (name of son-in-law) family, you know, and – he's not vegetarian but at their wedding for example. You always need to pay attention to what these folks eat"[91]

(Hans, meat-eater, male, 70s, intermediate EC, intermediate CC)

"Well yes, but always within reason. If you have vegetables of high quality and they are organic, you will see that. That is preferred, of course, but it's not like being super strict about it. It's not like 'I am a member of the Green party and I do this and that' but it's simply that if you find something and it's of high quality, and if you go grocery shopping at (discount grocery store) or at (discount grocery store), and they even offer these things by now. Or you visit the weekly market and that's okay, it's all good"[92]

(Marco, meat-reducer, male, 60s, intermediate to high EC, high CC, self-employed)

"And then she (sister) made Nutella from scratch. You know, she really used nuts and stuff and whatnot, anyway. So yeah, it was a real hassle. And sometimes it was a little over the top actually, so back then I already told my sister (. . .): 'You're nuts, let him (her sister's son) have his Nutella!'"[93]

(Renate, meat-eater, female, 50s, intermediate to high EC, intermediate CC)

Only few respondents with low to intermediate (mainly secondary) levels of education as opposed to respondents with higher (mainly tertiary) education attempt to change their diets, and they rarely even see it as a viable option. When asked if they would like to change some aspect of their diet, many meat-eaters, and primarily those with lower amounts of capital, report being content and satisfied with their current diets, and emphasize the ordinariness of their diets and that their diets are 'ok'.

Meat-eaters as well as flexitarian respondents frequently refer to social reference groups, value commensality and social cohesion, and enjoy the mutual exchange and support they derive from social gatherings (which almost always involves eating together). They assign greater priority to the communal value of food than the majority of vegetarian or vegan respondents do:

"R: Well, that's – everybody does it differently. I tried to please everbody"[94]

"It's the conviviality, and that's just how it is, conviviality is part of our lives! And for elderly people it's really important that we have our social ties"[95]

[91] "Ich esse auch gern vegetarisch, also für mich wirst keine - aber dieses Starre, da an diesem - also in der Familie von [Name des Schwiegersohns] gibt's sehr viele Vegetarier und Veganer, ja, und [schmunzelt] - er aber nicht und aber das war zum Beispiel auf der Hochzeit auch. Ja, und dann musstest du wieder achten, was essen die Leute"

[92] "Ja doch schon, aber ich sag mal in einem vernünftigen Rahmen. Wenn du n gutes Gemüse hast und das ist biologisch angebaut, das siehst du. Das wird natürlich bevorzugt, aber es ist jetzt auch nicht so, dass man das jetzt extrem handhabt. Also das hat jetzt nicht mehr diesen Ich bin in der grünen Partei und mach das', sondern das ist einfach was man, was man findet und was gut ist und man geht bei Aldi einkaufen, oder bei Lidl, da findet man's ja mittlerweile auch oder man geht über'n Wochenmarkt und da ist das eigentlich in Ordnung"

[93] "Dann hat sie dann Nutella selber gemacht. Also richtig mit Nüssen und Dings und weiß der Himmel, wie auch immer. Und das, ja, war wirklich n Aufwand. Also das war auch manchmal n bisschen extrem, da hab' ich damals schon zu meiner Schwester gesagt (. . .): Du hast doch ne Meise, lass den doch Nutella essen.'"

[94] "Aber gut, so ist - jeder macht das anders. Ich hab versucht, es allen recht zu machen"

[95] "Es ist das Gesellige und das ist auch in Ordnung, das Gesellige gehört zum Leben dazu! Und als älterer Mensch ist das auch total wichtig, dass wir unsere Kontakte haben"

(Anita, meat-eater, female, 70s, intermediate EC?, low to intermediate CC)

> *"Set the table and add a glass of wine, you know. And if you're finished, don't just stand up and wash your mouth and be like 'What's up next?' And when (name of partner) and me have breakfast on the weekend, that's clearly – sometimes we take 45 minutes to have breakfast, or an hour, that's something completely different. It's of a different quality than saying 'I am hungry' in the morning and quickly preparing some breakfast"*[96]

(Martin, meat-eater, male, 30s, intermediate EC, intermediate CC)

> *(about weight loss diets): "So, you know – I know I am not a lightweight, but I say to myself, it's about finding the middle ground (. . .) I don't eat three pieces of cake for lunch or something, but I really indulge in food, I like cooking, I like eating, and I tell myself – ok, it happens if we eat out with friends, for example, or if the two of us eat out, or if you get together with others on some occasion – that's when I eat a bit more. Or when I have another drink"*[97]

(Kerstin, meat-reducer, female, 61, low to intermediate EC, intermediate CC)

To be sure, vegetarians or vegans also suffer from social conflict, and some choose to eat meat (or dairy) in rare situations as a result of social pressure:

> *"What I think is really difficult indeed – and that's also why I am not so strict – is the social component, because – sometimes it's really annoying when I am invited at a friend's place and they have to cook something separate, something just for me, I don't want that. I don't want to bother other people"*[98]

(Lena, meat-reducer, female, 27, intermediate EC, high CC, student)

> *"Yes, sometimes I had to eat meat because otherwise my mother would have been angry with me – for example, when she had prepared a lot of food only for me or for my friends"*[99]

(Lina, vegan, female, 20, low to intermediate EC, student)

[96] "Tisch decken und ein Glas Wein hinstellen und ja. Und dann, wenn man fertig ist, nicht sofort aufstehen und Mund abputzen und so: "Was kommt jetzt als nächstes?" Und auch wenn [Name der Lebensgefährtin] und ich am Wochenende zum Beispiel frühstücken, dann ist das deutlich - dann ist das manchmal ne dreiviertel Stunde, die wir dann zusammen frühstücken, oder ne Stunde, das ist wieder was ganz anderes. Das hat ne, is' ne andere Qualität, als wenn man sagt: "Ich hab Hunger", morgens und will eben schnell mir ein Frühstück bereiten"

[97] "Deswegen, also - ich mein', ich bin kein Leichtgewicht, aber ich sag' mir: Das richtige Mittelmaß von allem (. . .). Also nicht so drüber hinweg, dass ich mich da jetzt jeden Mittag hinsetz und drei Stück Torte futter'. Ich genieße sehr gerne, ich koche sehr gern, ich esse sehr gern, aber ich sag' mir: Okay, es gibt Zeiten, wenn wir zum Beispiel mit Freunden essen gehen, oder wir beide essen gehen, oder wenn's irgendwas is', wo man schön zusammensitzt - und dann ess' ich eben auch n Stück mehr. Oder trink' auch n Gläschen mehr"

[98] "Was ich selber tatsächlich dann noch am schwierigsten finde - warum ich das auch nicht komplett mache ist eigentlich vor allem dieses soziale Ding, weil ich das - weil's manchmal halt wirklich anstrengend ist, wenn ich dann bei Freunden eingeladen bin und die müssen extra was Neues, was Eigenes für mich kochen, das will ich halt nicht - also ich will da niemandem auf die Nerven gehen"

[99] "Ja, manchmal musste ich Fleisch essen, weil meine Mutter wird sonst böse mit mir, wenn sie zum Beispiel ein großes Essen gekocht hat nur für mich oder meine meine Freunde"

"I was never totally strict because I wanted to avoid that this topic always comes up and that you always have to tell people in advance when they invite you over – that's the social element of it, and it's unpleasant"[100]

(Amelie, vegetarian, female, 20s, intermediate EC, high CC, self-employed)

Many vegetarian and vegan respondents altered parts of their peer network as a result of their dietary changes (see section 5.3.4 on consequences of boundary work), seeking social support and engaging with new social networks that help them sustain their vegetarianism in the face of ongoing social conflicts with existing networks.

What is more, at different stages of the interview, almost all vegetarian and vegan respondents refer to a person in their social network that has adopted a vegetarian or vegan diet before them. These are friends, family members or acquaintances, and they provide some initial support or help maintain the respondent's diet. Still though, diets are always presented as deliberate and individual choices rather than as results of social influence. The discourse on the importance of individual responsibility and choice seems to enjoy widespread legitimacy among vegetarian respondents (see section 2.3 on sustainable consumption and section 2.2 on dietary change) and could in fact be construed as a collective ideal that is part of the habitus of a specific social group.

Conclusion

Social approval is crucial to our well-being and an important driver of action. The maintenance of alternative dietary patterns hinges on social support; but initial transitions also hinge on self-confidence, self-efficacy and on the social approval that is unequally warranted to people by way of their cultural and economic capital (see section 2.2 on dietary change). Those low in economic and cultural capital have to rely more extensively on social capital for social approval, and they often have low levels of self-efficacy and trust in their ability to effectively alter their behaviors to achieve a desired outcome. As a result, they may prefer stability and social cohesion over change and potential (voluntary and thus avoidable) conflict.

To be sure, highly educated and wealthy consumers are also negatively affected by social conflict or by opposing the norms of their social reference groups. However, the norms are more conducive to dietary changes in the first place. In addition, money and education are important indicators of success in life, sources of self-esteem and cushions against stigmatization and psychological distress while also facilitating access to new social networks. Those with small amounts of cultural and economic capital have less leeway to violate the norms of their peer groups as they cannot substitute economic or cultural for social capital to maintain social approval. On the other hand, 'going against the grain', taking individual decisions and 'optimizing' one's lifestyle and consumption patterns is not only accepted but also more highly valued amongst 'middle- and upper classes', and seems to be an important precondition, or at least an important facilitator for the adoption and maintenance of alternative, and somewhat strict dietary patterns like vegetarianism or veganism. When traditional meal patterns and

[100] "Ich war immer nicht so total radikal, weil ich das eben (.) eben vermeiden wollte, dass es auch jedes Mal so ein Thema ist und wenn man irgendwo eingeladen wird, dass dann immer vorher zu sagen, hat für mich auch so so ne soziale Komponente, die unangenehm ist"

food supply structures in retail and in public food provisioning change, and more children grow up in vegetarian or meat-reduced households, these effects will be much more malleable and less relevant for producing social inequalities in meat consumption patterns. In fact, some, especially younger vegetarian respondents report that their social networks mainly consist of other vegetarians, rendering meat-free diets the default option‘ in their social contexts. These respondents switched to a vegetarian diet mainly as a result of the diet's conferral of social approval among peers (or, to reverse the emphasis, to avoid conflict and to yield to pressure by vegetarian peers).

5.2.4 Food neophilia

An important precondition for dietary change, including transitions to meat-reduced and meat-free diets, is not only whether people have the opportunity for, but whether they also value acquiring new skills, learning about new food items, and are generally curious and adventurous about unfamiliar food practices. With reference to the relevant literature, I call this disposition to be able to (actively or passively) expand one's culinary horizon food neophilia, or culinary adventurousness. Both concepts are linked to theoretical debates about cultural omnivorousness, eclecticism, or cosmopolitanism (see section 2.1 on cultural class analysis).

In one of his earlier works, Warde (1997) argues that in food magazines, "variation is not presented or recommended in terms of novelty. Rather it is taken for granted, assumed that readers can appreciate, absorb and accept a heterogeneous range of foodstuffs" (ibid.: 161). He argues that diversity in food had increasingly been glorified but also normalized. Johnston & Baumann (2014), on the other hand, identify culinary adventurousness as distinctive of the 'foodie' discourse, which "contains a fundamental impulse to draw attention to exotic new ingredients and dishes. Most magazine, newspaper, and blog writing features some element of identifying new culinary trends and hot new foods" (ibid.: 99). For 'foodies', they argue, knowledge of faraway places and their cuisines can be used to present oneself as a cosmopolitan eater, and is associated with a certain level of prestige. Similarly, Cappeliez & Johnston (2013) argue that, while not completely determined by it, culinary cosmopolitanism - and especially what they call its 'connoisseur' mode - is often linked to high amounts of economic and cultural capital.

But how does culinary adventurousness relate to meat-reduced and meat-free diets? Beagan et al. (2014) find that vegetarianism clearly overlaps with culinary cosmopolitanism. However, how and why the two phenomena (culinary cosmopolitanism and meat-reduced diets) are linked, and in which ways they relate to economic and cultural capital, remains underexplored. In this chapter, I argue that food neophilia is not a sufficient but a necessary condition for transitions towards meat-reduced or meat-free diets against the background of a meat-based food culture, and one that is directly or indirectly fostered by cultural and/or economic capital. Meat remains an essential part of the 'standard Western diet', and of the traditional diet in most of Germany. Food consumption is a highly routinized and habitualized practice, and against the background of the 'proper' meal, abstaining from meat requires knowledge of and preceding interest in alternative food items, recipes and preparation techniques (Hoek et al. 2011, Schösler et al. 2012, Stoll-Kleemann & Schmidt 2017, Graça et al. 2019).

Many of my interview partners perceive a lack of alternative culinary knowledge as an important barrier to switching to a meat-free diet, or to including meat-free dishes into their regular diet. Many

vegetarians or vegans refer to this aspect when speaking about their transition to a different diet, and some non-vegetarians ruefully acknowledge their lack of alternative culinary knowledge:

> *"It was primarily because I didn't know many alternatives and, above all, I didn't eat on the go anymore – I thought I couldn't buy anything at the bakery anymore"*[101]

(Kimi, vegan, female, 32, intermediate EC, high CC)

> *"It was difficult at first, for the first days and maybe for the first weeks as well (.) and then you get used to it and you gain more knowledge about what products to buy, what to cook and what to prepare"*[102]

(Milan, vegan, male, 28, intermediate to high EC, high CC)

> *"At some point we realized that it's really not that easy to eat vegetarian or vegan in a somewhat creative way and so, well, that's really convenient, because they offer a lot of dishes that you can choose from"*[103]

(Mila, vegetarian, female, 30, intermediate to high EC, high CC)

> *"I'd say it was difficult for me because just imagine you had to get rid of 27 years of routine at once, you know? To stop doing things that you think are normal since childhood (. . .) I am sure it was also difficult in practice to say 'Ok, let's not have that but something else', you know? Or to cook something different than usual, whatever, it would be boring to just have a plate of veggies every single day. So you need a change of plans"*[104]

(Samuel, vegan, male, 35, high EC, high CC)

> *"Yes, because I – I really have to think about what to eat if I cannot have meat and it always takes me a while to come up with something. And I am really not good at cooking or preparing stuff without meat"*[105]

(Levi, meat-eater, male, 25, low EC, low to intermediate CC)

A propensity for culinary adventurousness, or food neophilia, is distinctive of all vegetarian and vegan respondents, as well as of those who have deliberately reduced their meat consumption. Many respondents elaborate on their dietary practices and cooking skills in great detail. They value the

[101] "Das lag hauptsächlich daran, dass ich eben noch nicht so viele Alternativen kannte und vor allen Dingen so dieses Unterwegs-Essen weggefallen ist – ich hab gedacht, ich kann mir überhaupt kein Teilchen beim Bäcker mehr holen"

[102] "Die ersten Tage ist es schwer so, die ersten Wochen vielleicht auch noch (.) und irgendwann kommt halt Gewöhnung und vor allem auch sich mehr und mehr auskennen, welche Produkte gibt es, was kann man selber kochen, machen"

[103] "Einfach, weil wir irgendwann festgestellt haben, dass es halt gar nicht so leicht ist sich irgendwie so kreativ vegetarisch-vegan zu ernähren und genau, das ist halt ganz praktisch, weil man da halt ne große Auswahl tatsächlich an Gerichten hat und daraus halt was auswählen kann"

[104] "Ich würde aber sagen es fiel mir schwer, einfach weil man muss sich so vorstellen 27 Jahre Routine in einem Stück abzubauen, ne? Sachen, die man einfach von Kindheit auf als normal sieht eben nicht mehr zu tun. (. . .) Das ist sicherlich auch praktisch schwer gewesen einfach zu sagen: Ja, dann eben nicht das, sondern was anderes", ne? Oder einfach andere Sachen zu kochen als sonst, was auch immer, ne, einfach einen Teller Gemüse jeden Tag, das wär langweilig, und ne? Da muss man ein bisschen umdenken"

[105] "Ja, weil ich – ich muss dann auch wirklich immer überlegen, was man ohne Fleisch essen kann und das dauert dann echt immer so ne Weile, bis mir dann was einfällt. Und das ist halt nicht meine Stärke ohne Fleisch zu kochen oder was zuzubereiten"

search for recipes, studies, new ingredients and the like, and find enjoyment in these activities. Some proudly present themselves as adventurous eaters, while others do not perceive their food neophilia as particularly worth mentioning. They describe browsing through various types of media, talking to friends and colleagues about food-related issues, and visiting new restaurants which reveals their preference for novelty and diversity:

> *"What could be an alternative to that and I somehow enjoyed wandering around and checking what else is out there"*[106]

(Annika, vegan, female, 27, low to intermediate EC, high CC, student)

> *"I always have something like flax seed, puffed amaranth or quinoa in store (.) or oat crunchies and then I eat those with fruit (. . .) I like preparing Asian dishes if I don't have much time but I still want to cook something from scratch, then I'll have a creamy soup because you really only need noodles and then you add bok choy and stuff and mushrooms and spring onions (. . .) I use the rice steamer a lot – I prepare the rice and maybe some gyosa or edamame beans from the Asian market at the same time (. . .) then I put together a plate of rice and steamed broccoli, gyosa, and I add some sesame seeds or some nori sheets. (. . .) Yeah, I cooked this lasagna the other day, I make a lot of Thai-curries or curries"*[107]

(Elena, vegan, female, 24, low EC, vocational training)

> *"We immediately started gathering information and we learned what to cook. Where to eat out. We tried to replace the diversity that we had before with a new type of diversity right away"*[108]

> *"Well, I am this kind of person, I like to try everything. And I always tried everything that I could get, you know, because I am a person who likes to eat and who eats a lot – well, food is very important to me. And then I tried a lot of things when I moved out, different types of cuisines from different countries and I tried to cook things myself and what have you"*[109]

(Hannah, vegan, female, 34, intermediate EC, high CC)

[106] "Was gibt's denn da als Alternative und (ich) hatte halt irgendwie Spaß dran zu schauen, was gibt's denn?"

[107] "Dann hab ich immer noch sowas bei wie irgendwie Leinsamen, gepufften Amaranth oder Quinoa oder sowas (.) oder so Hafercrunchies und dann halt auch mit Obst (. . .) ich mach sehr gern so asiatische Sachen, also wenn's mal schnell gehen muss, aber trotzdem frisch sein muss, mach ich so selber so Rahmsuppen, weil dann braucht man eigentlich nur die Nudeln, macht dann viel so Pak Choi rein und Pilze, Frühlingszwiebeln (. . .). Mit dem Reiskocher mach ich sehr viel, also dass ich halt unten den Reis gleichzeitig mache und oben mach ich dann manchmal irgendwie vielleicht mal so Gyosa oder Edamame aus dem Asia-Laden (. . .), dann stell ich mir einfach so nen Teller halt mit Reis, gedünstetem Brokkoli, Gyosa, und dann halt noch irgendwie so Sesam drauf oder so ein bisschen so Nori. (. . .) Genau, ja diese Lasagne hab ich jetzt halt gekocht, Thai-Curry mach ich öfter mal selber oder Curry"

[108] "Wir haben sofort angefangen und zu informieren, was man alles kochen kann. Wo man überall essen gehen kann. Und direkt versucht diese Vielfalt, die man vorher hatte zu ersetzen durch ne neue Vielfalt"

[109] "Also ich bin so ein Mensch, ich probier gern alles. Und ich hab alles probiert immer schon was ich kriegen konnte so, ne, weil ich ein Mensch bin, der sehr gerne isst und sehr viel - also das Essen ist sehr zentral für mich. So, und hab dann irgendwie ganz viele Sachen ausprobiert als ich ausgezogen bin und verschiedene Küchen aus verschiedenen Ländern und auch versucht selber halt das zu kochen und hin und her"

"And ever since, I really like to cook and experiment and try stuff out in the kitchen, and it's something that I am definitely passionate about and I would even call it a hobby"[110]

"I like to try new things and if some tofu sausages are really popular in some Facebook group, I would definitely – if people don't say they suck, I also try them at some point"[111]

(Greta, vegan, female, 25, intermediate EC, student)

"Yes, I think it's rewarding. In general, I – if somebody comes over to visit me, and I know it in advance, I have many recipes. (. . .) It wouldn't bother me at all. Because for the most part, I don't miss eating meat. If I have some veggies and a tasty potato, I have all I need. And sometimes I only need veggies, vegetable stir-fry"[112]

(Regina, meat-reducer, female, 71, intermediate to high EC, intermediate CC)

This culinary adventurousness, a preference for novel and diverse foods, has different social origins. It sometimes co-evolves with other consumption practices or activities at a later stage in life, or is a significant part of respondents' early childhood socialization. Backett-Milburn et al. (2010) argue that 'middle class' parents often try to cultivate culinary adventurousness in their children by deliberately exposing them to a wide variety of new foods. Daniel (2016) also finds that "most high-income respondents value introducing their children to varied foods and aspire to raise adventurous eaters (ibid.: 39). In line with this, attempts at raising adventurous eaters are mainly reported in families high in cultural and/or economic capital. For a few interviewees, a propensity for culinary adventurousness is rooted in their habitus, acquired through their childhood as a form of embodied cultural capital:

"At some point during the 80s, my mum started to try out whole-food diets and to my father's sorrow, she served vegetarian meals from time to time"[113]

(Emilia, vegan, female, 44, intermediate to high EC, high CC)

"And we always had veggies and stuff, up and down, and the rationale was to try out everything, no matter where we were, because we frequently went on vacation"[114]

(Jacob, meat-reducer, male, 67, intermediate to high EC, intermediate CC, self-employed)

[110] "Und seitdem ist eigentlich kochen und in der Küche experimentieren und Sachen ausprobieren irgendwie doch was, was ich sehr gerne mache, was ich auch definitiv als Leidenschaft und Hobby irgendwie bezeichnen würde"

[111] "Und ich probier auch gern neue Sachen aus und wenn's irgendwelche Tofu-Würstchen gibt, die im Internet irgendwie in ner veganen Facebook-Gruppe total gehyped sind, dann würde ich die auch alle – wenn nicht alle sagen die sind kacke, dann probier ich die auch irgendwie mal aus"

[112] "Ja, ich find' das ne Bereicherung. Ich hab' da überhaupt - also wenn zu mir jemand zu Besuch kommt und ich weiß das vorher, hab' ich genug Rezepte. (. . .) das würde mir überhaupt nichts ausmachen. Weil ich ja im großen Ganzen, fehlt mir ja auch gar kein Fleisch. Also wenn ich Gemüse hab' und ne leckere Kartoffel, da hab' ich doch alles. Und ich brauch' auch manchmal nur Gemüse, Gemüsepfanne"

[113] "Dann fing meine Mutter irgendwann in den 80er Jahren an mit Vollwert-Ernährung zu experimentieren und hat dann halt auch schon mal hin und wieder zum Leidwesen meines Vaters vegetarische Gerichte auf den Tisch gebracht"

[114] "Und (.) da gibt's dann halt auch immer Gemüse und tralala, rauf und runter und dann war halt auch Prämisse eben 'alles probieren', egal wo wir sind, weil wir halt auch ja viel im Urlaub waren"

"My parents actually cooked a lot – it's just because both of them worked full-time. My father usually cooks at home and he is a really good cook – seriously, really good – and he also devotes a lot of time to food"[115]

(Sandra, meat-reducer, female, 34, intermediate to high EC, intermediate CC)

"But we always had – mainly initiated by my mother – we already had fake meats back then, from the organic store. (. . .) I started to deal with food rather early on because my mother, well, she was a very conscious and healthy eater, and I adopted that"[116]

(Susanne, vegan, female, 28, low EC, high CC)

"R: My mother mainly cooked traditional meals, but still she was very curious. We already had a lot of ethnic foods back then. (. . .) She made a lot of really exotic foods, she dragged on strudel dough, cooked indian dishes, she was very open-minded. My mother was also into traveling, my father not so much." – "I: And that's where she brought new recipes once in a while?" – "R: With great enthusiasm! That's also why I am like 'Just try everything'"[117]

(Regina, meat-reducer, female, 71, intermediate to high EC, intermediate CC)

Accordingly, a few parents in my sample express a desire to equip their own children with a general openness and curiosity for new food items and practices:

"I think our children know a lot about food and nutrition. (.) They know what is allegedly good and what is allegedly bad - if anything, I always recommended a healthy mixed diet"[118]

(Lukas, meat-reducer, male, 51, high EC, high CC)

"Don't just put anything on the table, but also convey: Where does that come from? What does that mean? What happens when you eat meat? How is it produced? Which responsibility comes with it? Well, let's say if it's a local product or to understand – for example, take them to a farm and show them how these things are produced"[119]

(Martin, meat-eater, male, 30s, intermediate EC, intermediate CC)

[115] "Meine Eltern kochen nicht wenig - also es liegt einzig und allein daran, dass sie beide Vollzeit berufstätig waren. Mein Vater ist bei uns der Koch und er kocht auch sehr gut - also wirklich, richtig gut - er beschäftigt sich auch viel mit Lebensmitteln"

[116] "Aber es gab auch immer - halt dann eher von meiner Mutter von der Seite aus so, schon Veggie-Filets, damals schon, irgendwie ausm Bio-Laden. (. . .) Ich hab mich (.) relativ früh angefangen viel mit Essen zu beschäftigen, weil meine Mutter sich eben auch sehr bewusst und gesund immer schon ernährt hat, da hab ich das so mitbekommen"

[117] "B: Meine Mutter war, obwohl die Hausmannkost machte, war die sehr neugierig. Und bei uns gab's eben damals, zu dieser Zeit schon, ausländisches Essen. (. . .) Ja, die hat wirklich exotisch gekocht. Die hat zum Beispiel auch den Strudelteig gezogen über den Tisch, hat indisch gekocht, also die war offen. Meine Mutter war auch die Reisetante, mein Vater nicht so." – "I: Und da hatte sie das dann immer mal mitgebracht, neue Rezepte, oder?" – "B: Mit Begeisterung, ne? Ja, von daher hab' ich also auch dieses: Alles probieren"

[118] "Ich glaube, dass unsere Kinder über Ernährung gut aufgeklärt sind (.) wissen, was vermeintlich gut oder vermeintlich schlecht ist, im Prinzip hab ich wenn überhaupt immer die gesunde Mischernährung empfohlen"

[119] "Nicht nur was auf den Tisch zu stellen, sondern auch zu vermitteln: Wo kommt das her? Was bedeutet das? Was ist das, wenn man Fleisch isst? Wie wird das produziert? Welche Verantwortung ist das? Ja, sagen wir mal die Regionalität oder auch zu gucken zum Beispiel, man fährt mal zum Bauernhof und guckt mal sich an wie sowas hergestellt wird"

"Well, I was really obsessed with being perfect at everything. I nursed my child for three years, I only gave him mashed carrots and stuff – he didn't get baby food or any shenanigans. Because that comes with something in it, sugar and stuff. I made a real fuss about it"[120]

(Barbara, meat-reducer, 62, high EC, high CC)

"Actually, I always cooked lots of veggies and stuff, but now that my daughter, not my son, but my daughter – she could really eat sweet things all day, so we definitely have rules. She has a cheese sandwich, and then I am fine if she also has some jelly with her bread. Sometimes she doesn't have jelly for an entire week. And when I changed that, I realized that she had real cravings. So I consciously pay attention that we don't eat so much sugar here all the time"[121]

(Alina, meat-reducer, female, 28, low to intermediate EC, high CC)

However, an interest in diverse and novel foods may also evolve only later in life, resulting from life changes that allow or call for heightened levels of reflexivity, and for departure from the status quo. Dietary transitions often follow significant life-course events (Plessz et al. 2016). Common experiences are international and intercontinental travel or geographic mobility, which have been identified by in previous research as potential breaches that engender reflexivity (Lamont 1992, Southerton 2002, Bove et al. 2003, Beagan et al. 2014, Plessz et al. 2016).

For some respondents, learning about new foods and ingredients was a side effect of their educational pathways which often involved moving to a different place to study or living with people from other cultural backgrounds. In that way, the acquisition of institutionalized cultural capital is not a direct precondition for broadening one's culinary horizon (as in section 5.2.2 on scientism), but both types of knowledge frequently and unwittingly co-evolve; the latter comes as a side effect of the former:

"Well, I used to live with people from India, from Pakistan and from Bulgaria and, you know, we just got together and had – there were a lot of new insights"[122] *(Samuel, vegan, male, 35, high EC, high CC) "Then we had an 'ecology week' at college that was jointly organized by students from the Green party and by a vegan university group and there – they also had movable walls with information and stuff – and they also offered a vegan cooking class"*[123]

(Greta, vegan, female, 25, intermediate EC, student)

[120] "Also ich war wahnsinnig wild drauf, da alles perfekt zu machen. Ich hab' mein Kind drei Jahre gestillt, der hat nur selbstzerdrückte Möhrchen und so - niemals irgendwas aus dem Gläschen oder so'n Unfug. Da is' ja irgendwas drin, und Zucker und Gedöns. Also da hab' ich schon n ziemlichen Aufriss gemacht"

[121] "Eigentlich hab' ich von vornherein immer mit viel Gemüse gekocht und so, aber als jetzt zum Beispiel meine Tochter, mein Sohn nicht, aber meine Tochter is' so, dass sie den ganzen Tag süß essen könnte, und da gibt's halt schon so Regeln. Erstmal wird 'n Brot mit Käse gegessen, und dann kannst' auch gerne noch 'n Brot mit Marmelade hinterher essen, oder es is' auch mal 'ne Woche Marmelade weg und nachdem ich das umgestellt hab', hab' ich echt gemerkt wie sie so'n bisschen auf Entzug war. Also, wo ich auch echt nochmal bewusst darauf geachtet hab', dass hier echt nicht so viel Zucker den ganzen Tag gegessen wird"

[122] "Also ich hab mit Leuten aus Indien zusammengelebt, aus Pakistan und aus Bulgarien und ne, da haben wir uns einfach zusammengetan und hatten – da waren recht viele neue Einblicke halt"

[123] "Es gab dann so ne grüne Hochschulwoche von der grünen Liste von der Uni und 'Venga', so ner veganen Hochschulgruppe zusammen veranstaltet und in diesem Rahmen - also die hatten dann auch immer so Info-Stellwände und so - und in diesem Rahmen gab's einen veganen Kochkurs"

"I frequently eat at the university dining hall but – I attend university in (name of a city) and I have to say that I am really excited because they offer plenty of vegan dishes. They usually have two, sometimes even three meals you can choose from"[124]

(Lena, meat-reducer, female, 27, intermediate EC, high CC, student)

"We didn't have a lot of money when we attended university, and we used to cook together and, you know, the Italians made pasta, and I cooked a lot with this group of friends. For sure, we also had some Bolognese sauce with it, but that just so happened"[125]

(Sibylle, meat-reducer, female, 59, low to intermediate EC, high CC)

Other respondents who display great openness to and curiosity about new food items in general have traveled extensively or lived abroad for some time. I did not explicitly ask respondents about their travel experience but plenty of them talk about them as they seem incisive for their dietary histories. Elias (vegan), for example, spent six months in Japan; Milan (vegan) had traveled through Namibia, Botswana and China; Jonas (vegan) had recently been to Cuba and to Grand Canary, and Elena (vegan) lived in Switzerland for three months after working as an au pair in the US for a year. Their veganism was not a direct consequence of their travels but a heightened level of culinary knowledge and adventurousness that eventually facilitated their transitions towards vegetarians and vegan diets was. Other well-traveled respondents reject clear-cut vegetarianism, but follow flexitarian diets, and display a confident, discerning, and sometimes ironic attitude towards food and towards popular food prescriptions. Jacob (flexitarian) visited a variety of countries as part of his job as well as for vacation, including China, the UK, India and Thailand. He was also raised not to be picky, and is among the most adventurousness eaters in my sample, eager to try out new and unfamiliar food items. Marco (flexitarian) has been to India, China and South Africa. Both Jacob and Marco eat meatless dishes on occasion, but also find great pleasure in eating all kinds of meat, especially high-quality and rare meats.

Although rarely acknowledged as such by respondents themselves, these international travel experiences are scarce goods. They hinge on economic capital, or they come with specific professions and work arrangements that involve heightened mobility.

Being equipped with a preference for culinary adventurousness, economic capital also greatly facilitates learning about new food items in other ways. Eating out in a variety of different restaurants presents another crucial source of alternative culinary knowledge for many respondents:

"We eat out a lot, we do – we spend a lot of spare time eating out"[126]

(Hannah, vegan, female, 34, intermediate EC, high CC)

[124] "Ich geh viel in die Mensa, aber - also ich studier in (Name einer Stadt) und ich muss sagen, ich bin da echt ein bisschen begeistert, weil die echt viel veganes Angebot auch haben. Also die haben eigentlich immer (.) meistens so zwei, manchmal drei Sachen, die man sich irgendwie aussuchen kann"

[125] "Durch's Studium is' das gekommen, weil man ja nicht so viel Geld hat und wir haben dann auch immer zusammen gekocht und klar, die Italiener kochen Pasta und mit diesen Freunden hab' ich halt viel gekocht. Sicher gab's da auch 'n bisschen Bolognese dazu, aber das hat sich einfach automatisch so ergeben"

[126] "Wir gehen auch sehr viel essen so, also wir machen – sehr viel auch in unserer Freizeit dreht sich darum"

"I ate out at restaurants a lot. I also cooked at home once in a while, but it was an exception. I don't really cook myself"[127]

(Jacob, meat-reducer, male, 67, intermediate to high EC, intermediate CC, self-employed)

"Well, we definitely like sushi – and at (name of a café), they offer different types of quiche for dinner, or, I don't know when, maybe also for lunch, and they are really tasty, delicious recipes. And there is a new place next to (name of a restaurant) that offers Hawaiian bowls, and we also like (name of a burger restaurant), although that's not really healthy of course – well, we also like more traditional restaurants in the area like (.) – let me think – there's the (name of a restaurant) a little down South, they offer more traditional foods, but quite tasty – yesterday we ate at (name of a restaurant) – so there's a lot of different places"[128]

(Sandra, meat-reducer, female, 34, intermediate to high EC, intermediate CC)

Even more directly, diverse and alternative culinary knowledge can be bought with money, e.g. through participating in cooking classes or through ordering ready-made cooking boxes:

"Well, there are few things that I don't really like but that – funnily enough, that I become more and more familiar with because of these Hello Fresh' boxes (ready-made cooking boxes)"[129]

(Mila, vegetarian, female, 30, intermediate to high EC, high CC)

(about her boyfriend and his friends): "All three of them really like barbecueing, and they also attended a seminar about barbecueing and – well, that is also new to me that people make such a big fuss about it"[130] *"We received everything prepackaged and I really let myself be surprised by the ingredients they delivered – I liked both boxes (ready-made cooking boxes) and I would have never prepared the dishes they suggested myself"*[131]

(Sandra, meat-reducer, female, 34, intermediate to high EC, intermediate CC)

"We also attented several cooking classes together and so, if we cook together, it's really proper cooking and it's not just preparing food"[132]

[127] "Ich bin sehr viel in Restaurants gegangen. So zuhause kochen gab's immer mal, aber eher so als Sonderereignis. Also selber kochen eher weniger"

[128] "Also Sushi auf jeden Fall - das ist schon ganz beliebt - die [Name eines Cafés] hat auch zum Beispiel jetzt zumindest abends oder ich weiß nicht, ab wann, wie viel Uhr, mittags glaub ich auch schon solche Quiches, die sind auch ganz lecker, super Kreationen. Dann hat neben der [Name eines Restaurants] auch noch so ein neuer Laden aufgemacht mit so Poke-Bowls - die [Name eines Restaurants] ist natürlich auch ganz beliebt - auch wenn das nichts mit gesundem Essen zu tun hat [schmunzelt] - ja, dann so klassische Restaurants auch in der Umgebung wie (.), lass mich kurz überlegen, hier unten das [Name eines Restaurants] Richtung [Name eines Stadttteils], das ist mehr so klassisch - also schon ganz leckeres Essen - gestern waren wir beim [Name eines Restaurants]"

[129] "Also es gibt so ein paar Sachen, die ich einfach selber nicht so gern essen, aber die – wo ich mich, wo ich halt durch dieses Hello Fresh' auch immer mehr rangeführt werde witzigerweise"

[130] "Die grillen halt alle drei unglaublich gerne und ham jetzt auch so ein Grillseminar bei Weber mitgemacht und - also es ist schon (.) - hab ich auch noch nicht so kennengelernt, dass man sich da, dass die sich da so hochschaukeln"

[131] "Alles abgepackt bekommt und ich hab mich da wirklich überraschen lassen von den Sachen, die da drin waren - fand (.) beide Boxen gut und ich hätte niemals diese Rezepte, wie ich sie geschickt bekommen hab selbst gemacht"

[132] "Wir haben auch mehrere Kochkurse zusammen gemacht und dann is' das, wenn wir beide dann auch kochen, dann is' eher ein kochen und kein Essen machen"

(Martin, meat-eater, male, 30s, intermediate EC, intermediate CC)

These strategies are only accessible to those with certain amounts of economic capital. What is more, the acquisition of new culinary knowledge is not only facilitated by economic and cultural capital, but also requires ample amounts of time, making it more difficult for those who have other time-consuming obligations; long work-hours or dependent household members (see section 5.2.5 on familiar foods and section 5.2.6 on household relationships). Time is in itself a valuable resource to broaden one's culinary knowledge, as strikingly illustrated by the following quotes:

> *"So I really, I pored through books – you needed to go to the journal archives, read all of it, make copies, order it if it was an international journal – I read an awful lot about it and it was evident that meat is unnecessary and only does harmful things"*[133]

(Emil, vegan, male, 59, intermediate to high EC?, high CC)

> *"It was because I was interested in the culinary aspect of it, and I wanted to know what vegan foods are out there, what can you do with them, what can you use to replace things, and what options do you have? I think I took at least half a year or something to try all of that, try all of it in practice and in the kitchen – I don't know, I browsed through every grocery store and every organic store in (name of a large city) to figure out what I could get"*[134]

(Greta, vegan, female, 25, intermediate EC, student)

> *"It's not an issue for me anymore (.) – sure, sometimes it's inconvenient, because I know that there are some things that I don't get in the grocery store, but for me it's worth taking the extra distance to go somewhere else"*[135]

(Elena, vegan, female, 24, low EC, vocational training)

> *"For some time, I actually experimented a lot with roulades, and tried to veganize them. With a simple mushroom stuffing – we had these for quite some time, and I even boiled down brown sauce and stuff like that"*[136]

(Dominik, vegetarian, male, 25, low EC, intermediate to high CC)

[133] "Ich bin also wirklich, hab Kataloge geblättert, da musste man ins Zeitschriftenarchiv, das lesen, kopieren lassen, wenn's ne ausländische Zeitschrift ist anfordern - aber ich hab da sehr sehr viel gelesen und das war eigentlich ganz klar, dass - Fleisch ist überflüssig wie ein Kropf und macht nur schädliche Sachen"

[134] "Aber dadurch, dass ich mich dann quasi da so über diese Kochseite so reingestürzt habe: "Was gibt es denn für vegane Lebensmittel? Was kann man da machen? Was kann man wie, naja ersetzen?" und was gibt's da überhaupt so für Möglichkeiten? Hab ich mich dann bestimmt ein halbes Jahr oder sowas erstmal damit beschäftigt das alles auszuprobieren, halt dann auch in der Praxis, in der Küche – hab, weiß ich nicht, in jedem Supermarkt und Bio-Laden in (Name einer Großstadt) geguckt wie ist das Sortiment, was kann ich da kriegen"

[135] "Für mich ist es mittlerweile einfach kein (.) - klar, ist es manchmal umständlich, weil ich dann weiß, ich bekomm jetzt zum Beispiel das in dem Supermarkt nicht oder so, aber der Weg ist es mir dann irgendwie wert, woanders noch hinzufahren"

[136] "Zeitlang hab' ich ganz viel experimentiert mit Rouladen auch tatsächlich, die vegan zu machen. Mit 'ner Champignon-Pilz-Füllung einfach - das ham' wir dann auch ne zeitlang sehr viel gegessen, wo ich auch braune Soße reduziert hab' und sowas"

"It changed quite drastically in the meantime, we don't use convenience foods anymore at all. Well, actually there's one recipe we still use prepared foods for, and that's goulash. But other than that, we avoid prepared foods completely and we also avoid additives like, let's say, broth cubes or what have you, we make all of that by ourselves"[137]

(Matthias, meat-reducer, male, 40s, intermediate EC, high CC)

The importance of alternative culinary knowledge also speaks to the crucial role of meat substitutes, or of 'fake meats'. For consumers with less eclectic tastes and a lack of alternative culinary knowledge – and with some amount of economic capital to purchase them – meat substitutes can be of great help for transitions towards and maintenance of meat-reduced diets.

Conclusion

To summarize, food neophilia – understood as openness and curiosity for novel foods –is an essential prerequisite for transitions towards meat-reduced or meat-free diets against the background of a meat-based food culture. It is not a sufficient condition for meat reduction – in fact, several of my interview partners are very adventurous about new food items but did not reduce their meat consumption. However, it is a necessary disposition, and one that is premised on the possession of embodied or institutionalized cultural capital in creating a preference for change. Food neophilia as a preference often evolves as a corollary of educational pathways, or of practices that are enabled by considerable amounts of economic capital, like traveling or geographic mobility. A preference for culinary adventurousness can more easily be met with a considerable amount of economic and/or cultural capital, and hinges on time as a crucial resource.

Under certain conditions, food neophilia may be accompanied by the adoption of meat-reduced or meatless diets. A person's capital composition makes a significant difference here: Vegetarian respondents are usually adventurous eaters with high amounts of cultural but lower amounts of economic capital. Adventurous eaters with higher amounts of economic capital are mostly on flexitarian diets, i.e. they consume less meat but meat of higher quality and price. They include meat-free dishes into their diets but occasionally revert to more traditional or 'proper' meals. In that sense, their diet is reminiscent of the 'foodie' diet described by Johnston & Baumann (2014) which "does not typically promote wholesale vegetarianism, and instead works to re-define meat-eating as ethical" (ibid.: 137). Some of these respondents display an 'aesthetic disposition' and an orientation towards pleasure when it comes to food. It is an open question whether some vegetarian and vegan respondents may switch to a flexitarian diet as soon as they increase their economic capital, and are able to buy 'ethically sourced' meat products (e.g. organic, free-range, local).

Food neophilia or culinary adventurousness as preferences are important preconditions for dietary changes, but they are also easily stifled in certain situations (see section 5.2.5 on familiar foods and section 5.2.6 on household relationships). I will now move on to talk about factors which may make

[137] "Und mittlerweile hat sich das schon stark verändert, also wir kochen überhaupt nicht mehr mit Tüten. Doch, es gibt ein Gericht, das machen wir immer noch aus der Tüte, richtig, das is' Gulasch. Aber ansonsten vermeiden wir die Tüten komplett und auch jegliche Zusatzstoffe wie, ich sag' mal, Brühwürfel oder sowas, das stellen wir alles selber her"

it necessary to revert to familiar foods, either because it is the preferred way to go and has important benefits, or because it is the only available option.

5.2.5 Familiar food

While for some consumers, looking for new food experiences and engaging with dietary practices is a hobby, a source of personal development and self-improvement or a way to affiliate with others, food can also be a source of relaxation and comfort, or simply something that consumers do not wish to spend much time or effort on. Existing research shows that people on low wages, or people who experience job insecurity and stressful work atmospheres (which often goes hand in hand) rely more often on prepared foods, cook less from scratch, consume fast and snack food more often, and have more unhealthy diets in general (Devine et al. 2006, Ricciuto et al. 2006, Darmon & Drewnowski 2008, Atkinson & Deeming 2015, Fekete & Weyers 2016, Baumann et al. 2017). While fresh ingredients and healthy food items are also generally more expensive (Rao et al. 2013, Darmon & Drewnowski 2015), an important insight from these studies is that, in the face of scarcity, food can fulfil important compensatory purposes. Food practices can be a compensation for stress and anxiety at the workplace and offset negative feelings accruing from job dissatisfaction by providing a sense of comfort, familiarity and relaxation (Devine et al. 2006, Fekete & Weyers 2016, Smith & Anderson 2018).[138] Food then becomes a 'treat', and parents may use it "to show care and provide an experience of a 'normal', food-secure' childhood" (Smith Maguire 2016: 16). This does not only "emotionally satisfy adolescents, but it also bolsters parents' own sense of worth and competence as caregivers" (Fielding-Singh 2017: 442).

On the other hand, food shopping does not only have monetary costs; meal planning and food preparation are also time- and thought-consuming activities. Stress and anxiety accruing from financial instability or from other severe problems may direct emotional and mental resources away from the time and effort that is necessary for planning meals, for food shopping and for food preparation. This change in priorities has also been described as 'tunneling effect' (cf. Lamont et al. 2017) which leads people to focus exclusively on managing a scarce resource (e.g. money) and inhibits long-term planning. In line with this, Mani et al. (2013) show that, because the human cognitive system is limited, "preoccupations with pressing budgetary concerns leave fewer cognitive resources available to guide choice and action" (ibid.: 976). Qualitative sociological studies provide corroborating evidence: Backett-Milburn et al. (2006), for example, find that for low-income families, concerns about food are low down in the hierarchy of worries. When low-income families think about "potentially health damaging issues, dietary concerns seemed of little importance to these parents compared with the risks they perceived as associated with drugs, smoking, alcohol and sex" (ibid.: 629). Devine et al. (2006) observe that parents in low-income households "described negative feelings of being 'used up', 'too tired to eat', 'chaotic', 'always tired', 'exhausted', 'too rushed and too hurried to eat', 'stressed out', and 'guilty'" (ibid.: 2596) which led them to skip meals, to simplify or to speed up meals, or to consume fast foods.

Beyond that, a lack of financial resources may in itself result in efforts to conceal this lack (as it

[138] A similar argument has been made with regard to other health-damaging practices like smoking or the consumption of other drugs which can serve as forms of escapism (Thompson et al. 2009, Smith & Anderson 2018).

is associated with stigma and shame) by diverting financial resources from buying high-quality and healthy foods to buying prestigious products used to publicly display prosperity or to simply 'keep up with the Joneses' (Sayer 2005, Davidson et al. 2006, Smith & Anderson 2018).

These mechanisms do not inevitably lead people to reject new and unfamiliar foods (depending on the nature of their food environments). However, they impede the capability for culinary adventurousness which, as I have argued above, is a necessary precondition for transitions to meat-free or meat-reduced dietary patterns. This is because in Germany, as in many Western countries, traditional meals usually involve meat, and meat dishes can be a source of comfort, familiarity, and safety. Fast foods and ready-made meals also usually contain a meat component.

An important methodological caveat of this section is that there clearly is a self-selection bias in my sample (see section 3 on methodology). Respondents are not only endowed with disproportionately high amounts of cultural and economic capital, most of them are probably also interested in food and nutrition, and thus volunteered to participate. Participation in an interview takes time, so consumers with really stressful and busy schedules may not have considered participating. I suggest that these methodological limitations may even lead to an underestimation of the extent to which stress, anxiety, monetary and time constraints impact on dietary patterns, and the extent to which they impede dietary monitoring and change.

Given these limitations, several respondents nonetheless emphasize the comfort and feelings of ease and relaxation they derive from eating snacks, sweets, fast food and convenience foods, as these come with little to no additional time and planning requirements, and provide a lot of immediate nutritional energy (in terms of caloric density). In line with the previous research findings, some interviewees agonize over food shopping and preparation, experiencing it as a time- and energy-consuming source of stress. Eating well-known and familiar foods is described as a source of comfort, and evokes a positive sense of safety, contentment and nostalgia. This is experienced by low-income respondents, but medium- and high-income respondents relate to it as well: Stress is not only induced by long work hours or by financial insecurity, but also by deteriorating health, family problems or other types of social conflict which are not related to finances:

> *"And if you increase your work hours – if you work full-time for a while, you learn valuing the advantages of these things (convenience foods), and that sometimes you just – if you're really not up for it or you're in a rush"*[139]

(Greta, vegan, female, 25, intermediate EC, high CC, student)

> *"If you're really stressed out and hungry, you just take any food that you're familiar with and that is easy to understand for your brain. Well, I could buy some bread now, that's also what I did before, but now I am so tired, exhausted, now I just want something that I know, and that provides comfort"*[140]

(Ella, meat-eater, female, 19, low EC, intermediate CC)

[139] "Und wenn man dann doch irgendwie mehr Arbeitszeit – wenn man mal ne Weile Vollzeit gearbeitet hat und so lernt man dann doch die Vorzüge solcher Sachen kennen, dass es manchmal auch einfach – wenn man keinen Bock hat oder es schnell gehen soll"

[140] "Wenn man so nen Stress hat und so nen Hunger, dann nimmt man schneller Essen, was man kennt und was einfach ist, vom Kopf her. Also ich könnte Brot kaufen, das hab ich vorher auch gemacht, aber jetzt bin ich so müde, erschöpft, jetzt will ich einfach etwas, was ich kenne, was mir Geborgenheit gibt"

"Well, I agree with her, I think it's important to control your diet. You know, not to be an impulsive eater, and sometimes I do that because of the stress. I didn't do that before, I didn't eat in the evening or during the night. I didn't do such a thing. But now that I have these issues with my parents, it's difficult for me sometimes"[141]

(Sibylle, meat-reducer, female, 59, low to intermediate EC, high CC)

(about his sister): "She really has other problems in her life, so it's simply not relevant. Her husband eats meat, and they are both like: 'If we sat down for two days and really thought it through, we would probably also do it (abstain from meat), but – that's just how it is, and they have a child and it has a metabolic defect and needs a special diet, almost no carbs, absolutely no sugar – and that would be really difficult without meat or dairy because there's not much left to eat. And so, you know, they already have to deal with dietary issues a lot and there's just no more room for that (concerns about meat)"[142]

(Linus, vegan, male, 39, intermediate EC, high CC)

"I: And you mainly cooked simple dishes for dinner at home when you lived by yourself at first?" – "R: Yes, yes. By the time we got home – I don't need to tell you, you have a job as well – if you get home and then there's some housework to do, you know." – "I: And you're really not keen on cooking after that." – "R: That's why we only had simple dishes. Or I don't mind just putting a frozen pizza into the oven"[143]

(Kerstin, meat-reducer, female, 61, low to intermediate EC, intermediate CC)

Experiences of stress and conflict early on in life also deflect monetary, mental and emotional resources from food provisioning. Children who grow up with problematic family histories may lack the caregiver to teach them cooking skills, and a lack of financial resources can impede the acquisition of culinary knowledge and the development of culinary adventurousness:

"I: Did you already eat out with your children back then?" – "R: We didn't eat out actually, so (.) - my wife's mother was, let's say, in need of care so we often – we took our bikes to get to her place and ate there but you can't really call that eating out"[144]

[141] "Aber ich seh's schon, was sie sagt, das sehe ich nicht als unwichtig an, dass man schon kontrolliert isst. Also dass man nicht irgendwie Impulsessen, das hab' ich manchmal jetzt durch den Stress. Das habe ich früher nicht, das ich dann abends oder nachts mal was gegessen hab'. Das habe ich früher nicht, das ich dann abends oder nachts mal was gegessen hab'. Das gab's bei mir auch nicht. Aber seit das mit meinen Eltern is' hab' ich da manchmal Schwierigkeiten"

[142] "Die hat andere Baustellen in ihrem Leben, sodass das eben (.) kein Thema wäre. Also ihr Mann ist auch Fleischesser, die sind auch beide so, dass sie sagen: "Joar, wenn wir uns zwei Tage hinsetzen würden und da ernsthaft drüber nachdenken würden, würden wir's wahrscheinlich auch machen, aber" - ist jetzt halt so und die ham ein Kind, das hat eben auch, das hat so ne Stoffwechselstörung, das ne sehr spezielle Diät braucht, fast ohne Kohlenhydrate, vollkommen ohne Zucker, und da kommt man halt, käme man auch sehr schwer ohne tierische Lebensmittel überhaupt aus, weil man kaum noch was essen könnte. Und von daher - sie müssen sich schon sehr viel mit Essen auseinandersetzen und da ist glaub ich, da ist kein Raum dafür"

[143] "I: Für sich selbst, bei sich zu Hause, dann in der ersten Zeit haben Sie auch abends dann eher was Einfaches gemacht?" - "B: Ja, ja. Bis wir nach Hause gekommen sind und - das brauch ich Ihnen nicht erzählen, Sie sind auch berufstätig, wenn man da nach Hause kommt und noch n bisschen Haushalt spielt und ja." – "I: Da hat man auch keine Lust mehr sich da noch hinzustellen. [lacht]" – "B: Ich sag', da gab's dann einfache Gerichte halt. Oder von mir aus auch mal ne Tiefkühlpizza in den Backofen"

[144] "I: Waren Sie mit den Kindern damals auch schon außerhalb essen?" – "B: (.) Wir waren eigentlich nicht außerhalb essen, also (.) die Mutter meiner Frau, die wurde dann (.) sagen wir mal so, ein bisschen hilfsbedürftig, so dann haben wir öfter - sind wir öfter dort mit dem Fahrrad hingefahren und haben dort gegessen - das kann man nicht irgendwie als außer Haus essen bezeichnen"

(Thomas, meat-eater, male, 70s, low EC, high CC)

> *"It's a real luxury for me – maybe like once a year. And – I actually know that it's not that expensive, eating out once maybe means one hour of work for most people, maybe two hours if you pay for others (...). It's so alien to me, and I would like to do it but even if I can afford to – when I moved here I had 4000 Euros in savings. And I never ate out. Because I am always like 'I pay ten Euros for a meal that I could also prepare myself for five Euros. And although it's nice to eat out and not too expensive, but it's somehow stuck in my mind that it's expensive and that it could be cheaper. It could be cheaper!"*[145]

(Ella, meat-eater, female, 19, low EC, intermediate CC)

> *"I: And do you eat out a lot?" – "R: That's an exception – well, yesterday I ate at an Italian place, the Italian place at (name of a square) and I treated myself for dinner, I had a broccoli cream soup and tagliatelle with salmon and shrimp, so –" – "I: And how often do you do that?" – "R: Well, maybe once a month at best, once a month"*[146]

(Tim, meat-reducer, male, 46, low to intermediate EC, intermediate CC)

Conclusion

In times of emotional distress, people revert to familiar foods to reduce the effort that is necessary for meal planning, food shopping and food preparation. Familiar foods can fulfil an important function as emotional compensation; provide a much needed sense of comfort and breaks from stressful schedules. While the consumption of unhealthy foods, fast foods, or convenience foods engenders feelings of shame or guilt in some respondents, others do not conceive of their culinary knowledge in terms of lack, and sometimes express wariness about others' perceived obsession with seeking out new information about food. Some respondents lack the opportunities and necessary resources to acquire new culinary knowledge, and some are not particularly fond of it either. They value familiarity with food items and routines and are, as a result, more likely to point to the importance of a 'proper meal' as described by Mary Douglas (1972), consisting of a piece of meat accompanied by two side dishes ('2a+b'). As soon as traditional meal patterns and fast and convenience food supplies change, alternative foods (including meat-free dishes) can proliferate more easily. What once constituted 'deviant behavior' may a decade later be considered legitimate as culture diffuses through social networks and societies. This, of course, may make it much easier for younger people to adopt new dietary patterns because they were never as strongly exposed to an alternative set of cultural norms as their elderly fellow citizens. While preferences are sometimes adjusted to contextual constraints in order to alleviate feelings of

[145] "Also für mich ist das so ein Luxus - also vielleicht einmal im Jahr. Und - also ich weiß, es ist eigentlich gar nicht teuer, also für die meisten Menschen ist einmal essen ist vielleicht eine Stunde Arbeit, vielleicht zwei, wenn man auch für mehrere Personen bezahlt (...). Also es ist mir so fremd und ich würde es gerne machen, aber auch zum Beispiel wenn ich dann - als ich herkam hatte ich 4000 Euro Ersparnisse. Und ich bin nie essen gegangen. Weil ich denk dann, jetzt bezahl ich zehn Euro für Essen, das ich selber machen könnte für fünf Euro. Und obwohl es richtig schön ist aus essen zu gehen und so teuer ist es nicht, aber weil ich soo im Kopf habe, es ist teuer und es geht billiger. Es geht billiger!"

[146] "I: Gehen Sie denn häufig auch außerhalb essen?" – "B: Hmm, Ausnahme, also gestern war ich beim Italiener, war ich beim Italiener am Luisenplatz und hab dann abends hab ich's mir gegönnt und hab dann ne Broccoli-Cremesuppe und Bandnudeln mit Lachs und Krabben gegessen, also." – "I: Und wie oft machen Sie das?" – "B: Also wenn sowas hoch kommt, vielleicht einmal im Monat, einmal im Monat."

guilt or shame (see section 2.2 on dietary change), consumers also have plenty of other priorities, and rank their food practices and popular food prescriptions accordingly. They may have clear preferences to spend their time, energy and money on satisfying other needs; or on satisfying others' needs. This becomes evident when we look at the impact of household compositions and relationships.

5.2.6 Household relationships

The households consumers live in profoundly shape their food consumption patterns. When food is prepared, purchased and eaten with others, food preferences are negotiated, meal times are synchronized (or not), and culinary knowledge is shared. The households and communities people grow up in are primary sites of socialization (and also of food supply) in which they learn about cultural and social eating norms and acquire cooking skills and food preferences.

This section is not so much concerned with the processes that occur during early childhood socialization (see e.g. section 5.2.4 on food neophilia) and lead to the emergence of stable food preferences and routines. Instead, I zoom in on the role of the household as a potential facilitator or as a potential obstacle for dietary changes, and how household relationships may have different mediating roles across social groups.

Studies show that vegetarianism correlates with living in single or in small households, and with having no children (Lusk & Norwood 2016, Mensink et al. 2016, Allès et al. 2017), and that households with children are less likely to reduce their meat consumption (Newman et al. 2001, Neff et al. 2018). Other household members' unwillingness to change their own diets are consistently identified as barriers to changing individual meat consumption (Beagan et al. 2014, Graça et al. 2019), and relinquishing a vegetarian diet can be a result of moving in with a non-vegetarian eater (Menzies & Sheeshka 2012) or of having a child (Allès et al. 2017). These findings are mirrored by the findings in the first part of this thesis (see chapter 4). They indicate that persons who live in single households eat significantly less meat of any type compared to cohabiting couples with or without children, while they are also more likely to be on a vegetarian diet. Why is that? And in which ways is this potentially related to households' and individuals' capital endowments?

There are several mechanisms through which household composition mediates the relationship between socioeconomic position and diet. Many of these mechanisms interact in significant ways with the arguments that I have already presented; either amplifying or mitigating them.

The first aspect pertains to demographic trends. In general, people who live in single households do not have to negotiate their domestic food practices, and it is easier for them to experiment with new dietary habits. Several of my interviewees who live alone hint at that fact:

> *"I don't know – If I had already had a family at the time, it (switching to a vegetarian diet) might not have worked"*[147]

(Linus, vegan, male, 39, intermediate EC, high CC)

> *"Of course it's easiest if you do the food shopping yourself"*[148]

[147] "Ich weiß auch nicht – wenn ich zu der Zeit, als das dann bei mit irgendwie akut wurde schon Familie gehabt hätte, ob das dann geklappt hätte"

[148] "Es ist natürlich am einfachsten, wenn man selber einkauft"

(Hannah, vegan, female, 34, intermediate EC, high CC)

> *"And when I went vegan, I lived – I didn't live with my parents anymore. So at least in this respect, it was easier"*[149]

(Greta, vegan, female, 25, intermediate EC, student)

Persons with certain characteristics are more likely to live alone – for example, specific age groups, as a result of age and cohort effects. Moreover, while the total number of single and childless households in Germany steadily increased over the past decades, this does not reflect universal changes in household composition across social groups. In single households, household resources cannot be pooled and shared and people who live alone therefore have higher relative consumption expenditures than households with dual earners (Income and Expenditure Survey 2013[150]). People who choose to live alone (regardless of marital status) tend to be highly educated and highly qualified whereas people from lower socioeconomic groups are more likely to live in nuclear family households (i.e. with spouse and children) (Küpper 2000). They also tend to be younger, and may not have founded a family yet. However, voluntarily childless adults are on average also more educated, earn higher incomes and work in professions with higher occupational prestige than parents of the same age group (Meyer 2002, Koropeckyj-Cox & Call 2007). Women who obtained a university degree are more likely to remain childless in Germany than women without completed university education, and 'working class' women have the lowest likelihood of never having children (Mikrozensus 2016[151]). In addition, women's level of education correlates negatively with their number of children (Federal Statistical Office 2016[152]). That people in higher socioeconomic positions (mainly in the sense of higher amounts of cultural capital) more often live in single or in small households thus facilitates the maintenance of and the experimentation with new dietary practices for them.

As the number of household members, and especially the number of dependents (mainly children, but also elderly people) increases, meal times and patterns are usually harmonized, and individual preferences are more difficult to cater for. Many parents in my sample explain how they reassessed and potentially changed their own diets when they had children. For parents with high amounts of economic capital, this often involved switching to a healthier diet which has generally shown to be more costly (Rao et al. 2013, Darmon & Drewnowski 2015). These diets include less meat but meat of higher quality – that is, parents-to-be sometimes switched to a flexitarian diet:

> *"Let me put it this way – all of us only inhabit a part of Earth, and at some point we leave the Earth to our children – that was certainly a pivotal moment, you know, my children. That's when I said: I don't need to eat meat that travels thousands of miles before ending up on my plate"*[153]

[149] "Und als ich vegan geworden bin, bin ich halt – hab ich schon nicht mehr zuhause gewohnt. Das (.) war dann, zumindest in der Hinsicht, einfacher"

[150] http://www.sozialberichte.nrw.de/sozialindikatoren$_n$rw/*indikatoren*/5$_e$*inkommensverwendung*/*indikator*5$_1$/*index.php*

[151] http://www.bpb.de/nachschlagen/datenreport-2018/familie-lebensformen-und-kinder/277945/kinderlosigkeit-und-berufliche-stellung

[152] http://www.demografie-portal.de/SharedDocs/Informieren/DE/ZahlenFakten/Kinderzahl.html;jsessionid=CA40D7B3AF2DB9FC70722A

[153] "Weil ich sag mal, wir leben alle nur teilweise auf der Erde und irgendwann hinterlassen wir das unseren Kindern – das war sicherlich auch n sehr ausschlaggebender Punkt, eben meine Kinder. Wo ich gesagt habe: Ich muss jetzt nicht Fleisch haben, was erstmal tausende von Kilometern transportiert werden muss, damit es bei mir aufm Teller landet"

(Matthias, meat-reducer, male, 40s, intermediate EC, high CC)

> *"I: Did you change anything after your children were born? (. . .)" – "R: Yes, definitely. We definitely cooked more healthily. Well, we didn't give them millet gruel or something, but we prepared mashed potatoes and put that into the freezer, and whatnot, we made carrot puree and things like that, made it from scratch"*[154]

(Werner, meat-reducer, male, 50s, intermediate to high EC, intermediate CC)

> *"It was mainly my wife who initiated that, and she was really into all of these organic products (. . .) She wanted to buy bread from the organic bakery and, I still remember that, we traveled to the Netherlands to buy chocolate spread made from raw milk, basically Nutella. And gummy bears made from honey. It was really over the top, let me put it like that, from today's point of view"*[155]

(Marco, meat-reducer, male, 60s, intermediate to high EC, high CC, self-employed)

For vegan or vegetarian parents-to-be, having children can mean reverting to non-vegetarian dietary patterns – however, this was rarely the case among my interview partners, and they mainly talk about others in their social network who switched back to meat or dairy:

> *"I had one vegan friend in my network, and he was one of the people who made me think about all of this –in the meantime they switched back to a vegetarian diet, when their children were born, because they were convinced that children definitely need dairy products"*[156]

(Samuel, vegan, male, 35, high EC, high CC)

> *"That's interesting right now – we are expecting a baby and the topic definitely came up. Because he (partner) thinks that a child – that you should offer everything to a child and that a varied diet is important"*[157]

(Amelie, vegetarian, female, 20s, intermediate EC, high CC, self-employed)

> *"And I read quite a lot and there's no study that really proves that you can raise a child on a completely vegan diet without causing any harm"*[158]

[154] "I: Habt ihr denn, als die Kinder kamen, irgendwie was verändert?" – B: Ja, auf jeden Fall. Wir haben schon gesünder gekocht. Also wir haben jetzt nicht direkt mit Hirsebrei angefangen, sondern irgendwie Kartoffelstampf gemacht und den dann eingefroren und was weiß ich, Möhrenbrei und so, alles selber gekocht, klar"

[155] "Ja ich mein, das ging natürlich von der weiblichen Seite aus, die dann, als die Kinder kamen, sehr stark in die biologische Richtung abgedriftet ist. (. . .) Und das Brot musste dann beim Bio-Bäcker gekauft werden und ich weiß noch, wir sind nach Holland gefahren um rohmilchbasierte Schokopaste, also Nutella zu kaufen. Und Gummibärchen aus Honig. Und das war dann schon, ich sag mal, manchmal sehr stark übertrieben aus heutiger Sicht"

[156] "Ich hatte einen vegane Freund im Freundeskreis, der einer meiner Denkanstöße war – der ist inzwischen, seitdem die Kinder haben, auf vegetarisch zurück umgestiegen, weil die der Meinung waren, Kinder brauchen jetzt unbedingt Milchprodukte"

[157] "Was jetzt spannend ist – wir erwarten ja ein Kind und da war's auf jeden Fall schon Thema, wie das dann ist. Weil er schon auch die Meinung hat, dass ein Kind – dass man dem alles anbieten sollte und dass eben ne vielfältige Ernährung wichtig ist"

[158] "Und ich hab mich halt ziemlich viel belesen und es gibt für mich keine Publikation, die mir wirklich sagt, dass du n Kind vegan hundert Prozent ernähren kannst ohne Schaden anzurichten"

(Jonas, vegan, male, 39, intermediate EC, intermediate CC)

A potential way of remedying different dietary preferences and needs within one household is to buy and prepare a greater variety of ingredients and meals, and disperse communal meal structures and times.

Respondents who live with others and follow a vegetarian or vegan diet often prepare different meals at once, frequently dine out or make use of food delivery services (see section 5.2.4 on food neophilia).

Separate cooking and meal planning usually requires more time and greater financial resources, and this can be difficult to achieve for low-income households and individuals. During ethnographic research in British low-income households, Dobson et al. (1994) observed that low-income households tended to stick to the foods they already knew and did rarely experiment with new food items. She uses the term 'nutritional conservatism' to describe this phenomenon. In a qualitative study with US consumers, Daniel (2016) concludes that low-income consumers usually either retain their eating patterns or select new items from a category of food they are familiar with as a way of minimizing the risk that novelty generates waste. Children tend to be neophobic, and this experience "can frustrate and tire parents across the socioeconomic spectrum. Yet high-income respondents have two advantages over their low-income counterparts. They have greater economic resources to withstand waste generated by food rejections, and to the extent that high-income parents eat healthier foods than their low-income peers (Wang et al., 2014), they can expose their children to what they already consume" (ibid.: 39). Thus, high-income parents have more leeway to provide their children with foods they might not initially like.

Similarly, Backett-Milburn et al. (2006) stress that "the need to make sure that the foods bought on a limited family budget were consumed by the teenager predominated over any expressed concern about the nature of the food s/he actually ate" (ibid.: 628). Energy-dense fast and junk foods which usually involve meat are sometimes used as a strategy to speed up a meal, to treat the family, or to cater for different schedules (Backett-Milburn et al. 2006, Devine et al. 2006) (see section 5.2.5 on familiar foods). Thus, even if preferences for culinary adventurousness exist, they are easily thwarted in households with low amounts of economic capital due to the need to reduce food waste. Beagan et al. (2014) make a similar argument and show that a lack of material resources largely aggravates experimentation with new foods or preparation methods that is necessary for the adoption and maintenance of alternative diets like vegetarianism (see section 5.2.4 on food neophilia). This effect is exacerbated in larger households and especially in households with children. Accordingly, many studies find that omnivorous or adventurous cultural preferences are more prevalent in younger age groups (Roose et al. 2012, Prieur & Savage 2013), potentially reflecting different household needs and responsibilities.

What is more, low-income families often have to compromise between different consumption items, and divert resources from good food to other products in an attempt to conceal lack (Sayer 2005). Some use their family budgets to provide their children with products that have a lot of symbolic value because they want their children to be able to keep up with their peers (Davidson et al. 2006), or they want "to ensure children looked smart 'enough' so that neighbors would not report them to social services for neglect" (Smith & Anderson 2018: 162).

As household types and family structures change, different food ideals, or other household needs, gain priority. Providing for children or for other dependent household members does not only impede the ability to choose flexible eating patterns and times, it also necessitates a more frugal approach towards household resources and the reconciliation of different needs, and this becomes especially stringent for low-income families, as exemplified by the following quotes:

> *"Because my mum didn't have much money – she wanted to buy more veggies and more fruit but she can't, she couldn't! (. . .) Fruits and vegetables are low in calories, and you need to – you need to eat enough, so you will simply eat bread, meat, potatoes or rice or pasta"*[159]

(Ella, meat-eater, female, 19, low EC, intermediate CC)

> *"I: So you say that buying fruit and vegetables strains the budget?" – "Yes, for sure. It's quite expensive. Let's say I, I don't know, let's say I gave them chocolate rolls for school, sure this would be cheaper. Today, for example, my son took some grapes, an apple, and these little tomatoes, which are usually quite expensive – and if he had simply taken chocolate rolls, it would have been much cheaper"*[160]

(Alina, meat-eater, female, 28, low to intermediate EC, high CC)

> *"They (my children) also had to have a good appearance, they didn't want to look different than other teenagers, so you needed to take care of that"*[161]

> *"I was so focused on my children and on food preparation and on earning money, I don't have the energy to look for a new apartment and whatnot, in that sense I am passive and that's how it is. Everything's expensive, everything's expensive! (name of a city) is just very expensive in general"*[162]

(Natalia, vegan, female, 54, low EC, intermediate CC)

> *"Usually at home, usually at home. Because to be honest, it's also about money – my mother was able to prepare decent foods while being very cost-efficient and if we had eaten out, it would have been – my father was the sole earner, a mechanic. So you need to be mindful of – you can't take the whole family to eat out twice or three times a month"*[163]

[159] "Weil meine Mutter ja auch wenig Geld hatte - die würde gerne mehr Gemüse, mehr Obst kaufen, aber die kann es nicht, die konnte es nicht! (. . .) Obst und Gemüse haben ja wenig Kalorien und man muss ich - man muss satt werden, also wird man nur Brot, Fleisch, Kartoffeln essen oder Reis oder Pasta"

[160] "I: Also es is' schon so, dass du auch sagst: Frisches Obst und Gemüse is' schon 'n Kostenfaktor?" – "B: Ja, definitiv. Es is' schon teuer. Also, wenn ich jetzt, weiß ich nicht, Schokobrötchen für die Schule mitgeben würde, wär' auf jeden Fall günstiger. Zum Beispiel heute hatte mein Sohn Weintrauben, Apfel und so diese kleinen Tomaten, die sind auch immer sehr teuer, dann wenn ich ihm jetzt einfach 'n Schokobrötchen reingepackt hätte, wäre auf jeden Fall günstiger gewesen"

[161] "Die mussten auch aussehen, die wollten nicht anders aussehen als andere Jugendliche, das musste man auch erledigen"

[162] "Und ich war so fixiert auf die Kinder und auf das Essen und jetzt auf Geld bringen, dass ich keine Kraft mehr habe noch irgendwie eine Wohnung zu suchen und so, ich bin in diesem Sinne passiv und so ist das. Alles ist teuer, alles ist teuer! [Name des Wohnortes] ist überhaupt sehr teuer"

[163] "Eher zuhause, eher zuhause. Weil's auch ehrlicherweise ne finanzielle Sache ist – meine Mutter war halt in der Lage, sagen wir mal, zu einem guten Preis-Leistungsverhältnis ganz gut zu kochen und wenn man essen gegangen wäre, dann wär's halt auch mit – mein Vater war Alleinverdiener, Handwerker. Da muss man auch gucken, dass man dann – da kann man nicht jeden Monat zwei oder dreimal essen gehen mit der ganzen Familie"

(Martin, meat-eater, male, 30s, intermediate EC, intermediate CC)

> *"I: Do you think that it's more expensive to eat a lot of fresh fruits and veggies?" – "R: Yes. If I compare it and I break it down – we actually did this at some point, we wrote down our expenses for one month and we didn't pay much attention to prices. We bought what we felt like buying. So yes, we concluded that it's really not cheaper in any shop. So that's another aspect, an argument why people buy meat. Because it's filling, and if you buy some rolls or some bread with it, you're full, the entire family is full. It's really that simple"*[164]

(Igor, meat-eater, male, 57, intermediate EC, high CC)

> *"It's a little more money than for someone who is on state benefits, because that money that you have available also needs to pay your insurance, telephone, internet, your car – how are you supposed to manage without a car and without internet nowadays, if you need to apply for a job online, all of that takes money, you know? So how are you supposed to accomplish that? I really think that it's not possible to be on a healthy diet if you're on state benefits"*[165]

(Luise, meat-eater, female, 43, low EC, intermediate CC)

Vice versa, being dependent on caretakers severely exacerbates young people's ability to follow alternative and individual dietary patterns. Adolescents who live with their parents (or with other caretakers) often report a reversion to non-vegetarian diets after experiencing a lack of parental support. Parents who wish to cater for their children's vegetarian food preferences need the time, money, and the culinary knowledge necessary for the preparation of adequate vegetarian dishes. Parental support of vegetarian diets thus hinges not only on economic, but also on cultural capital – on the ability and willingness to quickly gather new information, and to engage in product research (Beagan et al. 2014) (see section 5.2.2 on scientism and section 5.2.4 on food neophilia). Moving out from the parental home is thus often a first step towards dietary changes.

Interestingly, while some of my interview partners report serious difficulties with family members (see section 5.2.3 on substituting social capital) which eventually led them to revert to non-vegetarian or non-vegan dietary practices, others report instances of what could be called 'reverse socialization': Several parents or other caretakers adopted vegetarian dietary practices for themselves, and valued their offspring's suggestions, their knowledge and their support:

[164] "I: Würden Sie denn sagen, dass aber sich von viel frischem Obst und Gemüse zu ernähren teurer ist?" – B: Ja. Wenn ich das vergleiche und ausrechne, einmal haben wir es auch so gemacht, da haben wir den ganzen Monat gezählt und nicht so auf den Preis geachtet. Wir haben das gekauft, was wir wollten. Und ja, wir sind dazu gekommen, das ist ja doch nicht billiger in einem Geschäft. Also das ist auch noch ein Aspekt, oder dieser Gedanke, warum die Leute Fleisch kaufen. Weil das eben satt macht, und wenn man dazu noch Brötchen oder Brot kauft ist man ja satt, die ganze Familie ist satt. Das ist ganz einfach und simpel"

[165] "Also etwas mehr, als jetzt vielleicht jemand der nur HartzIV bekommt, weil man muss ja von dem Geld, was man zur Verfügung hat ja auch noch Versicherung, Telefon, Internet, Auto - Wie soll man heute ohne Auto und Internet klarkommen, wenn man sich online irgendwo bewerben soll, das kost' ja auch alles Geld, ne? Also wie soll man das bewerkstelligen? Ich finde halt, dass man mit diesem HartzIV-Geld so eigentlich nicht sich besonders gesund ernähren kann"

"I have to say that my parents, they really changed – my mother bought a few vegetarian cookbooks at some point, now that she has two children who like to eat vegetarian food, and I think that about half of the time, she also cooks vegetarian meals for herself"[166]

(Lena, meat-eater, female, 27, intermediate EC, high CC, student)

"Now that she's a vegetarian (daughter), well, she does that for one year now (...) – so personally, I value meat a lot and so I talked to the pediatrician, what do we need to take care of, have more legumes and things like that – yeah, so I thought about this because of her, if she doesn't eat meat anymore, and she eats a lot of sugar and many unhealthy things, it really can't be beneficial. So I definitely adjusted our diets about one year ago"[167]

(Alina, meat-eater, female, 28, low to intermediate EC, high CC)

"To be honest, we cook together more frequently only since she moved out. Every time she comes over and we cook together, it's really nice actually. Well, and – ok, our daughter has these food intolerances and so many years ago, I already started – if we knew she comes over, we checked the ingredients. And this gradually became part of our everyday life. And today we pay a lot of attention to what's actually in there"[168]

(Kerstin, meat-eater, female, 61, low to intermediate EC, intermediate CC)

"She (daughter) eats a lot of green stuff, and she is – she bikes, she is a veterinarian, you know. All of that stuff (vegetarian eating) started when she hit puberty, you know? It was a period; I don't know how that happened. But suddenly she liked it. So I crumbed oyster mushrooms for her, I prepared oyster mushrooms as if they were slices of meat. (...) It's delicious. (...) What also works well is celery root, I just prepared those the other day, you should definitely try that"[169]

(Renate, meat-eater, female, 50s, intermediate to high EC, intermediate CC)

Finally, socially stratified food patterns interact with gendered food patterns in significant ways. Early studies on household food consumption found that meat is considered an important part of a

[166] "Und also ich muss auch sagen, bei meinen Eltern hat sich das auch schon wirklich geändert – also meine Mutter hat dadurch, dass wir – dass sie zwei Kinder hat, die das gerne machen irgendwann angefangen sich auch mal vegetarische Kochbücher zu kaufen und kocht für sich selber jetzt glaub ich so die Hälfte der Zeit vegetarisch"

[167] "Dadurch, dass sie jetzt auch Vegetarier is', also das is' jetzt seit einem Jahr (...) - also mir ist Fleisch zum Beispiel sehr wichtig und da hab' ich dann auch nochmal, hab' ich auch mit dem Kinderarzt Rücksprache gehalten, worauf müssen wir jetzt achten, mehr Hülsenfrüchte und so, also genau da hab' ich auch nochmal bei ihr gedacht, also wenn sie jetzt kein Fleisch mehr isst und dann noch irgendwie ständig Zucker und ungesund, dann kann's irgendwie auch nicht gesund sein. Also da war nochmal so vor 'nem Jahr auf jeden Fall so'n umdenken"

[168] "Eigentlich kochen wir mehr zusammen seit sie damals ausgezogen is'. Wenn sie dann jetzt kommt und dann kochen wir zusammen, das' dann schon immer schön. Ja, und - gut, unsere Tochter hat diverse Lebensmittelunverträglichkeiten, und von daher hab' ich also vor etlichen Jahren schon angefangen, wenn wir gewusst haben: Okay, sie kommt, geguckt was ist da alles drin? Und das hat sich dann so peu a peu in unseren normalen Alltag mit übernommen. Also wir achten mittlerweile sehr drauf, was ist denn da eigentlich drin?"

[169] "Die isst sehr viel Grünzeug, sie macht auch – sie fährt Fahrrad, sie ist Tierärztin, wie gesagt. Damals fing das auch so ein bisschen mit diesem – also, da war die so pubertär, weißt du? Also diese Phase, keine Ahnung wie die darauf kam. Auf einmal mochte sie das. Dann hab ich ihr aus Austernpilzen, die Austernpilze praktisch paniert, wie so'n Schnitzel. (...) Schmeckt lecker. (...) Was aber auch gut geht, hatt' ich jetzt letztens noch, wenn man Sellerieknollen, müssen Sie mal ausprobieren"

'proper meal' across income and educational levels (Douglas 1972); that men's and children's preferences are usually assigned more weight than women's food preferences; that the domestic division of labor often obliges women to serve cooked meals that include meat (e.g. Murcott 1982, Charles & Kerr 1986, 1988); and that the nature of gendered food preferences and food-related tasks differs across social groups (e.g. DeVault 1991, Ekstrom 1991). These tendencies still resonate with some (usually older) respondents' accounts:

> *"At the time, my wife was already a vegetarian for years and decades, I don't quite remember (.) but personally, I never felt like giving up on meat and I was of the opinion that our children should definitely be allowed to have meat, they should have meat (. . .) and my wife, back then she didn't stop eating meat because she didn't like it but for other reasons that we just talked about. And at some point she thought it just smells too good and then she went back to eating meat"*[170]

(Lukas, meat-eater, male, 51, high EC, high CC)

> *"It's a country where mothers and grandmothers and aunts need to obey, and you need to do everything for your husband. And when I was a young woman, 18 or 19 years old, I just did everything how it was supposed to be done. I prepared fish, I – I know how to cook and bake all the things"*[171]

> *"I: So you prepared all of the dishes that your husband wanted to eat?" – "R: All of it, all of it! Just as you ought to do." – "I: And then you just didn't eat it yourself?" – "I: No."*[172]

(Natalia, vegan, female, 54, low EC, intermediate CC)

> *"We were four kids. And when we had meat, on Sundays we always had a Sunday roast or French chops or something, my father always had the biggest share. And I was the youngest child so I came out on the short end, you know?"*[173]

> *"I: And is this also what you experienced when you lived with your husbands? That there were different food preferences?" – "R: Yes, sure. They were more on the meat side. And that's why I am happy to live by myself now, and I only need to cater for my own needs, so that's an advantage"*[174]

[170] "Ja, meine Frau war zu der Zeit, zu dem Zeitpunkt noch Vegetarierin, auch schon seit etlichen Jahren oder Jahrzehnten, weiß ich nicht mehr ganz genau (.) Ich selbst hatte aber nie Lust auf Fleisch zu verzichten und hab auch die Meinung vertreten, dass auch unsere Kinder durchaus auch Fleisch essen dürfen, sollen (. . .) und bei meiner Frau ist es dann sogar so gewesen, sie hatte damals nicht aufgehört Fleisch zu essen, weil's ihr nicht schmeckte, sondern aus anderen Gründen, die eben schon teilweise genannt wurden allgemein und dann roch's ihr zu gut und sie hat wieder angefangen Fleisch zu essen"

[171] "Ist ein Land, wo Mutter und Omas und Tanten gehören und du musst alles für deinen Mann machen. Und ich als sehr junge Frau, 18-, 19-jährige machte einfach alles wie es sein musste. Ich machte Fisch, ich machte - deswegen Kochen und Backen kann ich alles"

[172] "I: Also Sie haben für Ihren Mann dann die Sachen gemacht, die er sich gewünscht hat?" – "B: Alles gemacht, alles! Wie das normal ist." – "I: Und dann einfach selbst nicht mitgegessen?" – "B: Ne"

[173] "Wir waren vier Kinder. Mein Vater hat immer, wenn es Fleisch gab, Sonntags natürlich den Sonntagsbraten oder Kotelett oder was weiß ich, der hat immer das Größte gekriegt. Ich war die Kleinste, ich konnte sehen wo ich blieb, ne?"

[174] "I: Haben Sie das denn mit den Männern, mit denen sie zusammen waren, auch so erlebt? Dass die Vorlieben andere waren beim Essen?" – "B: Ja, ja, doch. Auch alle fleischlastiger. Von daher bin ich jetzt auch froh, dass ich alleine bin, und da wirklich nur nach mir mich richten muss, das ist ein Vorteil"

(Regina, meat-eater, female, 71, intermediate to high EC, intermediate CC)

However, while similar findings have been replicated in more recent studies (Bove et al. 2003, Inglis et al. 2005, Ricciuto et al. 2006, Astleithner 2007, Beagan et al. 2014, Grauel 2014), there are also instances of change as gender roles the and domestic division of labor are re-negotiated. In my sample, several male respondents partially adopted female household members' dietary practices, and many women insisted on and maintained their individual preferences at home:

> *What I realize now is that I wasn't as mindful as I am today so maybe that's a good corrective. We exchange ideas, or we cook together on the weekends, and we take care of – sure, sometimes I just put something into the pan for myself, but it's different from cooking together. So ever since I know her (partner), and she's a vegetarian, I deliberately eat less meat"*[175]

(Martin, meat-eater, male, 30s, intermediate EC, intermediate CC)

> *"At some point I realized: Well, my wife doesn't eat meat, and my son is a vegan. He has that tendency, and he executed it. And that's when I thought: No, that's not how it's supposed to be. Something needs to change, there is another way to go. And then I decided to try and get rid of it. I don't want to consume meat because I don't want to cause trouble at home"*[176]

(Igor, meat-eater, male, 57, intermediate EC, high CC)

> *"My husband always had a different diet from mine, even before I was a vegetarian, because he has completely different food habits. Well, I eat a little more healthily I think, and he eats at work at the canteen or on the move so our dinner times are – you know, you don't really cook anything for dinner and we eat out a lot on weekends and so – this never came up that I may have to cook two things separately"*[177]

(Maria, vegan, female, 45, intermediate to high EC, high CC)

Existing research shows that meat and gender images are related in significant ways, as meat tends to be associated with masculinity in a variety of social and cultural contexts (Adams 1990, Fiddes 1991, Nath 2011, Rozin et al. 2012, Rothgerber 2013, Sumpter 2015, Oleschuk et al. 2019). However,

[175] "Also was ich jetzt auch schon merke, jetzt, vielleicht ist das auch ein gutes Korrektiv, früher war ich da etwas unbewusster. Und durch den Austausch, oder wenn wir dann am Wochenende kochen, dann gucken wir schon – klar lege ich dann auch schon einmal was in die Pfanne für mich, aber das ist natürlich schon wieder etwas anderes als wenn wir dann gemeinsam Essen zubereiten. Aber ich esse seitdem ich (Name der Lebensgefährtin) kenne, als Vegetarierin, bewusster weniger Fleisch"

[176] "Irgendwann habe ich bemerkt: Ok, meine Frau isst kein Fleisch, mein Sohn ist ja Veganer. Doch der neigt dazu Vegetarier zu sein und hatte das alles geschafft. Und da habe ich mir gedacht: Ne, das kann nicht so sein. Etwas muss anders sein, es gibt einen anderen Weg. Und da habe ich beschlossen ich probiere das einfach auf die Seite zu legen. Ich will nicht Fleisch konsumieren zuhause, um keine Probleme zu machen"

[177] "Mein Mann hat schon immer anders gegessen als ich, also schon bevor ich vegetarisch war, weil der einfach da ein ganz anderes Essverhalten hat. Also ich ernähr mich da doch bisschen gesünder und nachdem er den ganzen Tag schon in der Kantine oder unterwegs in der Arbeit was isst sind dann die Zeiten am Abend – ja, kocht man am Abend nicht mehr so groß und am Wochenende gehen wir dann öfter mal essen, also das ist – das war noch nie eine Thema, dass ich jetzt hier zwei Sachen hätte kochen müssen"

gender stereotypes change, and it constantly becomes easier and more common to adhere to individual dietary preferences for those who command the necessary resources (e.g. by dining out or by using food delivery services).

Thus, gendered food patterns and the ways in which they interact with classed food patterns may change as well. Beagan, Chapman & Power (2017), for example, suggest that men from higher social positions can more easily "afford to enact different (or non-dominant) versions of masculinity by displaying an interest in exotic cooking" (ibid.: 87). Grauel (2014) reports case studies in which men insist on meat and thereby increase their female partners' meat consumption, and others in which men significantly reduce their meat consumption to adapt to partners' and children's preferences across socioeconomic groups. While not the focus of this thesis, it is a vital area for future research to investigate how socioeconomic background and gender interact in creating divergent patterns of meat consumption and meat abstention.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I highlighted that the adoption and, in particular, the maintenance of new dietary patterns often hinges on the support of other household members, on the resources that are available to the household, on differences in the gendered domestic division of labor, and on the precedence of other household needs. All of these aspects are linked to the possession of economic or cultural capital in different ways. Household types and compositions thus add to the emergence of socially stratified food patterns. While this rarely happens in a straightforward way, household relationships often mediate the link between capital endowments and meat consumption patterns by weakening or by strengthening other mechanisms. This chapter also hints at a variety of ways in which age and cohort, gender, and cultural and economic capital potentially interact, and provides many fruitful pathways for future research.

5.2.7 Interim conclusion

To summarize, cultural and economic capital endowments impact on food and meat consumption patterns in profound ways, mainly because a lack of them complicates or straight out impedes dietary changes while their presence facilitates these changes. I have tried to theoretically sketch out and empirically illustrate the most important mechanisms in this chapter. These mechanisms are neither exhaustive nor mutually exclusive but they emerged in accordance with my interview data and with the theoretical and empirical literature that I repeatedly revert to.

(1) A lack of economic capital may necessitate the reduction of meat consumption for financial reasons, and result in 'economic vegetarianism' or 'economic meat-reduction'. These types of meat-reduced diets are often neglected because vegetarian or meat-reduced diets are conceived of as voluntary choices. In addition, flexitarian choices are in fact usually more costly.

(2) The reasons for meat reduction often originate from scientific knowledge, and circulate within broader discourses as such. Consumers have different affinities towards scientific knowledge, and especially those with tertiary education have learned to search for and make sense of scientific

knowledge more quickly than those without tertiary education. In addition, the former have better access to primary and scientific sources of information.

(3) Food consumption patterns are often highly routinized and established in agreement with household members and peers. Adopting new dietary practices can thus be associated with social conflict. However, making individual dietary choices and 'standing out' from the crowd is more highly valued and promoted in groups with higher amounts of capital and may weaken discord. In addition, any conflict in immediate social networks may be less problematic for consumers with greater resources because their resources bestow more universal social approval and facilitate access to new networks.

(4) In Germany as in other Western countries, meat is still seen as important component of a 'proper' meal. The consumption of meat-free dishes warrants culinary knowledge about alternative recipes, ingredients, or preparation methods. This knowledge can directly be bought, e.g. by attending cooking classes, or it can be acquired with plenty of time, e.g. by reading food blogs online. More often however, it comes as a concomitant of other phenomena that are enabled by cultural or economic capital (e.g dining out, traveling, attending university), facilitating dietary transitions.

(5) Food planning, shopping and preparation do not only require time and money but also cognitive capacities. When different, and especially financial needs become more pressing, consumers reduce the efforts that go into food planning, and may, for example, revert to convenience foods or fast foods. In times of financial hardship or other crises, well-known and traditional foods do also provide a sense of comfort and familiarity. Most traditional dishes and convenience foods in many Western, highly industrialized countries are meat dishes.

(6) Adopting new dietary practices requires experimentation, and may not only produce social conflict but also food waste. This is especially true in larger households and in households with children, and therefore complicates dietary changes especially in poor families. In addition, consumers who care for other dependent household members (e.g. children or elderly people) prioritize others' dietary needs over their own. Consumers who live in single households may find it easier to try out new foods.

Importantly, none of these arguments solely applies to changes in meat consumption. All of them are relevant for explaining dietary changes in general, and these dietary changes may take different shapes. What renders dietary transitions towards meat-reduced, and especially towards meat-free diets distinct from other dietary transitions is their strong moralizing element which results in homophily and in the creation of specific status communities. As consumers acknowledge that meat production and consumption have a variety of adverse consequences, the topic gains public attention, evokes overt criticism, and gradually moves from matters of taste to matters of morale. The fact that consumers judge other consumers for their diets makes meat consumption distinct from other consumption practices, and alters the ways in which socially stratified consumption patterns emerge, reproduce, amplify, or abate. The morally charged aspect of the debate is revealed by the boundary work that consumers engage in, and I will turn to this aspect now.

5.3 Symbolic realities: Valuation and boundary work

In the previous sections, I laid out several mechanisms that link socioeconomic position – understood as cultural and economic capital endowments – to dietary change, to differences in dietary patterns, and potentially to differences in meat consumption in particular. I zoomed in on the role of material and non-material resources for producing, reproducing, or challenging socially stratified consumption patterns. In this chapter, I focus on the role of cultural processes (cf. Lamont et al. 2014) or generic processes (cf. McLeod et al. 2015). That is, I analyze the "intersubjectively shared meaning structures (e.g. scripts, narratives, repertoires and symbolic boundaries" (Lamont et al. 2014: 580) which "take shape around the creation of shared categories or classification systems through which individuals perceive and make sense of their environment" (ibid.: 583). Symbolic boundary work is one mechanism through which meaning and symbolic value are created, and through which people, objects and practices are discursively evaluated.

In this chapter, I describe the different types of boundaries that were drawn by vegetarian and non-vegetarian respondents, followed by a discussion of the intended or unintended consequences of this boundary work, and of the extent to which they can help explain socially stratified consumption patterns.

5.3.1 Boundary work by vegetarians

Towards non-vegetarians

Vegetarians and vegans draw explicit as well as implicit social boundaries vis-á-vis non-vegetarians. They acknowledge gender, age and educational differences in diets, as well as differences between urban and rural areas. They perceive meat-eaters as older and less educated on average, and rural diets as more heavily focused on meat.

When it comes to moral boundary drawing, vegetarian and vegan respondents oscillate between understanding towards and denigration of meat-eaters. While all vegetarians denounce meat-eating as a practice, only some also0 denounce meat-eaters as bearers of that practice. Some vegetarian respondents are very empathetic towards meat-eaters and acknowledge the difficulties associated with dietary changes. They often remember their own dietary histories and the potential barriers for dietary change, e.g. lack of time, money, energy, or having to cater for the needs of others (see section 5.3.3 on (mis)recognizing costs). Others were outright hostile and pejorative, portraying meat-eaters as morally reprehensible, lazy, and passive:

> *"I can't even deal with a butcher, because I think they are – there is a video about a butcher who talks to an animal rights activist and they switch their jobs for some time, the animal rights activist is completely washed-up, finished, and cries and the butcher doesn't get anything. It's difficult to discuss with those kinds of people. Because they – for example, one of my colleagues at work, he eats, he devours 14 – and devour is the right word – 14 sausages on one day, and 14 eggs the next day, and he just talks about price, everything is too expensive (.) and he was with an ileus already, he is blimpy, and just a really disgusting*

person, he burps, his behavior is obnoxious, very misogynous and sexist"[178]

(Jonas, vegan, male, 39, intermediate EC, intermediate CC)

> *"Being vegan in a non-vegan world is almost like being in a horror movie, and you are the only person who sees the monster. And it's so obviously wrong, you know that this is not what a good person would do, you wouldn't pay people to kill animals. That's not what you do if you do it right, that's not what a good person would do – and you still do it. What's the problem? And that's exactly it, you don't want to stand out, you want to lead an easy life, you don't want to have a good life"*[179]

(Elias, vegan, male, 29, intermediate EC, high CC, self-employed)

> *"Because we are not so intelligent after all [laughs] – we prioritize short-term over long-term goals, selfish goals over goals that are helpful to everyone, you know? And to me, that definitely indicates a lack of intelligence"* [180]

(Emilia, vegan, female, 44, intermediate to high EC, high CC)

> *"I think in one way or another, everyone is rather lazy. Because these are habits, people are used to have bread and cheese and Nutella for breakfast. And to have meat as a second breakfast, and meat for lunch anyways, and to have wine and some meat again for dinner. I think these are deeply rooted thoughts and patterns"*[181]

(Igor, meat-eater, male, 57, intermediate EC, high CC)

Most vegetarian and vegan respondents appreciate flexitarian, i.e. meat-reduced diets with a focus on 'ethically sourced' meat. Some of them were on a flexitarian diet before switching to a meat-free diet, and some say they would likely follow a flexitarian instead of a vegetarian diet if it did not come with additional costs and if they could afford it. Other respondents are more judgmental and accuse flexitarians of being morally inconsistent but most of them still acknowledge that flexitarianism is at least 'better' than a diet that consists of cheap meat.

[178]"Ich komm schon mit nem Metzger nicht klar, weil die mir manchmal einfach - es gibt ein Video, wo halt ne Metzgerin mit ner Tierschützerin spricht und die dann ihren Job sozusagen mal tauschen, Tierschützerin völlig fertig, heult und voll am Arsch ist und die andere, die versteht gar nichts. Mit so nen Leuten ist es schwierig zu diskutieren. Weil die immer - ich hab's auf Arbeit halt auch, so (.) - Beispiel Kollege: der isst halt, der frisst 14 - und ich sage wirklich fressen - der frisst 14 Würste am Tag hintereinander weg, dann frisst der nächsten Tag 14 Eier, redet die ganze Zeit nur von 'billig, billig, billig', alles so teuer und (.) hat aber schon Darmverschluss gehabt, ist total fett, ist widerlicher Mensch wirklich, rülpst, ist einfach vom Benehmen auch total abartig, sehr frauenfeindlich, sehr sexistisch"

[179]"Vegan zu sein in einer Welt, die nicht vegan ist, ist ein bisschen wie in nem Horrorfilm zu sein und du bist der Einzige, der das Monster sehen kann. Und du sieht doch offensichtlich, dass es falsch ist, du weißt haargenau, dass es nicht das ist, was ein guter Mensch tun würde, du würdest nicht Leuten Geld dafür geben, dass Tiere getötet werden. Das ist nicht, was du richtig tust, das ist nicht, was ein guter Mensch machen würde - trotzdem machst du's. Wo ist das Problem? Und das ist halt eben das Problem, du willst nicht auffallen, du möchtest ein einfaches Leben haben, du möchtest kein gutes Leben haben"

[180]"Weil wir glaub ich doch nicht so intelligent sind wie wir denken [lacht] - weil wir halt kurzfristige Ziele über langfristige Ziele setzen, egoistische Ziele über (.) Ziele setzen, die halt Allen helfen, ne? Und das ist für mich ein Ausdruck von mangelnder Intelligenz auf jeden Fall"

[181]"Ich glaube jeder Mensch ist auf einer Weise ziemlich faul. Das sind ja auch Gewohnheiten, man ist gewohnt, dass zum Frühstück Brötchen und Brot, Käse, Nutella gehört. Und zum zweiten Frühstück isst man dann Fleisch, Mittagessen sowieso Fleisch und gleich abends mit Wein gibt es auch wieder Fleisch. Das (sind) glaube ich tief verankerte Gedanken und Abläufe"

Interestingly, many vegetarians portray meatless diets as inevitable outcome of cultural and social change in the contemporary. They construe dietary change towards vegetarianism as dimension of societal progress. Some of them compare meat production to slavery or misogyny, and meat-eating to smoking, binge drinking, or to eating junk foods; indicating that meat-eating will at some point carry - and, according to some of them, *should* carry - the same type of stigma that is attached to other consumption practices:

> *"It's definitely gonna be a different type of meat that what we produce today. (.) Well, at some point it used to be normal to have slaves, and nowadays we don't think that's right (.) or it used to be normal that women had fewer legal rights than men, and so today it's totally normal that animals are worthless, and I really hope this will change"*[182]

(Annika, vegan, female, 27, low to intermediate EC, high CC, student)

> *"We should deal with meat just like we dealt with cigarettes. Then it might work. (. . .) We need to say 'You can eat this if you're 18 years old but not before that age'. And we need to offer meat at a prohibitively high price, while educating people about the health risks that come with consuming it. And still, people would eat it. Just like people still drink alcohol. Everyone knows that it sucks."*[183]

(Elias, vegan, male, 29, intermediate EC, high CC, self-employed)

> *"I don't know, if I think about the fact that 50 years ago, homosexuality was a crime, and today we have same-sex marriage – it's not inconceivable that at some point we realize that animals do have rights – probably not the same personal rights that humans have, but that they should not be exploited. Or that people realize that some foodstuffs, like cigarettes, are just not good for us and make us sick"*[184]

(Hannah, vegan, female, 34, intermediate EC, high CC)

Some vegetarians associate heavy meat consumption with physical attributes like obesity or ill health, mutually linking several 'problematic' phenomena:

> *"My mother had a very unhealthy diet, and she was the only one who was overweight in my family. She was also the only one who never ate veggies. Her favorite dish was rice with*

[182] "Ja, auf jeden Fall kein Fleisch, was so produziert wird wie unser heutiges Fleisch. Ja. (.) Also so ähnlich wie es halt irgendwann mal normal war, sich Sklaven zu halten und wir das halt heutzutage nicht gut finden oder (.) wie es normal war, dass die Frau weniger Rechte hatte als der Mann, das ist halt heute völlig normal, dass Tiere nichts wert sind und ich hoffe stark, dass sich das ändert"

[183] "Wir müssten halt eigentlich alles das machen, was wir mit Zigaretten auch gemacht haben. Und dann könnt's einigermaßen funktionieren. (. . .) Ja, halt erstmal zu sagen "Erst ab 18, vorher nicht." Zeitgleich zu sagen "Nur in bestimmten Bereichen zu einem prohibitiv teuren Preis mit absoluter Aufklärung über die gesundlichen (sic) Folgen". Aber selbst dann würden's Leute essen. Genauso wie Leute immer noch Alkohol trinken. Jeder weiß, dass das scheiße ist"

[184] "Keine Ahnung, wenn ich irgendwie überlege, dass vor (.) 50 Jahren Homosexualität strafbar war und heute Menschen gleichen Geschlechts heiraten können - warum soll es nicht so sein, dass man irgendwann sieht, dass Tiere genau - oder vielleicht nicht die gleichen, aber auch Personen, Persönlichkeitsrechte in ner gewissen Form haben und nicht ausgenutzt werden dürfen. Oder dass man irgendwann erkennt, wie bei Zigaretten, dass, dass einfach bestimmte Nahrungsmittel nicht gut sind für uns und uns krank machen"

chicken and white sauce, I remember that – and in 1980, I already told her: 'If you keep on eating like this, with almost no fibre and no veggies, you're gonna have colon cancer"[185]

(Emil, vegan, male, 59, intermediate to high EC?, high CC)

"He is really a textbook example of a meat consumer, of all of the adverse health effects, he has gout and high blood pressure and what not but he can't let go of meat, for breakfast, lunch, dinner"[186]

(Emilia, vegan, female, 44, intermediate to high EC, high CC)

"And I look at my friends and I know they have health problems but I don't say anything because we had this discussion once or twice already and at some point I just decided to save my breath"[187]

(Dominik, vegetarian, male, 25, low EC, intermediate to high CC)

Towards vegetarians

Vegetarian respondents perceive other vegetarians as a social group with distinct characteristics, composed of mainly young, female, well-educated or 'middle class' consumers with a specific political orientation. Some perceive (mainly gender) differences between vegetarian and vegan consumers. Others, however, do not express social boundaries towards other vegetarians throughout the interview.

Many vegetarians and vegans in my sample tend to draw equally strong moral boundaries against other vegetarians as they do against meat-eaters. They sometimes criticize other vegetarians, and especially vegans, for being too radical, intolerant or judgmental:

"That's also what I realized in all of these vegan groups online, Facebook and the like, there's always such and such people. Most of them really care about animal welfare and the other things are less important. And often times, discussions take a problematic misdirection, a very fanatic direction. This is when I distance myself, I can't really support that"[188]

(Anna, vegan, female, 48, intermediate to high EC, intermediate to high CC)

"There's a few that don't talk about anything else. And this is what I find annoying. Especially if there's only vegans around anyways, and it doesn't make sense – you don't

[185]"Meine Mutter hat extrem ungesund gegessen, die war die Einzige, die dick in der Familie war und die war die Einzige, die absolut Gemüse-frei gegessen hat. Also ihr Lieblingsessen war Reis mit Hühnchen und weißer Sauce, das weiß ich ganz genau - und dann hab ich eben schon 1980 gesagt: 'So wie du isst, so faserstoffarm und gemüsearm, kriegst du mal Darmkrebs'"

[186]"Der ist halt wirklich so ein Paradebeispiel eines Fleischkonsumenten, was man da halt für körperliche Beeinträchtigungen haben kann, also er hat halt Gicht und Bluthochdruck und alles Mögliche und kann aber einfach nicht auf Fleisch verzichten, morgens, mittags, abends"

[187]"Und seh' meine Freunde und weiß dass sie viele gesundheitliche Probleme haben und spar' mir dann einfach die Diskussion darüber, weil ich sie ein, zwei Mal schon hatte und dann einfach gesagt hab': Ne, das brauch' ich nicht"

[188]"Das stell ich auch fest in den ganzen Vegan-Gruppen, wo ich bin, Facebook und so weiter, es gibt immer die und die. Aber bei vielen ist wirklich der Tierschutzgedanke an erster Stelle und das andere zählt eigentlich nicht so. Und dann geht's schon auch oft in ne sehr ungesunde Richtung, und auch in ne sehr fanatische Richtung. Wo ich mich dann auch manchmal n bisschen zurückziehen muss, also das (.) kann ich, da kann ich nicht so dahinterstehen"

have to hash and rehash everything [laughs], but yeah, there's these vegans who talk about nothing else"[189]

(Kimi, vegan, female, 32, intermediate EC, high CC)

"I hate vegans who become vegan overnight – I know people like that – and who become really extreme and accuse you, they just started being vegan yesterday and suddenly you are the asshole because you are too lackadaisical and too understanding – they don't get that this only works one step at a time"[190]

(Jonas, vegan, male, 39, intermediate EC, intermediate CC)

Some respondents discredit other vegetarians or vegans for having the 'wrong' motives for their diet. They accuse them, for example, of caring more about their own health than about the animals or about the environment; or of following a vegetarian or vegan diet merely because it is trendy and fashionable:

"Something that – it's good for the animals but I think that at the moment, it's less about ethics and more about the body. A lot of fitness issues, it's not about the animals, people don't feel compassion for the animals. I am a little disappointed sometimes when I talk to other vegans"[191]

(Jonas, vegan, male, 39, intermediate EC, intermediate CC)

"I guess that many vegans who are vegan for health reasons probably backslide more quickly – because they don't have a strong motivation to stay vegan – I would do the same, I would not be so consistent. Because there's not many things that I really miss but pizza with a lot of cheese on top is one example, I did not find a vegan equivalent for that yet. And I would probably relapse from time to time, that's for sure. So I suspect that people who are really strictly vegan without exceptions, they do it for ethical reasons"[192]

(Linus, vegan, male, 39, intermediate EC, high CC)

[189]"Es gibt so ein paar, die über nichts anderes reden. Und das (.) das erfahr ich als, auch irgendwie als nervig. Also vor allen Dingen in nem Kontext, wo sowieso nur Veganer anwesend sind, ist es doch sinn - ist es auch, also dann - dann muss man das nicht irgendwann nochmal irgendwie so durchkauen [lacht], aber ja, es gibt halt so die, die (.) irgendwie ja, ansonsten über nichts anderes reden"

[190]"Ich hasse Veganer, die von heute auf morgen Veganer werden, sowas kenn ich auch, die dann so krass auf einmal werden, die dich dann auch richtig angreifen, so sind gerade erst gestern vegan geworden, auf einmal bist du voll das Arschloch, weil du ja viel zu lapidar bist und viel zu verständnisvoll bist - die halt nicht verstehen, dass das alles Schritte sind"

[191]"Was ja auch jetzt gerade (.) das ist ja gut für die Tiere, aber ich find momentan is ja eher, geht in die Richtung. Wenig Ethik, viel (.) viel Körper. Viel Fitness, viel daher - nicht, nicht wirklich die Tiere, so'n bisschen Gefühl für die Tiere gibt's da nicht wirklich. So wenn ich mit vielen Veganern rede manchmal, bin ich ein bisschen enttäuscht"

[192]"Kann ich mir eher vorstellen, dass viele Veganer, die eben aus gesundheitlichen Gründen vegan leben, schneller rückfällig werden - also für die ist die Motivation nicht so wahnsinnig groß - so das wär eben, auch bei mir, würd ich auch so stringent so nicht durchhalten, weil es gibt wenig Sachen, die ich wirklich irgendwie vermisse, aber zum Beispiel Pizza ist eins davon mit irgendwie vernünftig fett Käse drauf - da hab ich noch keinen gleichwertigen Ersatz gefunden. Und das wär garantiert (.) - ab und zu würd ich da schwach werden, das ist - da bin ich mir ziemlich sicher. Und (.) deswegen würd ich schon vermuten, dass die, die wirklich vegan leben (.) ohne bewusste Ausnahmen, das ist vor allem Leute, die das aus ethischen Motiven machen"

"Veganism often implies ethical choices or health choices. And of course there's people who do it because it's a trend, who are vegan for one month. Who want to lose weight or what not and so they do it for a single month. But then there's also people who do it for ethical or even for political reasons, and I think this will more likely stand the test"[193]

(Samuel, vegan, male, 35, high EC, high CC)

However, negative perceptions target only a subgroup of vegetarians and vegans, and many vegetarians and vegans were appreciative of like-minded eaters. They depicted vegetarianism as 'good' and 'moral' and in addition, credited vegetarians as bearers of the practice for being 'good' people. They describe that they often feel a special sense of affiliation and solidarity towards other vegetarians, and often match on personality traits, which frequently results in homophily along dietary choices (see section 5.3.4 on consequences of boundary work).

5.3.2 Boundary work by non-vegetarians

Towards vegetarians

Some non-vegetarians draw clear social boundaries and portray vegetarians and vegans as a group with distinctive sociodemographic characteristics, composed of mainly young, female and well-educated consumers, and especially composed of students. Most non-vegetarians are overall supportive of vegetarians' motifs and evaluate the occasional consumption of meat-free dishes as generally positive. However, they remain critical of the strictness of vegetarian, and especially of vegan diets, likewise portraying vegetarians and vegans as 'radical', 'extreme', or as 'taking it a step too far':

"Well, yes, it's understandable – for example, everytime I took a cure, I switched to a vegetarian diet, you know? Because for me – I like vegetarian food, so for me there's no need to – but it's about the inflexibility (.). Our son in law has many vegetarians and vegans in his family, so – but he is not a vegetarian and – but at their wedding, for example, it was the same thing. You always need to pay attention to what everybody is eating"[194]

(Hans, meat-eater, male, 70s, intermediate EC, intermediate CC)

"They are usually very, very strict. And they don't understand that people eat differently, that people eat meat, you know? And so I think it's not necessary. Well, people should pay more attention how the animals are raised, but I don't know if that means that you shouldn't be eating meat"[195]

[193] "Bei Veganismus ist es häufig eine Entscheidung aus der Ethik gesehen, aus Gesundheitsgründen gesehen, klar, gibt es Trend-Veganer, die einen Monat machen, nur so, ne oder sagen einen Monat zum Abnehmen oder was auch immer - die werden das sicher nicht durchhalten. Es gibt aber Leute, die das aus ethischen machen oder auch sogar aus politischen Gründen das machen - ich glaub das wird eher sich bewähren"

[194] "Nachvollziehbar schon - zum Beispiel, wenn ich auf Kur gefahren bin hab ich mich bewusst auf vegetarisch stellen lassen, ja? Denn war für mich - ich esse auch gern vegetarisch, also für mich wirst keine - aber dieses Starre, da an diesem - also in der Familie von [Name des Schwiegersohns] gibt's sehr viele Vegetarier und Veganer, ja, und [schmunzelt] - er aber nicht und aber das war zum Beispiel auf der Hochzeit auch. Ja, und dann musstest du wieder achten, was essen die Leute"

[195] "Die sind dann sehr, sehr streng. Und die können dann das Andere wiederum nicht verstehen, dass man halt Fleisch isst, ne? Also irgendwie, ich finde man müsste es nicht machen. Also, es müsste vielleicht wirklich mehr darauf geachtet werden wie die Tiere gehalten werden, aber ob man jetzt unbedingt Vegetarier sein muss, weiß ich nicht"

(Luise, meat-eater, female, 43, low EC, intermediate CC)

> *"Well, if someone – everything that people overdo, everything that is extreme, religion or sports or anything, if it's related to people's worldview, if people define themselves based on these things, then it often gets difficult. But this is not really about vegetarianism but about the general attitude towards certain things"*[196]

(Marco, meat-eater, male, 60s, intermediate to high EC, high CC, self-employed)

Others express derision and ridicule towards vegetarian and vegan eaters, as well as confidence about their own dietary choices as 'superior' or 'more legitimate'. They portray vegetarians and vegans as following a trend that comes with juvenility and likely recedes in adulthood, or that simply portrays a distinct group identity. This is mainly done by flexitarian eaters and by those that could be described as 'foodies', with relatively high amounts of economic capital:

> *"I really think that it's some kind of hype. It's probably got something to do with body image as well, but it's also really trendy to be on a vegetarian diet"*[197]

(Jacob, meat-eater, male, 67, intermediate to high EC, intermediate CC, self-employed)

> *"I ask myself why people become vegetarians or why they become vegans, why they do this or do that (.). Why do I switch to a paleo diet, well – we as humans lived through evolution, we still do, we are always experiencing evolution but – and this is where I became quite insolent, our teeth are those of omnivorous mammals, just to give an example. As I said, if you do it for the animals, because of the factory farming in agriculture and so on, I'm all in on it, but there are too many trends involved in my opinion"*[198]

(Lukas, meat-eater, male, 51, high EC, high CC)

> *"My daughter, she is – she was a little less complicated when she was an infant. There was a time when she was a juvenile that she wanted to eat a meatless diet, but a vegetarian diet, not a vegan diet. This whole thing went on for about two years, or two and a half years, I don't quite remember. And then she ate it occasionally, you know? Today she eats meat"*[199]

[196] "Ja, ich sag' mal, wenn einer - alles was übertrieben wird, was extrem dargestellt wird, Religion oder Sport oder irgendwas, wenn's in das Weltbild hineingeht, wenn man sich dadurch definiert irgendwann, dann wird's meistens immer schwierig. Aber das hat dann nichts mehr mit dem Vegetarismus eigentlich zu tun, sondern mit der Grundeinstellung für gewisse Dinge."

[197] "Ich glaub das ist aber auch so'n Hype. Das ist sicherlich auch die Figur-Geschichte, aber auch so ein Hype sich vegetarisch zu ernähren"

[198] "Die Frage ist dann, warum werd ich Vegetarier, warum Veganer, warum werd ich dies, warum werd ich das (.), warum ernähre ich mich Steinzeit-mäßig, also (.) wir Menschen haben ne Evolution (.) durchlebt, immer noch, also wir sind ständig in der Evolution, aber, da bin ich plump geworden, wir haben ein Gebiss eines allesfressenden Säugetieres, um nur ein Beispiel zu nennen. (.) Wenn man wie gesagt, Tierwohl (.) Massentierhaltung in der Landwirtschaft und sowas als Gründe nimmt, bin ich da sofort dabei, aber mir sind da zu viel Modewellen dabei"

[199] "Meine Tochter, die is' eher so - die war n bisschen unproblematischer, so als Kleinkind. Später hatte sie mal so ne Phase als Halbwüchsige wollt' sie mal fleischlos essen, also als Vegetarierin, nicht Veganerin. Dann ging das so zwei Jahre ungefähr, oder zweieinhalb, weiß ich nicht mehr genau. Und dann irgendwann mal ab und an nur, ne? Die isst heute jetzt Fleisch"

(Renate, meat-eater, female, 50s, intermediate to high EC, intermediate CC)

Towards non-vegetarians

Just as most vegetarians, non-vegetarian respondents generally valorize meat-reduced or flexitarian diets (see section 5.1 on food ideals). While some non-vegetarians feel great unease or scoff at vegetarians and vegans, a large majority of them also discredit other non-vegetarians' consumption practices for being unhealthy, imprudent, haphazard or unreasonable. Some of them express contempt and scorn towards excessive meat consumption, and especially towards the consumption of cheap and conventionally produced meat products. These consumption practices usually evoke even stronger judgments than meat-free diets do. Their judgments often coincide with derogative statements about junk foods and about convenience foods. They are rarely confined to the respective consumption practices but usually infringe on consumers as bearers of these practices as well:

> *"There are all these cooking shows on TV, and that's one opportunity to finally learn a few things about cooking but somehow people don't manage to do that. But well, things have also changed, I guess I still belong to the sandwich generation. That means that many of us have bad teeth for different reasons. (...) But everyone had sandwiches when I was a child. Well, and today, sandwiches are – if you're still making sandwiches for your children until they're 20 you shouldn't be surprised when they have bad skin at the age of 40, or what not. Because white bread is so lifeless. It doesn't make any sense"*[200]

(Werner, meat-eater, male, 50s, intermediate to high EC, intermediate CC)

> *"What I observe is that many young people fill up their fridge and if they don't quite remember when the meat was bought, they don't sniff at it, they throw it away immediately. And I am really puzzled when I see that. I don't get why people don't know whether foods have gone bad or not. How do you need a best-by date to know that?"*[201]

(Barbara, meat-eater, 62, high EC, high CC)

> *"It's about all these convenience foods. That already starts at breakfast, where people buy packaged bread and – there are these softdrinks where it says that they include everything, or I look at these yogurts that have extra protein and I wonder: Who needs that anyways? And then I see who buys these foods, and I think: Instead of heating up these two beef rolls - if I cooked for you, I could prepare five beef rolls from scratch for the same price. And everyone would benefit from that. (...) And I don't want to come off as presumptuous but*

[200] "Du hast ständig diese Kochsendungen im Fernsehen, wobei das wär' die Gelegenheit für mal n bisschen was vom Kochen zu lernen, aber irgendwie schaffen die Leute das nicht. Aber gut, das hat sich natürlich schon verändert, ich meine, ich gehör' noch zu der Toastbrot-Generation, das heißt also: Wir haben ja zum Beispiel aus verschiedenen Gründen meistens noch schlechte Zähne. (...) Und in meinem Alter war das noch, das Toastbrot war normal. Toastbrot is' natürlich - ich sag', wer jetzt noch seinen Kindern bis zum 20. Lebensjahr mit Toastbrot ernährt, der muss sich nicht wundern, wenn's dann mit 40 schlechte Haut hat, was weiß ich. Weil das Toastbrot is' einfach so tot. Also macht ja keinen Sinn"

[201] "Wenn ich natürlich, was ich bei jungen Leuten viel sehe, die hauen sich den Kühlschrank voll und wenn die nicht mehr so genau wissen wie alt die Wurst is', die riechen nicht dran, die schmeißen sie direkt weg. Und das muss ich immer doch sehr verwundert sehen. Ich versteh' auch gar nich warum Leute nicht selber erkennen, wann n Lebensmittel nicht mehr gut is'. Da brauch' ich doch kein Datum das da drauf gedruckt is'"

sometimes you can tell from their clothes or something that they don't have much money. And if I see that they buy mostly convenience foods – and not one pack of curry sausage but five packs of curry sausage"[202]

(Kerstin, meat-eater, female, 61, low to intermediate EC, intermediate CC)

These moral boundaries frequently overlap with social boundaries. When they are directed towards consumers with lower amounts of resources, social boundaries often remain implicit; when they target wealthy consumers, they are more explicit:

"And the more you earn, the more money you spend on things that are of a higher quality. Well, and there are – let's say middle class people are more willing to spend money on good foods. That's, you know, sometimes I wince – you eat at an Italian restaurant and you have another glass of wine for 5,90 and you have a dessert and your check is something like 80 or 90 Euros. It was a nice dinner, sure, and that's nice of course. But then you are stingy and buy the cheapest eggs, eggs that are maybe 17 cents each"[203]

(Martin, meat-eater, male, 30s, intermediate EC, intermediate CC)

"I would not buy caviar, and I would not buy – well, there are these people who are a level above me, and they buy only American Dry Aged Beef, for example. Or they only buy Holsteiner pork and what not, and you pay 30 or 40 Euros per kilogram. That's not my level, and I don't want to be at this level because I don't think it's worth it. I know someone who buys this and I ate Dry Aged Beef before, but I don't think the taste is worth it"[204]

(Marco, meat-eater, male, 60s, intermediate to high EC, high CC, self-employed)

"I'm not saying that well-off people eat more healthily, but they could. (. . .) I used to work as a housekeeper, and I saw how much food they wasted. It made me sick, it made me sick. (. . .) And how they fed their children, they were all with elevated blood sugar levels already. They were stuffed with candy, just to shut them up and keep them quiet. There was a cabinet that was full of sweets, and she had a whole bottle of wine each day because

[202] "Ja, es - diese ganzen Fertiggerichte. Es fängt ja schon an, was weiß ich, beim Frühstücksbrot oder so, was da schon abgepackt drin liegt und - über die Getränke, wo ja alles drin sein soll, oder wenn ich mir da die einen Joghurts anguck', die betont Eiweislastig sind, dann denk' ich: Das braucht doch kein Mensch. Und wenn ich dann noch seh', wer sich diese Fertigprodukte in den Wagen packt, dann denk' ich auch: Würd' ich dich zu Hause hinstellen, anstatt den zwei Rouladen, die er fertig aufwärmt, könnt' ich dir für das Geld auch fünf Rouladen machen. Dann hätt' jeder was. (. . .) Also das soll jetzt nicht überheblich klingen oder so, aber da sieht man wirklich so anhand von der Kleidung oder was, dass die nicht so viel Geld haben. Und wenn ich dann seh', dass die sich zu 75% Fertigprodukte in den Wagen packen. Und nicht nur eine Packung Currywurst, sondern fünf Packungen Currywürste"

[203] "Und je größer das Einkommen wird, desto mehr gibt man ja auch Geld aus für qualitativ hochwertigere Dinge. So und es gibt, sagen wir mal in der Mittelschicht glaub' ich schon eher die Bereitschaft dann auch etwas mehr Geld dafür auszugeben für ne gute, ich sag' mal, für n gutes Essen. Das is' ja auch so, man zuckt dann manchmal so - ja, dann sitzt man beim Italiener und dann noch n Glas Wein für 5,90 und dann noch ne Nachspeise und dann geht man da mit, weiß ich nicht, 80, 90 raus, war auch ein schöner Abend, ist ja auch toll. Und dann ist man knauserig und kauft dann, weiß ich nicht, die Ja!-Produkte, die Ja!-Eier, die dann irgendwie 17ct kosten das Stück"

[204] "Also ich würd' mir kein Kaviar kaufen, ich würde jetzt auch nicht nur noch - also es gibt ja so dieses Level über mir, das sind die Leute die jetzt American Dry Aged Beef kaufen. Zum Beispiel. Die auch, ich sag' mal, nur noch vom Hollsteiner Schwein und und und, wo das Kilo dann 30, 40 Euro kostet. Das is' so der Level den ich nicht habe, den ich auch nicht erreichen möchte, weil das is' es mir nicht wert und ich hab' n Bekannten der hat das, ich hab' auch schonmal so'n Dry Aged gegessen, aber das is' es mir nicht Wert vom Geschmack her"

she was miserable because of her husband, because he cheated on her. And food – the kids had fast foods all the time, chicken nuggets, ready-made sauce, fries"[205]

(Regina, meat-eater, female, 71, intermediate to high EC, intermediate CC)

5.3.3 (Mis)recognizing costs

While vegetarian and non-vegetarian respondents alike recognize and mention several sociodemographic differences between different types of meat-eaters and vegetarians, they rarely acknowledge socioeconomic differences, or they misrecognize socioeconomic differences for differences in character or in moral, thereby often expressing essentializing statements. In fact, many interviewees are reluctant to admit, or straight out reject the possibility that different dietary patterns may come with increased financial costs. This is mainly the case for vegetarians as well as for non-vegetarians with intermediate to high amounts of economic capital:

"R: My dietary staples are so cheap, it's always rice, pasta, potatoes, vegetables and fruit and none of these things are expensive." – "I: So you're saying that money is not an obstacle to a diet like this?" – "No, not at all. Well, I think that if you focus on these things it's even a low-cost diet"[206]

(Kimi, vegan, female, 32, intermediate EC, high CC)

"When people say that they don't have the money – well, maybe you should stop smoking. And stop drinking. Then you had the money for a healthy diet. But if you choose to numb your taste buds by smoking cigarettes and if you can't get up in the morning without having coffee and if you can't fall asleep at night without alcohol, no wonder you are craving salami pizza at lunchtime. And then you lack money for organic products. But then you made four wrong choices already"[207]

(Elias, vegan, male, 29, intermediate EC, high CC, self-employed)

"So you're saying that you can eat a high-quality diet on a low budget if you cook at home?" – "Yes, definitely. Well, I – first off, there are a lot of offers all the time, and if you – that's something that I am not very good at, but if you, let's say, if cabbage is on offer then I could go and buy cheap cabbage and prepare something from it. So I think if you

[205] "Aber ich kann nicht sagen, dass Leute denen es gut geht, dass die gesünder leben, aber sie hätten die Möglichkeit. (...) und dann bin ich in Haushalt gegangen, als Haushälterin. Und dann hab' ich ja gesehen, was da weggeworfen wurde. Mir wurde schlecht. Mir wurde schlecht. (...) Und wie die Kinder ernährt wurden, und die hatten alle schon Blutzuckerspiegel erhöht. Nur damit die still waren und keine Probleme machten, wurden die mit Süßigkeiten vollgestopft. Und es gab einen Schrank, der war von oben bis unten mit Süßigkeiten vollgestopft, und sie trank jeden Tag mindestens eine Flasche Wein, weil es ihr nicht gut ging mit ihrem Mann, weil der fremdging. Und Essen - die Kinder, nur immer Fast Food, Chicken Nuggets, Fertigsoßen und dann Pommes"

[206] "B: Die Basis so meiner Ernährung ist günstig, also die Basis ist immer irgendwie Reis, Nudeln, Kartoffeln und Gemüse und Obst und das ist alles nicht teuer" - "I: Also denkst du, das ist sozusagen eigentlich kein Hinderungsgrund, sich so zu ernähren?" - "B: Ne, ne, gar keinen Fall. Also ich glaube, dass es - wenn man sich auf diese Sachen konzentriert sogar günstig ist"

[207] "Wenn Leute sagen "Dafür hab ich das Geld nicht" - du müsstest halt vielleicht aufhören zu rauchen. Und keinen Alkohol trinken. Dann hättest du auch Geld für gesunde Ernährung. Aber wenn du halt deine Geschmacksnerven mit Zigaretten betäubst und nicht morgens aus dem Bett kommst ohne Kaffee und abends nicht einschlafen kannst ohne Alkohol, dann ist auch klar, warum du mittags die Salami-Pizza brauchst. Und dann hast du auch kein Geld für Bio-Produkte. Aber du hast halt an vier Stellen falsche Entscheidungen getroffen"

really want to and if you are flexible about what you're gonna cook ... because if you're not flexible you're forced to purchase the ingredients that are needed. But you could go and check what's on offer and what you can do with that, that's also a viable option."[208]

(Sandra, meat-eater, female, 34, intermediate to high EC, intermediate CC)

"And at the same time these studies show that 80 percent of people who would like to do that (buy high-quality foods) don't do that because it's too costly, that's what they say. But I think that's not true, I think people just don't care"[209]

(Lukas, meat-eater, male, 51, high EC, high CC)

Other, more indirect barriers that can complicate dietary transitions, e.g. unequal access to different sources of information, time constraints, competing household needs, or the importance of 'fitting in' (see sections 5.2.3) were rarely acknowledged either:

"I actually think that the topic is ever-present by now and everybody uses – everybody has access to so many different types of media that it should be possible to be informed"[210]

(Kimi, vegan, female, 32, intermediate EC, high CC)

"And at the same time there's more and more information available, you know, you go online, and you will immediately receive all the information you want to receive (.) and that's why (.) I think if you want to be aware you can find all the information and if you don't want to be aware, you don't. Period"[211]

(Anna, vegan, female, 48, intermediate to high EC, intermediate to high CC)

"That's why many vegans are so militant, radical, and extreme – because they do have an opinion and they champion it, and that's very rare in today's society, and so we always act as if they were radical because the only other people we know that do things like that are radical. Well, no, they are not radical, they are just faithful. And consistent and congruent and are not afraid of voicing their opinion. Neither do they proselytize. They simply say: 'I think that's wrong'"[212]

[208] "I: Also sagst du, man kann auch mit relativ wenig Geld mit guter Qualität essen, wenn man zuhause kocht?" - "B: Ja, ja. Ja, auf jeden Fall, also ich - erstens gibt es überall immer Angebote, wenn man sich auch noch - das mach ich zum Beispiel auch noch nicht besonders gut, aber pff, weiß ich nicht, wenn jetzt der Weißkohl da im Angebot ist, dann kauf ich ihn eben da und dann mach ich eben was mit Weißkohl. Also ich glaube, wenn man das wirklich wollte und jetzt nicht wirklich erstmal davon ausgeht "Ich hab vor, das zu kochen" - dann bin ich ja gezwungen, die Lebensmittel dazu auch zu besorgen, die dafür notwendig sind - sondern erstmal schaut, was ist im Angebot und was ich mach ich daraus? Das kann auch ein Plan sein.

[209] "Gleichzeitig kommt bei den gleichen Untersuchungen raus (.) 80 Prozent derer, die das wollen, tun's trotzdem nicht, der Hauptgrund ist vorgeschrieben, die höheren Kosten, ich glaube das aber nicht, das ist, ich glaub, das ist ne relative Gleichgültigkeit"

[210] "Wobei ich denke, es ist inzwischen eigentlich so präsent und eigentlich benutzt - hat jeder so viele Medien zur Verfügung um eigentlich auch Bescheid wissen zu können"

[211] "Gleichzeitig ist es aber auch so, dass das Angebot, das Informationsangebot immer mehr steigt, ge, du gehst ins Netz, du kriegst alles, alles was du wissen willst kannst du sofort haben (.) von daher (.) Ich denk wenn du's wissen willst dann, dann kriegst du deine Infos und wenn nicht, dann nicht. Ja."

[212] "Deswegen sind halt auch Veganer wirklich super häufig so irgendwie militant, radikal, extrem - die ham halt ne Meinung und vertreten die und das ist echt selten geworden in unserer Gesellschaft, deswegen tun wir dann immer so, als wären die gleich radikal, weil (.) die einzigen Menschen, die wir sonst kennen, die sowas machen, sind radikal. Aber ne, die sind nicht radikal, die sind einfach nur ehrlich - und konsistent und kongruent und haben keine Angst davor, ihre Meinung kundzutun. Die missionieren meistens auch nicht. Die sagen einfach nur: Ich find das falsch"

(Elias, vegan, male, 29, intermediate EC, high CC, self-employed)

In contrast, some respondents do acknowledge costs, and attribute bad‘ or unhealthy diets to a lack of resources, often by remembering difficulties they themselves encountered. These were vegetarian as well as non-vegetarian respondents with different amounts of cultural, and often low to intermediate amounts of economic capital:

> *"I don't want to demonize meat and fish, not at all. I think the psychological component is also much more important. If you generally feel good in life, you probably don't have allergies, and then a wholefood diet becomes important"*[213]

(Liam, vegan, male, 29, intermediate EC, high CC)

> *"I really do think that if you don't know how to make ends meet, you have other problems. You have other problems than thinking about what to put on your plate, I think that's true"*[214]

(Anna, vegan, female, 48, intermediate to high EC, intermediate to high CC)

> *"I think that there's still many people with other problems and they don't know about these things, but they also don't want to know and they don't want to deal with it and (.) I don't know, I probably can't judge people for that. I mean, I have the privilege that I grew up in (name of a region) with my parents, and I always had enough money to make ends meet, and I received a good education, not everybody has that"*[215]

(Lena, meat-eater, female, 27, intermediate EC, high CC, student)

> *"It's a little more money than for someone who is on state benefits, because that money that you have available also needs to pay your insurance, telephone, internet, your car – how are you supposed to manage without a car and without internet nowadays, if you need to apply for a job online, all of that takes money, you know? So how are you supposed to accomplish that? I really think that it's not possible to be on a healthy diet if you're on state benefits"*[216]

(Luise, meat-eater, female, 43, low EC, intermediate CC)

[213] "Ich will Fleisch und Fisch jetzt auch überhaupt nicht verteufeln, ich glaub einfach viel wichtiger ist auch die psychische Komponente. Ehm wenn's einem generell gut geht im Leben hat man auch glaub ich keine Allergien und dann ist, also dann ist natürlich ne vollwertige Ernährung wichtig"

[214] "Ich glaub tatsächlich schon, dass wenn du jetzt halt nur schauen musst, wie komm ich jetzt im Monat über die Runden, dass du dann andere Probleme hast. Du hast ganz andere Probleme als zu überlegen, was tu, pack ich jetzt auf meinen Teller, ist glaub ich schon so"

[215] "Also ich glaub dass es schon noch (.) viele Leute gibt, die ham einfach andere Probleme und wissen nicht darum, wollen es auch gar nicht wissen und wollen sich nicht damit beschäftigen und (.) weiß ich nicht, kann ich vielleicht auch nicht jeden wegen verurteilen. Ich mein, ich hab (.) das Privileg, dass ich im (Name einer Region) im Elternhaus aufgewachsen bin, immer irgendwie genug Geld zum Leben hatte und (.) gute Bildung genossen habe, das hat nicht jeder"

[216] "Also etwas mehr, als jetzt vielleicht jemand der nur HartzIV bekommt, weil man muss ja von dem Geld, was man zur Verfügung hat ja auch noch Versicherung, Telefon, Internet, Auto - Wie soll man heute ohne Auto und Internet klarkommen, wenn man sich online irgendwo bewerben soll, das kost' ja auch alles Geld, ne? Also wie soll man das bewerkstelligen? Ich finde halt, dass man mit diesem HartzIV-Geld so eigentlich nicht sich besonders gesund ernähren kann "

"I: What would you do differently if you were on a tighter budget? Is that even possible?" – "R: Sure, it's possible, you – well you could probably manage with 20 or 30 Euros per week. But you need to take care, and it will probably be very unbalanced." – "I: What do you mean by unbalanced?" – "R: Well, 30 Euros – let's say 35 Euros, that's 5 Euros per day, a bag of apples, that's two Euros already, and then you can buy a can of pea stew and a drink that has some flavor"[217]

(Tim, meat-eater, male, 46, low to intermediate EC, intermediate CC)

"But some people don't know better, some people have so much stress, because – I'm just the same, I do the same thing now because I am under so much stress and I don't have the energy to eat healthily. And it's the same for some young people. Some of them don't have the time to prepare their own lunch before they go to school, and they have to buy something on the go. And buying something on the go usually means buying something unhealthy"[218]

(Ella, meat-eater, female, 19, low EC, intermediate CC)

Some vegetarians and vegans assign difficulties in changing towards meat-reduced or meat-free diets to marketing and advertising efforts by powerful economic actors that lure consumers into buying meat, and some non-vegetarians argue that consumers may be tricked into buying unhealthy or unnecessarily expensive products by large food companies:

"But I think that it's also about the lobbyists who put in great efforts to ensure that everything stays the same, to ensure that people don't question these things, or don't question them enough, that they don't have access to these information, that the information situation is made intransparent by lobbyism"[219]

(Greta, vegan, female, 25, intermediate EC, student)

"Advertising is a huge problem – you can advertise anything, you can depict happy animals on the back of a slaughter carriage and say: 'Look at this happy pig, it's so in love with this cow [laughs] (.) [groans] And my children will start believing that this is how the world looks like until we explain it to them – well, advertising is a huge problem, especially in association with lobby groups whose only task is to lure people into thinking that it's healthy or that it's desirable to live like this. And they have power, they have political influence, they have influence in the media, and it's really difficult to change these structures. Well,

[217] "I: Was würden Sie machen, wenn Sie weniger Geld hätten? Gibt's diesen Spielraum noch?" - "B: Gibt es, natürlich, man - also man schafft es auch in der Woche mit zwanzig oder dreißig Euro klarzukommen. Muss man natürlich sehen und es wird dann auch teilweise sehr einseitig." - "I: Inwiefern? Was meinen Sie mit einseitig?" - "B: Naja, dreißig Euro - sagen wir 35 Euro wären pro Tag fünf Euro - Packung Äpfel, sind wir bei zwei Euro, genau und den Rest dann für nen Erbseneintopf und alternativ was zu Trinken, was noch ein bisschen Geschmack hat"

[218] "Also manche Menschen wissen nicht besser, manche Menschen haben so viel Stress ja, weil ich - ich jetzt ja, ich mach das ja jetzt auch, weil ich so viel Stress habe und keine Energie habe mich auch noch gesund zu ernähren. Und manchen Jugendlichen geht's ja nicht anders. Manche Jugendliche haben morgens keine Zeit vor der Schule um sich etwas zu machen, also müssen die dann unterwegs was kaufen. Und unterwegs kaufen heißt meistens was ungesundes"

[219] "Aber ich glaube, dass auch gerade die Lobbyisten, Lobbyistinnen viel dafür tun, dass es eben so bleibt, dass die Leute (.) das nicht hinterfragen oder das nicht genug hinterfragen, dass sie keinen Zugang zu diesen Informationen haben, dass die Informationslage, ich sag mal, so verwaschen wird durch (.) Lobbyismus-Arbeit"

definitely. And beyond that, it's this celebrity culture and that your favorite movie star needs to eat that steak and so everyone thinks that it's legit"[220]

(Samuel, vegan, male, 35, high EC, high CC)

5.3.4 Consequences of boundary work

Boundary work has a series of intended and unintended consequences.

Some interviewees, vegetarian and non-vegetarian alike, speak about their diets with considerable pride, and are keen on sharing their rationales and the details of their consumption practices. However, meat-free diets are not universally appreciated, but valued and approved in some groups while also ridiculed and disapproved in others. Accordingly, many vegetarian and vegan respondents tend to readily disclose and talk about their diet, but mostly in groups of like-minded or accepting people. They describe negative feelings of being ridiculed in other social environments. While a minority brags about their diets also in these less comforting contexts, the majority of vegetarians is reluctant to talk about their diets in most social settings because they want to avoid social conflict and the experience of being stereotyped:

"I guess I'd call myself vegan but it really depends on the situation. (.) If the people around me think it's ok and if they know what veganism is, if it's something positive, I'd be open about it. Well, I know that I am happy to hear other people say they're vegan and you've got something to talk about right away, thinks like that - but if I am not sure or I think that it's more negative, I wouldn't even mention it because I also don't consider it that relevant, it's not my entire personality"[221]

(Greta, vegan, female, 25, intermediate EC, student)

"For example, we attend a playgroup, one that is organized by the church, and I never mentioned that we're vegan. Because I really don't want to have this discussion"[222]

(Susanne, vegan, female, 28, low EC, high CC)

"Because it's my personal thing - I made this decision for myself and - if somebody asked me about it I am glad to talk about it, but it's not something that I mention right away if

[220] "Werbung ist auch ein immenses Problem - man kann alles werben, man kann glückliche Tiere hinten auf dem Schlacht-Transporter abmalen und sagen: "Ja, guck mal, das glückliche Schwein da an, wie es verliebt es mit der Kuh" [lacht] [stöhnt] Ja. Und meine Kinder werden auch irgendwann auf die Idee kommen, dass das so ist bis wir ihnen das - also Werbung ist wirklich ein mega Problem, vor allem in Verbindung mit den Lobbies, die nur dafür da sind um Menschen zu überzeugen, dass es gesund ist so zu leben oder wünschenswert ist so zu leben. Und die haben Macht, die haben politische Macht (.), die haben Macht in den Medien und so eine Struktur ist nicht leicht veränderbar. (.) Also das schon. Und auch natürlich so diese Celebrity-Kultur, wo der Lieblings-Filmstar unbedingt dieses Steak essen muss und alle auf die Idee kommen, das ist deswegen cool, ne?"

[221] "Ich glaub ich würd mich schon als vegan oder Veganerin bezeichnen, kommt aber natürlich immer auf den Kontext an. (.) Also wenn ich jetzt weiß, dass ich in ner Community bin, wo das ok ist oder wo die Leute da auch was mit anfangen können, wo es eher positiv ist, dann würd ich vielleicht sagen - also ich weiß, dass ich mich freue, wenn andere sagen sie sind vegan und dann hat man direkt ein Thema, solche Sachen - wenn ich aber mir nicht sicher bin oder denke, dass es eher negativ ist, dann würd ich's einfach gar nicht erwähnen, weil ich's auch nicht für relevant halte, weil das nicht meine komplette Person ausmacht so"

[222] "Also wir gehen zum Beispiel in ne Spielgruppe, in ne kirchliche, und da hab ich das nie erwähnt, dass wir vegan sind. Weil ich auch einfach keine Lust hab auf diese Diskussion"

I meet somebody, I don't talk about it with my friends either"[223]

(Dominik, vegetarian, male, 25, low EC, intermediate to high CC)

In fact, some vegetarian respondents report suffering from social conflict and from being criticized or stereotyped because of their diet:

> *"Many of my colleagues - I am passing through many different wards now for my apprenticeship - and I don't wanna talk about it really but most often someone watches what I eat (...) and then they go: 'You don't eat meat, do you?' and, I don't know, they they start asking me questions and I am trying to avoid that because I don't want - especially if you're in a hospital - I don't know, some nurses, they are - they are really derogatory and so I don't wanna mention it at all"*[224]

(Elena, vegan, female, 24, low EC, vocational training)

> *"Well, I get - I obviously got a lot of stupid jokes back then when I was a vegetarian, you know - if you happened to mention it, many colleagues back then already reacted by saying: 'Oh, you are also one of those?', straight out disparaging"*[225]

(Emilia, vegan, female, 44, intermediate to high EC, high CC)

> *"Well, if you're a guy, it definitely happens that women approach you with this ideal - this friend of mine, for example, she says 'vegetarians are not real men' - or my ex-girlfriend in 2010, she tried to push me into eating meat. And there were other women who - well, they often said things like 'Why don't you eat this or that?', and they didn't say this explicitly that you're not a real man if you don't eat meat but I somehow think that this is what they implied"*[226]

(Milan, vegan, male, 28, intermediate to high EC, high CC)

As a result, many vegetarians and vegans modify their social networks to avoid conflict and stigma and to gain social approval and recognition in different social groups. They become part of new

[223] "Weil das auch eher ein Thema für mich ist, das habe ich für mich beschlossen und - wenn mich jemand drauf ansprechen rede ich gern drüber, aber es ist nix was ich direkt einfach so rauserzähle wenn ich jemanden kennenlerne, oder auch in meinem Freundeskreis oder sowas"

[224] "Weil auf der, also auf der Arbeit - ich, in der Ausbildung muss ich eh viele Stationen grad durchlaufen - ich will's eigentlich nicht zur Ansprache bringen, es ist meistens eher, dass jemand mich beobachtet so was ich so esse (...) - und dann irgendwie so: "Ach, isst du gar kein Fleisch?" und keine Ahnung, dann kommen so die Fragen auf und eigentlich will ich's immer umgehen, weil ich hab irgendwie keine Lust - auch grade irgendwie im Krankenhaus - ich weiß nicht, manche Pflegerinnen, die sind irgendwie so - also das wird direkt so total abgewertet irgendwie, also ich will das gar nicht zur Ansprache bringen"

[225] "Also ich krieg - also ich hab natürlich schon ne ganze Bandbreite von blöden Sprüchen bekommen, auch damals, damals als Vegetarierin schon, ne - wenn man das halt irgendwie gesagt hat, auch von Kollegen damals schon, dann - dass man dann als Reaktion bekommt "Ach, bist du auch so eine?", so schon direkt abwertend"

[226] "Also, wenn du ein Mann bist, dann wird dir durchaus auch von Frauen dieses Ideal - irgendwie diese Freundin da, die sagt irgendwie "Ja, Vegetarier sind keine Männer" - aber auch meine Freundin damals, 2010, die mich halt da auch dazu drängen wollte. Und es kamen auch noch andere Frauen, die dann - also das war nicht so selten, dass dann irgendwie so "Iss doch mal oder iss doch mal das" so kam oder - und die haben das jetzt zwar nicht explizit irgendwie gesagt "Dann bist du kein Mann oder sowas wenn du kein Fleisch isst", aber ich denke schon, dass es da mehr oder minder explizit oder implizit ne Rolle spielt"

social networks or 'consumption communities' (Cronin et al. 2014), grounded in similarities in food consumption patterns. As a result, many vegetarian and vegan respondents experience their diet as an important part of their identity. In fact, Rosenfeld and Burrow (2017) propose that "rejecting mainstream dietary practices and departing from the dominant omnivorous social group, vegetarians are likely to internalize their norm-defying food choices as a significant facet of identity" (ibid.: 80). While new networks can also provide vegetarians and vegans with new resources and opportunities (see section 5.4 on the interplay of class and status), they help avoid scorn and stigma and the create new social capital to offset the losses of social capital resulting from dietary change towards vegetarianism or veganism. Homophily, which is "the principle that a contact between similar people occurs at a higher rate than among dissimilar people" (McPherson et al. 2001: 416), and especially 'inbreeding' or choice homophily based on food consumption patterns are thus potential consequences of symbolic boundary work. Institutionalized social networks (e.g. organizations, clubs or online groups) often facilitate and promote these processes for vegetarians and vegans.

> *"Actually, most of my friends here in [name of a city] are vegan [laughs], mainly because, well - at the time when I changed my diet and I also tried to establish new contacts, ans this is comparatively easy to find common ground"*[227]

(Kimi, vegan, female, 32, intermediate EC, high CC)

> *"It's really unlikely that I meet someone and I get along well with that person although he or she is not vegan or doesn't think that it makes sense to be vegan. I meet many people at vegetarian fairs or at sustainability fairs or (.) in polyamory groups, and it rarely happens that someone is on a completely different path in life than mine"*[228]

(Elias, vegan, male, 29, intermediate EC, high CC, self-employed)

> *"It's not like I want all my new friends to be vegan or if I meet somebody - but I prefer choosing new friends from the group of vegans [chuckles] - can I put it like that? Or people that I want to be in touch with, sure! Because it's an important aspect of my life and a point of common interest or a common goal"*[229]

(Hannah, vegan, female, 34, intermediate EC, high CC)

> *"By now I've reached that point and I know that I wouldn't want to be with a partner who is not at least a vegetarian"*[230]

[227] "Ich hab hier in Köln tatsächlich hauptsächlich vegane Freunde [lacht], was sich einfach dadurch entwickelt hat, also - ja, einfach gerade so in dieser Umstiegszeit, wo ich dann auch versucht hab da Kontakte zu knüpfen, was dann relativ leicht geht irgendwie, weil man so ne ganz gute Basis hat so"

[228] "Dass ich jetzt noch jemanden kennenlerne und mich gut verstehe, obwohl derjenige nicht vegan ist und oder nicht glaubt, dass das sinnvoll wäre, vegan zu sein, ist super unwahrscheinlich. Die meisten Leute lerne ich jetzt aktuell viel auf vegetarisch-veganen Messen kennen oder auf Nachhaltigkeits-Messen oder (.) auf veganen Stammtischen oder Polyamorie-Stammtischen, da ergibt sich super selten, dass jemand (.) mehrere Lebensentscheidungen, die er bewusst treffen müsste, anders entscheidet als ich"

[229] "Nicht, dass es so ist, dass meine neuen Freunde jetzt alle Veganer sein müssen oder wenn ich neue Menschen kennenlerne, aber dass ich lieber versuche mir aus den Veganern quasi Freunde zu suchen [schmunzelt] - kann man das so sagen? Oder Menschen, mit denen ich Kontakt haben möchte - ja, klar! Weil das halt schon im Leben ein wichtiger Punkt ist und ein großes gemeinsames Interesse oder Ziel, was man hat"

[230] "Mittlerweile bin ich an dem Punkt wo ich sage: Ich könnte keinen Freund mehr haben, der nicht mindestens, naja mindestens Vegetarier ist"

(Elena, vegan, female, 24, low EC, vocational training)

> *"I was looking for new friends. Well, the people that I knew - I was part of a cyclists' association, and they also drank too much, I didn't like that either and I don't go there anymore. And (.) after several years I started looking for new friends - I am still part of that association but I also joined a group of vegans on Facebook about six months ago (...) and I became friends with these people, that's how it is, and I met new friends there"*[231]

(Emil, vegan, male, 59, intermediate to high EC?, high CC)

Many vegetarians and vegans are also aware of, and disavow the idea that they may follow a meat-free or a meat-reduced diet solely for the social recognition it grants them in their social networks or in the society as a whole; emphasizing the inherent value and 'goodness' of their diet. They value their diet for its own sake - as internal as opposed to external good (Sayer 2005). They claim that, in an ideal world, everybody switched to a vegetarian or vegan diet, and that they would still maintain their diet no matter what happened. Some were actively engaged in vegetarian social movements and in political activism to fight for their cause. Many vegetarians and vegans repeatedly emphasize that they are motivated by genuine and veracious convictions as opposed to desires for status and blatancy, or to 'fit in' with a specific lifestyle group, since they often feel accused of doing just that by other vegetarians and by non-vegetarians.

Likewise, many flexitarian respondents are genuinely convinced that their diet is the right way to go, and conceive of their diet as internal good. However, many of them also enjoy showcasing their culinary knowledge to others, and describe how it imparts social approval or admiration. Especially flexitarian respondents that could be classified as 'foodies' seek approval and recognition for their culinary knowledge, and speak about their diets with considerable pride and confidence throughout the interview. In contrast to vegetarian respondents, they do not hesitate or doubt their dietary choices in any social setting, neither do they seek to rebut claims that they may engage in status-seeking or identity-signaling behavior – because they do not feel accused of doing so. Most flexitarian respondents do not see their diet as important part of their identity and do not adjust their social networks along dietary patterns to the same extent as vegetarians and vegans do.

Non-vegetarian respondents who do not display high levels of culinary knowledge, and do not pride themselves on their diets tend to express negative emotions of guilt and shame, or of anger and frustration. They are often aware that they are judged by others for eating in the 'wrong' way - for example for consuming too much or cheap and processed meat. This often coincides with expressed feelings of shame and regret for eating fast and convenience foods, or for eating an 'unhealthy' diet in general.

> *"I: Did you take your sons to McDonald's or to Burger King often?" - "R: I have to admit that I took them to McDonald's too often, yes." - "I: What do you mean by 'too often'?" - "R: Every other Sunday at times. And that's - these are the mistakes you make." - "I:*

[231] "Ich habe mir einen neuen Freundeskreis gesucht. Also ich hab also die Kontakte - ich war vorher in nem Fahrradverein sehr aktiv, die auch zu viel Alkohol getrunken haben, das hat mir auch nicht gefallen und da geh ich jetzt nicht mehr hin - und (.) ich hab mir jetzt nach Jahren angefangen, nen neuen Freundeskreis - also ich bin im Fahrradverein zwar noch aktiv, aber ich bin in ner veganen Facebook-Gruppe aktiv geworden vor nem halben Jahr (...) - ja, und dann hab ich mich mit den Leuten angefreundet, muss man wirklich sagen und (.) ich hab da jetzt da (.) Neue kennengelernt"

But you thought it was ok back then, and many people think it's ok and do that. So why do you think it was a mistake?" - "R: It's a mistake because the food is unhealthy for sure. At least that's what I think. And if you read about (.) how they produce restructured meat"[232]

"R: Some of them are - they pay a lot of attention to their body weight, this is what I notice, yeah." - "I:And who does that?" - "R: These are former colleagues or - well, people that I don't know that well and they post before and after pictures." - "I: And you feel bad about that? Or do you laugh about that?" - "R: I can laugh that away. Well, I know that I need to refine myself, but apart from that..."[233]

(Tim, meat-eater, male, 46, low to intermediate EC, intermediate CC)

"It's important that children eat veggies and fruits and that they learn how to cook for themselves very early on and (.) that they learn what a healthy diet is. And preferably two or three types of veggies per each day, a lot of diversity (.) I think that's important, veggies and fruits, not things like that [points at her energy drink] - I don't like that at all, I think that should be an exception...Well, I am quite a hypocrite now because I drink these a lot at the moment but -"[234]

(Ella, meat-eater, female, 19, low EC, intermediate CC)

"It has happened before that I bought meat there to prepare pulled pork, you know? And to be honest, I did not really think about where the meat came from, I honestly have to admit that. I think I cared more about the price, you know?[235]

(Luise, meat-eater, female, 43, low EC, intermediate CC)

"I: Do you think it's more expensive?" - "R: Yes, yes. Well, I - I would like to eat salad every day but unfortunately I don't know how that works[laughs], that's the problem." - "I: What do you mean?" - "R: Well, how to prepare that, you know?" - "I: So you lack the know-how?" - "R: Hmm-hmm, that's it. Because I actually really like salad"[236]

[232]"I: Waren Sie denn früher oft bei McDonald's oder Burger King mit den Söhnen?" - "B: Ich war teilweise muss ich gestehen (.) früher teilweise mit den Kindern zu oft bei McDonald's, ja." - "I: Was heißt zu oft?" - "B: Na teilweise jeden zweiten Sonntag. Und das ist (.) - ja, Fehler, die man macht." - "I: Aber damals haben Sie das ja für richtig gehalten und es gibt ja auch jetzt noch viele Leute, die das machen. Also warum ist das ein Fehler ihrer Meinung nach?" - "B: Fehler in der Hinsicht, weil's natürlich ungesunde Ernährung ist bei McDonald's. Find ich zumindest. Ja, und wenn man liest, wie dann entsprechend dort (.) (?) Formfleisch hergestellt wird"

[233]"B: Die sind teilweise - ja, doch, also die dann entsprechend auch darauf achten, dass - naja, dass sie ihr Gewicht reduzieren und sowas hab ich dann vemerht, ja." - "I: Und wer ist das so?B: Sind dann teilweise ehemalige Arbeitskollegen oder, ja, kenn ich nicht so, dann natürlich auch posten diese Vorher- und Nachherbilder dann." - "I: Wo man sich dann immer schlecht fühlt. Oder können Sie darüber lachen?" - "B: Kann ich eigentlich mit nem lachenden Auge drüber gehen. Also ich weiß (.), ja, ich muss an mir arbeiten, davon abgesehen, aber..."

[234]Hauptsache Gemüse und Obst und auch, dass die Kinder selber lernen zu kochen und dass sich auch schon von so klein her, dass die mithelfen mit Kochen und (.) dass sie sich - dass sie wirklich lernen, was gesunde Ernährung ist. Und am liebsten zwei, drei Sorten Gemüse am Tag auch, viel Abwechslung (.), ja also das ist mir wichtig, das Obst und Gemüse und kein so wie das [zeigt auf Energy Drink) - das mag ich überhaupt nicht, dass man - ich finde, das sollte eigentlich eine Ausnahme sein - ja, ich bin jetzt ziemlich Hypokrit, weil ich das jetzt ständig, aber (.)

[235]Da hab' ich auch schon mal zum Beispiel so Nackenfleisch gekauft für dieses Pulled Pork halt. Da hab' ich mir aber ehrlich gesagt wenig Gedanken gemacht, woher's jetzt wirklich kommt, das muss ich ehrlich gesagt gestehen. Also ich glaub' da war der Preis entscheidend, ne?

[236]"I: Denkst du, dass das teurer ist?" - "B: Ja, ja. Also ich, ich würde auch gerne jeden Tag Salat essen, aber ich weiß leider nicht, wie das geht (lacht), das ist das Problem." - "I: Wie meinst du das?" - "B: Na wie man das zubereitet und so." - "I: Da fehlt dir also das Know-How?" - "B: Ja, genau. Weil Salat ess ich eigentlich super gerne"

(Levi, meat-eater, male, 25, low EC, low to intermediate CC)

> *"Our regular rhythm is alright - breakfast, lunch, a cup of coffee, that's alright - and some bread and butter in the evening is not a problem either. I need to control myself when - we are often invited for dinner - there's always something going on, we invite others and (.) in the evening, when we're at home: 'Oh, that's tasty, I'm gonna have some of that' - that's the problem. Everyday life is not a problem. And I guess we should eat more fruit - I eat an apple and a banana, these are usually the fruits we have - we could definitely live differently, that's for sure."*[237]

(Anita, meat-eater, female, 70s, intermediate EC?, low to intermediate CC)

Some interviewees deal with negative judgments by others by drawing moral boundaries against those who issue these judgments. That is, they question the legitimacy of the judges, and strip them off the right to decide what 'right' and 'wrong' or 'good' and 'bad' consumption practices entail. This is done by accusing them of being judgmental, moralizing, or proselytizing. Moral boundaries are drawn against those who are perceived as positioning themselves as morally superior. Non-vegetarians, but also many vegetarians, thus reject 'virtuecrats', and distance themselves from taking a moralizing position themselves:

> *"R: They (vegans) always used to be by themselves, and they used to be a little elitist, and I didn't like that because -" - "Did you think they were intolerant?" - "R: Yes, definitely. Very much intolerant. (...) But I kept on eating meat and at some point - I used to be one of those idiots who gave them (vegans) a lot of shit - sometimes it wasn't nice, I do admit that; I used to be anti-vegan back then because I didn't get it, and everybody needs to take their time"* [238]

(Jonas, vegan, male, 39, intermediate EC, intermediate CC)

> *"A friend of mine at some point got back to me and told me that she actually feels really bothered by these virtuecrats who always tell you 'I am better than you are because I don't eat meat' and she said that she probably wouldn't have eaten the dessert if someone had told her that it's vegan"*[239]

(Lena, meat-eater, female, 27, intermediate EC, high CC, student)

[237] "Nein, also der normale Rhythmus ist in Ordnung - morgens, mittags und ne Tasse Kaffee ist alles in Ordnung - ein Butterbrot abends ist auch kein Problem. Ich muss mich beherrschen mit - wir sind oft eingeladen - es ist eigentlich immer was, wir laden ein, dann (.) dann abends, wenn wir dann mal zuhause sitzen: "Ach ja, lecker, ne, ich hab noch was", das ist das Problem. Das ganz normale Leben ist kein Problem. Dann müsste man noch vielleicht mehr Obst essen - ich esse nen Apfel und ne Banane, das ist so das typische Obst, was wir haben - wir könnten noch anders leben, das ist schon mal sicher"

[238] "Die Edger waren immer so ein bisschen für sich, und immer mal so ein bisschen, so elitär und das mocht ich nicht, weil-" - "I: Hast du die so ein bisschen als intolerant wahrgenommen oder sowas?" - "B: Ja, genau. Sehr intolerant. (. . .) Trotzdem hab ich weiter Fleisch gegessen, aber irgendwann - ich war auch einer von den Pennern, die auch dann die (...) mit so verarscht haben und - war nicht nett teilweise, geb ich sogar zu, war halt auch so die Zeit wo ich dann eben zum Anti-Veganer, weil ich's nicht verstanden habe, man brauch auch seine Zeit"

[239] "Dann hab ich irgendwann von einer Freundin von mir so die Rückmeldung bekommen, die meinte, dass sie das ja eigentlich super nervt, diese Moralapostel, die immer einem erzählen: "Ich bin besser als du, weil ich vegan esse" und meinte, dass sie das aber wahrscheinlich deswegen eigentlich nicht gegessen hätte, wenn jemand ihr gesagt hätte: Das ist ein veganes Gericht.

"If you walk around as if you were a prophet and try to proselytize others, then it gets ugly"[240]

(Marco, meat-eater, male, 60s, intermediate to high EC, high CC, self-employed)

"For me it wasn't like 'Oh I am amazing, I am a vegetarian and I want to change the world' - it was more like, well, it was a little stressful at first because I felt like I was annoying, different"[241]

(Annika, vegan, female, 27, low to intermediate EC, high CC, student)

"R: And then I saw that they were buying another round and I said 'No, you're not getting any more schnapps'." - "I: So you wanted to be responsible?" - "R: I always thought that that's important. Well, not because I wanted to carry a halo or something but I thought it was foolish that they had more schnapps"[242]

(Renate, meat-eater, female, 50s, intermediate to high EC, intermediate CC)

"We didn't fight, but it was kind of a big deal. And I always thought it doesn't have to be a big deal because - or let's say I was never the person (.) who was super dogmatic or who wanted to convince others that they should eat vegan or whatnot."[243]

(Amelie, vegetarian, female, 20s, intermediate EC, high CC, self-employed)

5.3.5 Interim conclusion

In the previous sections, I discussed the different processes of valuation and judgment that unfold in the interviews with vegetarians and with non-vegetarians, described how vegetarian and non-vegetarian eaters make sense of and portray differences in food and meat consumption patterns, how these understandings frequently entail normative judgments in addition to merely descriptive observations, and which consequences these judgments may have.

All respondents - non-vegetarians and vegetarians, those high in capital and low in capital – engaged in boundary work at some point. Some were more reluctant to do so while some were very blunt, but there is no clear link between capital endowments and the mere incidence of boundary-drawing. However, different types of boundaries were evoked. On the one hand, these were social boundaries, describing perceived age, gender and, more rarely, social class differences between vegetarians and non-vegetarians.

[240] "Wenn man dann noch wie so'n Prophet in der Gegend rumläuft und versuch die Anderen dann zu überzeugen, dann wird's unschön"

[241] "Das war bei mir aber nicht so dieses motivierte "Ohja ich bin ganz toll, ich bin Vegetarier und ich will die Welt verändern", sondern es war eher so ein, also es war eh erstmal ein bisschen anstrengend, weil ich das Gefühl hatte, nervig, anders zu sein"

[242] "Und da sah ich: Komm, Leute, ich geb' jetzt eine Runde! Ich sag': "Ne, lass den Schnaps weg." - "I: Okay, haben Sie versucht da auch n bisschen verantwortungsvoll dann da - ?" - "B: Ja, also fand ich immer wichtig. Also jetzt nicht, weil ich n Heiligenschein haben will oder was, aber ich fand das dann blöd, dass die sich den Schnaps dann -"

[243] Gestritten nicht, aber es war schon ein großes Thema, wo ich immer dachte, es muss eigentlich nicht so ein großes Thema sein, weil - oder ich war auch nie diejenige, die irgendwie da (.) total (.) dogmatisch war oder andere davon überzeugen wollte, jetzt esst doch mal vegan oder so"

While they were not explicitly asked to do so, all respondents also drew moral boundaries at some point during the interviews, thereby distancing themselves from other consumers' consumption practices. That is, moral boundaries regularly traverse cultural boundaries when people talk about meat consumption, indicating that the topic moved beyond the private sphere of consumption, and entered dominant discourses about the public good, about public welfare, and about how things ought to be and people ought to behave as consumers.

Vegetarians and vegans are perceived as a group with certain 'typical' sociodemographic characteristics by vegetarians and non-vegetarians alike. Mainly non-vegetarian respondents criticize them for being too radical and too strict while they are generally appreciative of vegetarian motifs and of meat-reduced diets. Non-vegetarian as well as vegetarian respondents scoff at 'lifestlye' vegetarians and accuse them of pursuing their diet simply to brag and to present themselves as morally superior. Accordingly, many vegetarian respondents explicitly distance themselves from this attitude and emphasize their sincerity and the internal value or use value of their diets. In general, most vegetarian and non-vegetarian respondents express negative judgments towards people who infantilize other consumers and attempt to lecture them. Therefore, non-vegetarians tend to reject strict meat-free diets; and vegetarians tend to reject other vegetarians who are too judgmental.

Interestingly, flexitarian diets are appreciated by the majority of vegetarian and non-vegetarian consumers. Flexitarian diets do not invite criticism for being too radical, and flexitarian consumers are thus rarely perceived as too judgmental or proselytizing. However, many flexitarian consumers engaged in moral boundary work towards vegetarians, and even more so towards heavy meat-consumers while also rejecting 'virtuecrats'.

Respondents collectively shared certain templates for which food consumption practices count as 'bad'. Bearers of these practices were often stigmatized, especially when the potential benefits of these practices or the barriers of abandoning them were not recognized. Vegetarians indicated that excessive meat-eating, or meat-eating in general, may at some point also be collectively stigmatized, resembling the stigma that is now attached to fast foods, obesity, smoking or binge-drinking. While many vegetarians and vegans draw strong moral boundaries against meat-heavy diets and heavy meat-eaters, some of them also show empathy and understanding, and do explicitly refrain from proselytizing. In general, respondents who recognized the costs of dietary changes and of certain consumption practices were more likely to draw moral boundaries against 'bad' food consumption practices instead of against 'bad' consumers. On the other hand, respondents who misrecognized or explicitly rejected the costs of dietary changes mainly drew moral boundaries against consumers as bearers of 'bad' food practices and were most likely to express essentializing statements.

All consumers were aware that some of their dietary practices were denounced by other consumers. High-capital consumers were rarely aroused by that fact, and expressed confidence or even pride about their own food consumption practices. Other consumers, mostly with less capital, felt insecure about their own food consumption practices. Meat-eating respondents who were aware of the negative judgments that are attached to excessive and cheap meat consumption expressed feelings of shame or guilt for not living up to others' or to their own standards. Vegetarians and vegans were in between these two poles. They were often very confident about their diet and convinced that this was the 'right thing to do'. They mainly expressed confidence and pride but also unease and discomfort resulting

from social conflict and stereotyping. However, they do not express shame or guilt for their dietary practices – only for making non-vegetarian or non-vegan choices. They tended to deal with negative feelings accruing from social conflict by modifying their social networks to increase engagement with like-minded eaters.

Negative feelings of being judged or lectured by others who position themselves as 'better' eaters were also met with resistance and by rejecting 'better' eating practices. Some respondents describe how they actively distance themselves from proselytizers, or from the practices they demand, regardless whether these practices have inherent value or not. Others justified their own consumption practices by highlighting different needs and priorities. Still others were critical of those who issue these negative judgments towards meat consumption and sometimes reacted by exaggerating their own preferences for meat.

Overall, there were many tensions and contradictions in all interviews, revealing the complex, sensitive, and morally charged nature of the topic of meat consumption.

5.4 Diets, capital endowments and boundary work: How material and symbolic realities interact

Cultural processes in the form of boundary work do neither create resource inequalities nor socially stratified consumption patterns in the first place. On the one hand, socially stratified consumption practices may exist, but they may be interpreted as mere expressions of individual lifestyle preferences, with neither preference being inferior or superior. Many consumption practices do, in fact, not engage vertical status hierarchies but are differentiated along impartial, horizontal classification systems. Cultural and social boundaries are then drawn void of moral boundaries. This may, of course, still reproduce socially stratified consumption practices as people in different positions in the social space acquire preferences and abilities through processes of socialization, learning what is 'for them', and what is 'not for them'. To speak with Bourdieu, when unequal distributions of capital map onto differences in lifestyles, the latter may be (mis)recognized as individual differences in taste or in preferences, thereby concealing the resource frameworks on which these lifestyle differences are premised, and endlessly reproducing the homology between the social space and the space of lifestyles.

On the other hand, consumption practices may also be evaluated and ranked along vertical status hierarchies if they were completely individualized and did not hinge on group affiliations or resource endowments. Cultural boundaries are then drawn alongside moral boundaries but void of social boundaries. To use Ridgeway's terminology: Specific status hierarchies can exist independent of diffuse, class-based status hierarchies. People may then still be judged by others for their 'bad' consumption practices, but these do not map onto consumers' position in the social space. However, under certain conditions, boundary work can reproduce and compound dietary inequalities. This happens when three conditions are given: (1) Consumption patterns are socially stratified: Initial differences in dietary practices do exist along social class divisions, no matter if these are small or large. (2) Consumption practices become subjected to moral boundary work: Different dietary practices are evaluated as inferior or as superior, with some practices being 'better' or more desirable than others. (3) Misrecognition of differences and stigmatization of consumers: The reasons for initial differences in consumption practices are obfuscated and misrecognized as individual differences; thereby evoking

essentializing arguments. As a result, negative judgments do not only target consumption practices per se but also target consumers as bearers of these practices, independent of the circumstances these consumers find themselves in. Consumers may then feel judged, lectured or proselytized, and in turn denounce the 'judges' as well as the judges' consumption practices, thereby solidifying and potentially increasing the initial differences in consumption practices.

In the case of meat consumption, all three conditions are complied. In chapter 4, I show that meat consumption patterns are socially stratified, and in chapter 5.2, I present some of the mechanisms as to why this might be the case. The previous sections show that the topic of meat consumption engenders moral boundary work by meat-eaters, meat-reducers and meat-abstainers alike. The topic of meat consumption is highly morally charged and urges consumers to justify their own consumption practices vis-á-vis other consumers and vis-á-vis other consumption practices. It is rarely acknowledged that dietary changes towards meat-reduced diets entail certain monetary and non-monetary costs. This is evident from the interviews (section 5.3.3), but also from the popular studies on sustainable consumption referred to in section 2.3. Socially stratified consumption patterns may then be aggravated, and meat consumption patterns may become even more polarized as a result of moral boundary work.

Dietary inequalities may also be reinforced as a result of homophily and social influence. DiMaggio & Garip (2012) suggest that this can happen when the following three conditions are given: First, "the probability of adopting a beneficial practice should be a positive function of the financial or cultural resources at a person's command" (ibid.: 97); second, "actors' social networks must consist of persons similar to themselves with respect to characteristics that predict adoption of the new practice" (ibid.: 98); and third, the "adoption of beneficial practices must be positively associated with prior adoption by one's network peers" (ibid.: 98). Moral boundary work can result in homophily to prevent social conflict and avoid negative judgments, or to counteract stigma and diminished status in unfavorable social groups.

Vegetarians and vegans show choice homophily along dietary patterns as a result of social conflict and norm-defying behavior. Homophily among vegetarians and vegans creates networks of like-minded eaters who share resources and knowledge, making it easier to maintain their diets as well as facilitating the adoption of meat-free diets for other peers with some ties to the network. These status communities may even create new social eating norms that exert pressure onto those that are otherwise linked to the community.

Homophily can, maybe in a less extreme, less visible or less institutionalized form, also be found among flexitarian respondents or among 'foodies' who join food-related online groups, take cooking classes or seminars together, and share culinary knowledge with their friends. These new social networks then provide access to information and resources for consumers, further facilitating the maintenance of dietary changes and rendering them more common and normative in certain social groups. DellaPosta et al. (2015) argue that "a small but consistent elective affinity between a sociodemographic trait and an opinion - in the presence of homophily and influence - is sufficient to generate far greater issue alignment than if individuals arrived at their views independently of others" (ibid.: 1495-1497). Homophily and social influence thus reinforce dietary inequalities along socioeconomic divisions because those that already find it easier to change their diets will further facilitate these changes for their peers (DiMaggio & Garip 2012). This effect will be stronger the more socially consolidated a

society is, i.e. the more people's positions in different fields are correlated with each other (Centola 2015). The overlap of differences in capital endowments and in dietary patterns, i.e. the overlap of specific and diffuse status hierarchies also produces 'double standards' (cf. Sayer 2005, Ridgeway & Nakagawa 2014, Finn 2017). That is, "the same behavior is judged more favorably when it involves the rich than when it involves the poor" (Sayer 2005: 205), or "the moral valence of a cultural sign shifts with the class status of the person" (Finn 2017: 212). These 'double standards' make it easier or more 'beneficial' for some groups of consumers to implement dietary changes or to adopt meat-free diets in particular, and erect barriers for others.

If moral boundary work adds to the persistence of dietary inequalities across social groups, can these dietary inequalities in turn also compound or even create social inequalities? That is, can different consumption patterns also become "an independent dimension of inequality with its own sustaining social dynamic" (Ridgeway & Nakagawa 2014a: 4)?

It has been shown that gatekeepers select applicants who share their culture – their tastes, leisure activities, experiences, self-presentation styles, and senses of self (Bourdieu 1984, Rivera 2012, Koppman 2016). Thus, when people who share a class share a great deal of culture, including consumption patterns, gatekeepers tend to reward individuals who share their social class (Rivera 2012, Koppman 2016), and cultural capital can become a precondition for entry into new networks (Vassenden & Jonvik 2019). Choice homophily among vegetarians, vegans, or 'foodies' creates new networks and social capital which consumers may benefit from (e.g. vegans circulate potential job and learning opportunities through vegan online forums and groups). In addition, to the extent that different diets map onto socioeconomic divisions and therefore provide implicit clues about a person's social background, status biases may be introduced, and specific status hierarchies may reinforce diffuse status hierarchies (Ridgeway 2014). Consumption practices may be perceived as indicators of capital endowments, and result in differential treatment. Double standards may emerge, and consumption practices are judged more or less favorably depending on who enacts them (Sayer 2005, Ridgeway & Nakagawa 2014, Finn 2017). In addition, a lack of food knowledge may lead to exclusion from privileged circles as it is one means of how people relate to each other (Johnston & Baumann 2014). Most vegetarian and flexitarian respondents, and 'foodies' in particular, display a discerning attitude towards new food items and practices and appreciate a wide range of food items. New forms of cultural capital may thus indeed denote "a knowing, reflexive and somewhat playful mode of consumption (Jarness 2017: 359-360), or the 'reflexive appropriation' of new cultural practices (Bennett et al. 2009). These different modes of the appropriation of culture may be bolstered by differential uses of new information and communication technologies. Digital literacy seems to be an important precondition for or an asset to the adoption of dietary changes, pointing to only one of the many ways in which the 'digital divide' reifies (cf. Zillien & Hargittai 2009, Hargittai 2010, Prieur & Savage 2013, Van Deursen & Van Dijk 2014, Lindblom & Räsänen 2017).

On the other hand, it is also conceivable that different dietary patterns can decrease distributional inequalities. Consumption practices or objects that have acquired high symbolic value can confer their status to members of groups that are low in the diffuse status hierarchy. That is, specific status hierarchies can straddle diffuse status hierarchies, thereby counteracting inequalities and reducing status differences (Lamont & Molnár 2002, DiMaggio & Garip 2012). Someone who grew up poor and

was taught how to grow and preserve different veggies may not be a 'foodie' but has some valuable knowledge to share when meeting one. A vegan job applicant with a bad degree may bond with a potential employer who also happens to be vegan based on lifestyle preferences and still get the job for that reason.

The interplay between capital endowments, diffuse status and specific status based on consumption practices is a vital area for further research, and an important objective to understand not only socially stratified diets but potential mechanisms behind the reproduction of social inequalities more generally.

6 Summary and contributions

What can be learned from the empirical study of meat consumption in Germany? What are its empirical, theoretical, and social implications? In this chapter, I summarize the main findings of my work and contextualize them in light of previous empirical work. After that, I abstract from the particular topic of meat consumption to derive broader conclusions, and to sketch out the theoretical contributions of my work.

Methodologically, I applied an approach that seeks to compensate for the weaknesses of one type of data by using another type of data. This complementary mixed-methods design paints a comprehensive picture of the link between meat consumption and socioeconomic position. On the one hand, it provides results based on a nationally representative sample of survey respondents, transferable to a different sample drawn from the same population. On the other hand, it provides results based on a small sample, and linked to existing research findings. The latter results enable a better and more profound understanding of the former results, and should be tested and validated in further empirical research.

In the first empirical part, I provide quantitative evidence to support the hypothesized link between meat consumption patterns and socioeconomic position by analyzing data from two large-scale surveys conducted in Germany. The Income and Expenditure Survey (EVS) and the Socio-Economic Panel (SOEP) present different measures of meat consumption frequency and of vegetarianism, and offer a unique way of looking at the link between socioeconomic background and diet. Meat consumption patterns, vegetarianism and the possession of cultural and economic capital are fundamentally linked. Different types of capital exert different effects across the income distribution. That is, economic and cultural capital do not show the same effects across social groups, and they also interact with each other. Income most strongly affects the consumption patterns of those low in economic capital, and income effects usually diminish as economic capital increases. The level of economic capital does not make much of a difference for those with low levels of education either. What is more, meat-reduced diets, vegetarian diets and pescetarian diets are more common among students and among self-employed persons, even after controlling for income and education. That is, occupational categories have a unique impact on people's consumption patterns, and this impact is not a function of the links between occupation, income and education.

Economic capital does not necessarily influence the amount of meat that is consumed but the type and the quality of meat. Analyzing the price of meat as indicator of its quality seems conducive. Furthermore, it is crucial to differentiate between different types of meat, as well as between different measures of vegetarianism. The results reported here show that these nuances can be revealing: For example, economic capital is positively correlated with beef consumption but negatively with pork and poultry consumption. Pooled data conceals these nuances. The findings support the call for a detailed break down of food consumption patterns, and for a multidimensional conceptualization of socioeconomic position when analyzing consumption and lifestyle patterns more generally.

Interestingly, self-reported measures of vegetarianism or veganism do not neatly align with reported meat consumption frequencies. Potential reasons for this are divergent definitions of vegetarian diets but also differences in the meaning and symbolic value attached to the label 'vegetarianism'.

Another crucial insight is that gender, age, and household type are important influencing factors, and they interact with capital endowments in various ways. For example, consumers in single house-

holds are much more likely to follow a vegetarian diet than consumers in any other type of household. Children also influence domestic consumption patterns, and moderate the influence of economic capital. Gender differences in meat consumption patterns are particularly evident in the data. Especially the interplay between gender and socioeconomic position offers promising avenues for further empirical research.

In the second empirical part of this thesis, I show that vegetarians, meat-reducers and non-vegetarians, and respondents in different social positions do not differ substantially when asked about their food ideals. All of them discuss a variety of popular food ideals, but attach different priority to them. The food ideals that are frequently linked to vegetarian or meat-reduced diets are, at least discursively, valued by a large majority of consumers. All respondents share the capacity for reflexivity, recognize and come to terms with elements of the dominant food discourse. However, nearly all of them also acknowledge discrepancies between abstract food ideals and their own food consumption practices. They are not equally capable of adapting their consumption practices.

That is, differences in consumption patterns do not originate from differences in food ideals, but from different capacities for implementing dietary changes, and these capacities are significantly shaped by the material and non-material resources consumers have access to. I sketch out the following mechanisms that link cultural or economic capital and dietary practices:

1) Reducing consumption does not require economic capital per se, but voluntary meat reduction is significantly linked to financial resources.

2) Institutionalized cultural capital in the form of university education is conducive to meat reduction as it fosters scientism and the ability to quickly gather and exploit new sources of information.

3) People with higher amounts of cultural and/or economic capital are more likely to value self-improvement and 'standing out' which encourages dietary changes and also aids in dealing with social conflict arising from such changes.

4) Culinary adventurousness is an important precondition for dietary changes, and cultural and economic capital foster culinary adventurousness in various ways.

5) Familiar foods are an important compensatory tool that can offset negative emotions arising from a lack of economic capital, from stressful schedules, or from social conflict.

6) The type of households people inhabit can significantly weaken or strengthen the aforementioned mechanisms, thereby mediating their effects.

These mechanisms are neither exhaustive nor mutually exclusive, and none of them solely applies to changes in meat consumption. They are relevant for explaining dietary changes in general, and these dietary changes may take different shapes. However, dietary changes provide the necessary conditions to meat-reduced diets in cultural contexts with meat-based culinary traditions. Dietary change does not always result in meat-reduced diets, but meat-reduced diets require dietary changes for most consumers. When consumers lack the necessary resources to successfully implement and maintain dietary changes, they will likely not pursue meat-reduced or meat-free diets. What renders dietary transitions towards meat-reduced, and especially towards meat-free diets distinct from other dietary

transitions is their strong moral charge. In the third empirical part, I show that all respondents - non-vegetarians and vegetarians, those high in capital and low in capital – categorize, evaluate and judge others' food and meat consumption practices. In addition to value-neutral perceptions of differences, consumers also evoke hierarchies of worth between different food and meat consumption practices. By way of this boundary work, (cultural) practices are imbued with value and can form specific status hierarchies. Flexitarian diets are appreciated by the majority of vegetarian and non-vegetarian consumers. Vegetarian diets and vegetarians are often perceived as too radical or too strict by many non-vegetarian respondents. Non-vegetarian respondents high in capital associate meat-free diets with unnecessary sacrifices of pleasure and taste, and non-vegetarian respondents lower in capital express negative feelings towards vegetarians for being proselytizing and judgmental of others. In general, consumers who were perceived as being highly judgmental towards others, or who presented their consumption practices as more 'moral' and themselves as 'better' persons were met with ridicule, skepticism, scorn or straight out hostility and rejection.

Vegetarians and non-vegetarians alike denounce excessive meat consumption and many other 'poor' dietary practices like eating unhealthy foods, ready-made foods or junk foods. However, respondents largely differ in their accounts of blame for 'poor' dietary choices. Some respondents did not acknowledge the potential costs of changes in diets, and attributed blame to individual consumers. Others acknowledged financial, informational, time or other constraints that may hamper dietary changes. Respondents also frequently oscillate between both narratives. This boundary work has intended and unintended consequences: All consumers were aware that some of their dietary practices were denounced by other consumers. High-capital consumers were rarely aroused by that fact, and expressed confidence or even pride about their own food consumption practices. Other consumers, mostly with less capital, felt insecure about their own food consumption practices. Vegetarian respondents were somewhere in between these two poles, mainly expressing confidence and pride but also unease and discomfort resulting from social conflict and stereotyping. Vegetarians and vegans tended to deal with negative feelings accruing from social conflict by modifying their social networks to increase engagement with like-minded eaters. Negative feelings of being judged or lectured by others who position themselves as 'better' eaters also engendered resistance and a rejection of 'better' eating practices. Some respondents actively distance themselves from proselytizers, or from the practices they demand, regardless of the inherent value or quality of these practices.

In the last chapter, I alluded to the interplay between the second and third part, i.e. the ways in which boundary work may reproduce and compound dietary inequalities when initial differences in consumption practices between different socioeconomic groups exist.

Several empirical and theoretical conclusions can be inferred from these results. The fine-grained quantitative results provide a nuanced account of differences in meat consumption patterns, and add to the empirical study of vegetarianism and to food scholarship, epidemiology, and public health research more generally. They can help research in these fields identify potential risk groups, and they highlight the necessity for analyses of sub-populations and encourage the deployment of strategies aimed at understanding the rationales for different consumption patterns. Any prospective study on the empirical topic of meat-reduced diets should distinguish between meat-reduced diets that are

imposed by financial scarcity, sometimes called 'economic vegetarianism', and voluntary meat-reduced diets. The underlying rationales are largely different, and necessitate a more in-depth analysis of consumers' motivations.

Besides that, voluntary meat-free and voluntary meat-reduced diets, or 'vegetarianism' and 'flexitarianism', should be differentiated in future research. Vegetarians and flexitarians are highly educated on average, but flexitarians are generally wealthier than vegetarians. That is, while cultural capital increases the likelihood of reduced meat intake and meat abstention alike, economic capital shifts the odds and mostly results in reduced meat intake. Economic capital bestows the ability to buy more expensive meat that is in line with consumers' intentions, e.g. organic or free-range meat. Vegetarians and flexitarians also assign different purposes to their diets, and may have different motivations. This conclusion supports previous research that calls for conceptual distinctions (e.g. de Bakker & Dagevos 2012, De Backer & Hudders 2014, Rothgerber 2015, Rosenfeld & Burrow 2017, Pfeiler & Egloff 2018). In short, vegetarian and flexitarian consumers do not only follow different diets, they may also have different motivations, draw different types of boundaries vis-á-vis other consumers and may react differently to dietary changes by others. Compared to the body of research that deals with vegetarian and vegan diets, little research has been conducted on meat-reduced diets, and as mentioned before, the results of this thesis imply that both diets are worth distinguishing in future research, regardless of the respective research objectives.

In addition to these specific take-aways, the results of this study do not only pertain to the study of meat consumption. The mechanisms and processes that are spelled out in the second and third empirical part of the thesis can be abstracted from and potentially applied to other cultural practices as well. A lot of research on the link between social structure and culture, or between consumers' socioeconomic background and their lifestyle practices focuses on the consumption of high-brow cultural items, on music consumption or on media consumption more generally, and very little research engages with the more mundane consumption practices of people's everyday lives. However, there are differences to how consumers dress, cook, eat, and to how they use their phones and tablets. It is important that we keep these more subtle differences in mind and subject them to thorough empirical research.

So what can be said about the link between social structure and culture in light of this study on meat consumption practices? The findings generally support the argument that meat consumption patterns are linked to consumers' socioeconomic position, which is one of the central ideas of cultural class analysis. At first sight, they lend support to Bourdieu's claim that a homology between the space of social positions and the space of lifestyles exists, and that people acquire consumption preferences as a function of their social class position, and of the preferences they encounter in their social contexts.

However, based on the results of this study, some important qualifications to the homology assumption have to be made. The first qualification concerns the strength of the association between cultural and economic capital on the one hand, and consumption practices on the other. How strongly are the two linked? Is there a specific threshold that would lead us to reject the homology thesis advanced by Bourdieu and his proponents? Meat consumption practices hinge on cultural capital much more strongly than on economic capital, and the consumption of some meat products are only barely linked to indicators of social class. Can one really speak of a strong and unambiguous link between social

class and lifestyle in this case? The second qualification concerns alternative explanations which may be equally, if not more important than social class position. All throughout this study, I mentioned gender, age and household type as important influences on meat consumption patterns. It would be negligent to simply assign subsidiary roles to them and to ignore the unique and substantial impact they exert. That a person's social class position may even be of less importance than a person's gender in shaping their meat consumption patterns could be interpreted as at least mitigating, if not straight out rejecting the homology argument (Chan & Goldthorpe 2007*b*). What can be said is that meat consumption patterns are not completely individualized. Vegetarians often lead a very flexible, individualized lifestyle that is characterized by geographic and job mobility; but this can be quite misleading: These lifestyles are also typical of a very specific social group, usually endowed with high cultural and intermediate to high economic capital. Vegetarian diets are embedded in processes of individualization only insofar as high individual mobility, financial autonomy, and the dissolution of family ties are strongly related to the adoption of a vegetarian diet. Since these markers of individualization are disproportionately present in certain occupational and age groups, the result is a social stratification of meat consumption patterns. Whether this trend has been increasing or decreasing in strength though cannot be answered here due to the cross-sectional nature of the data that was analyzed in this study. Analyzing changes over time is thus an important objective for future research on the topic of food and meat consumption.

Consumption preferences are not dictated by consumers' socioeconomic position, and an endless reproduction of socially stratified cultural preferences is by no means inevitable. All consumers reflect on their consumption practices, compare, evaluate, and justify their consumption practices vis-á-vis others. It is important to go beyond mapping of lifestyles onto social positions, and to analyze how consumers justify their own and others' consumption practices. Talking about cultural class analysis, another remark seems to be important. In the chapter on culinary adventurousness, I argue that knowledge of a variety of different food items, recipes and ingredients facilitates meat-reduced diets, and is even necessary for their successful implementation. This suggests than an omnivorous orientation towards food consumption is conducive to meat-reduced and to meat-free diets. While counterintuitive at first, there seems to be a strong connection between meat abstention and culinary breadth and variety more generally. While this assumption needs to be substantiated using large-scale data, it lends preliminary support to the omnivore thesis and to its validity not only with regard to musical tastes (Chan & Goldthorpe 2007*b*) or to the visual arts (Chan & Goldthorpe 2007*c*) but also with regards to dietary practices. Meat consumption practices are just one dimension of food consumption practices more generally, and one rather interesting task for future research is to identify if and how differences in meat consumption patterns are also related to differences in fruit and vegetable consumption, consumption of fast and junk foods, dairy consumption, preferences for dining out etc. The EVS dataset offers a plethora of further research opportunities in this regard.

Going beyond cultural class analysis, this thesis hints at the fruitfulness of combining insights from cultural sociology and from social psychology as suggested by several scholars from both disciplines (e.g. Stephens et al. 2007, DiMaggio & Markus 2010, Kraus et al. 2012, Collett & Lizardo 2014, McLeod et al. 2015, Lamont et al. 2017). Many of the mechanisms that underlie stratified consumption patterns

have important underpinnings in psychological research.

This study was informed by psychological work on reflexivity, agency and on emotional states which provides important theoretical concepts and empirical clues to make sense of the qualitative material. While they require different resources and attract different groups of consumers, vegetarianism and flexitarianism share their association with voluntary dietary change in a social environment in which the default is a heavy meat-diet. Food consumption is usually a highly routinized practice, and dietary change requires the disruption of routines and the adoption of new practices. Even if there were no additional monetary or informational costs associated with the adoption of alternative diets, dietary changes would still demand emotional and mental capacities as well as time and energy. The concept of self-efficacy is especially helpful for understanding different capacities for dietary change, including dietary transitions towards meat-reduced and meat-free diets, across socioeconomic groups. Economic and cultural resources help in achieving desired goals or in exercising agency in the face of reflexivity. Achieving desired goals bestows individuals with perceived behavioral control, self-confidence, and self-respect which "derives from a feeling that one is living a worthwhile life and a confidence in one's ability to do what one considers worthwhile" (Sayer 2005: 155). On the other hand, discrepancies between reflexivity and agency, or between preferences and the capacity to act according to these preferences evokes negative emotions like guilt or shame. Suffering from stigma may be alleviated by caring less about the opinions of those that stigmatize, of those that hold certain well-esteemed goods, or of these well-esteemed goods themselves. In order to avoid negative feelings of guilt or shame that can result from stigma, people may react by negatively judging the judges for being judgmental. They may also start devaluing a good or practice, even if it comes with inherently valuable qualities. That is, internal goods may be rejected as a result of being constantly reminded of their value in conjunction with their lack (Sayer 2005, Paddock 2016). That is not to say that all consumers were to follow meat-free diets if they had the means to do so. But it is to say that consumers do not want to cause harm to their health, the environment, or to farm animals, and that most of them value meat-reduced or flexitarian diets and would likely follow these diets given the necessary preconditions. That those high in capital tend to prioritize dispositional over contextual explanations (Kraus et al. 2011, 2012) also became evident in this study.

Especially in collaboration with 'cultural processes' (Lamont et al. 2014) or 'generic processes' (McLeod et al. 2015), a combination of concepts and insights from psychology and sociology seems conducive. Cultural processes of classifying, evaluating, and judging play a crucial part in explaining social group differences and stratified behavioral patterns and practices. They are also complicit in recreating socially stratified consumption patterns, and can even be a powerful independent force that impacts on consumption decisions. Meat consumption is a case in which moral evaluations of consumption practices and of consumers become increasingly relevant as an explanatory factor as the topic of meat consumption moves from the private into the public realm, adding to differences that are rooted in the unequal distribution of capitals. The fact that consumers judge other consumers for their diets makes meat consumption distinct from other consumption practices, and alters the ways in which socially stratified consumption patterns emerge, reproduce, amplify, or abate. These are interesting results at the intersection of psychological work on agency, behavioral change and decision-making and sociological work on status and social recognition. Cultural sociologists and

social class analysts may largely benefit from incorporating insights from social psychology into their work. Consulting social psychological work may help explain a variety of sociological outcomes, and link micro-, meso-, and macro-explanations. Likewise, "psychologists might productively rethink some of the field's foundational assumptions about choice" (Stephens et al. 2007: 827) which usually include "the idea that more choice is invariably beneficial, that the best choices are those made independently, and that choice matters mainly because it differentiates the self from others" (ibid.). Many studies in psychology recruit psychology undergraduates for their studies, which impedes a broader understanding of behavioral and attitudinal outcomes outside of these social contexts.

However, paying attention to the emotional states that result from diminished self-efficacy and from negative judgments and processes of stigmatization is important in its own right. The social and psychological consequences of stigmatization, or of a lack of recognition for that matter, can be detrimental; affecting self-esteem, behavioral control, and emotional well-being (Sayer 2005, Davidson et al. 2006, Kraus et al. 2009, Ridgeway & Nakagawa 2014, Lamont 2018, Butcher 2019). To put it bluntly, "people at the bottom of the social hierarchy have to bear the direct consequences of their poverty alongside living in a society which also makes them acutely aware of the goods and privileges they lack" (2180) (Davidson et al. 2006: 2180). It is particularly valuable to consider sociological and psychological work on reflexivity, agency, self-efficacy, and on affective states in tandem when analyzing individual-level changes and the ways in which these hinge on social and material contexts.

Accordingly, in this thesis, I identify mechanisms that are produced by the unequal distribution of resources (primarily economic and cultural capital) AND by social judgments of consumption choices that result in perceptions of superiority and inferiority. At first, unequal distributions of capital create differences in consumption patterns. In addition, consumption practices are subjected to moral evaluations, and the latter processes can exacerbate the effects of resource inequality. Moral boundary work and resource endowments then powerfully reproduce existing patterns of dietary stratification. Bourdieu's account of the homology between the social space and the space of lifestyles needs to be complemented by the judgments and evaluations that consumers issue which supports Warde's (2008) call that a social theory of taste should include three dimensions, "the distribution of tastes, the judgments people make on the basis of their tastes, and the justification of tastes" (ibid.: 332).

These findings are also in line with studies that show that popular ethical eating practices, and especially environmentally friendly and 'green' food practices, are imbued with symbolic value and can be an important facet for identity-building as well as a benchmark for group formation and moral boundary work (Horton 2003, Varul 2009, Johnston et al. 2011, Cronin et al. 2014, Grauel 2014, Johnston & Baumann 2014, Paddock 2015, 2016, Dubuisson-Quellier & Gojard 2016, Huddart Kennedy et al. 2018). Carfagna et al. (2014) argue that an "eco-habitus represents more than an affinity for the environment. It involves a reconfiguration of high-status tastes that is part of a re-articulation of the field of high-class consumption, fostered by a more general social valorization of environmental consciousness" (ibid.: 160). Vegetarian eating may thus be especially well-suited to showcase 'green' food consumption choices. Cronin et al. (2014), for example, interviewed several 'hipsters' from Brooklyn in New York, and argue that "the choice to avoid the meat products can be theorized as tied in with hipsters' underlying philosophy to stay ahead of the mainstream or as Beardsworth & Keil (1997)) suggest, a stance which accentuates and dramatizes the consumers' distinctiveness or "superiority in

a moral or intellectual sense, in relation to the rest of humankind" (ibid.: 21). Similarly, Fox & Ward (2008) conclude that some vegetarians use their diet as "a way to confirm personal commitments or the validity of a broader lifestyle orientation" (ibid.: 2590).

On the other hand, this study also shows that consumers may value and choose certain consumption practices because they think that these practices are inherently 'good', and not only because they are 'for them' and can help maintain positions of power in the social space through the exercise of 'symbolic violence' (Bourdieu). Especially vegetarians and vegans but also respondents on meat-reduced diets repeatedly emphasize that they ground their dietary choices in their internal value and not in their symbolic value. Vegetarians note that they would not change their diets if more people were to adopt these diets. People across social classes share certain food ideals, and ideas about what is wrong and what is right, and which goods contribute to their well-being (cf. Sayer 2005). Some diets may in fact be pursued for their own sake; and not as a means for distinction and recognition vis-á-vis others. That is, beyond their nutritional content, some diets may be followed because of their internal value, and consumers may not refrain from them just because they become more common (Paddock 2016). As Sayer (2005) puts it: "From a normative point of view the important question is not whether X is posh, common, masculine or feminine, but whether X is good regardless of such associations" (ibid.: 126). Arguably, it is often difficult to assess whether consumers engage in ethical consumption practices because they see them as internal goods or because they see them as external goods (Varul 2009). Johnston & Baumann (2014), for example, maintain that 'foodies' do not only value and follow certain food ideals for the sake of distinction but that "some foodies are fundamentally democratic and inclusive in their tastes and practices, and some foodies even think critically and reflexively about their participation in food culture, and how it relates to larger structures of class and material privilege" (ibid.: 53).

Interestingly, I find that mainly flexitarian respondents who show an 'aesthetic disposition' towards food and who could be aptly classified as 'foodies' (Johnston & Baumann 2014) pride themselves on their diet and enjoy showcasing their culinary knowledge to others while also distinguishing themselves from 'bad' eaters. These respondents are often endowed with both, relatively high levels of cultural and relatively high levels of economic capital, supporting Huddart Kennedy et al.'s (2018) conclusion that ethical consumption maps onto high socioeconomic positions when it is combined with an 'aesthetic disposition' towards food, as well as Johnston and Baumann's (2014) finding that "the dominant foodie discourse does not typically promote wholesale vegetarianism, and instead works to re-define meat-eating as ethical" (ibid.: 137). That is, consumers with high cultural and economic capital make ethical food consumption choices only if they do not have to sacrifice pleasure and deliciousness. At the same time, these choices are usually rather costly, thereby excluding many consumers from accessing them. These findings are also in line with with Atkinson and Deeming's (2015) finding that those high in economic capital put greater emphasis than others on presentation and on the aesthetic dimension of food.

Vegetarians' and vegans' strict moral stance, which they frequently expressed, may compensate for their relative lack of economic capital, as moral worth can be an important marker of worth for those with little economic capital (Huddart Kennedy et al. 2018). In situations of social conflict, moral boundaries are important tools for those in minority positions but with a lot of cultural capital (Hornsey

et al. 2003). Accordingly, vegetarian and vegan respondents were more explicit about expressing their moral stance while flexitarian consumers were less open about moral judgments, and even downplayed their interest in other consumers' practices or emphasised that they were sceptical but not judgmental about others' practices. In general, the majority of respondents expressed negative feelings about 'virtuecrats' and about other consumers trying to proselytize them. This is in line with findings from other studies that conclude that "most of the interviewees report having no problem with resourceful people practising exclusive lifestyles as long as they do not 'look down on them' for not wanting to conform to their lifestyles and tastes" (Jarness & Flemmen 2019: 175). Likewise, Dubuisson-Quellier & Gojard (2016) argue that consumers may, "without openly rejecting environmental protection, remain distant from the practices through which it is expressed, in order to differentiate themselves from the social and political group they identify as spearheading it" (ibid.: 95). Consumers may thus be especially unlikely to adopt a new practice when they associate it with an outgroup (Smaldino et al. 2016).

All of the above mentioned differences between vegetarian and flexitarian consumers resonate with Bourdieu's assumption that the 'dominant class' consists of an economically dominant and of a culturally dominant fraction, and that it is conducive to pay attention to the composition of a person's capital in addition to their overall capital volume. Future studies may benefit from distinguishing between different types of capital (Atkinson & Deeming 2015, Jarness & Flemmen 2019), and from adopting a multidimensional and gradational conceptualization of social class. What is more, scholars have suggested that it is difficult to maintain a clear categorization of different types of boundaries, as these often overlap and socioeconomic and cultural boundaries are often suffused with moral boundaries (Pachucki et al. 2007, Van Eijk 2013, Jarness 2017, Sachweh & Lenz 2018, Jarness & Flemmen 2019). This conclusion is also supported by the findings in this study.

Methodologically, paying attention to social judgments and to emotional states reveals the potential of in-depth interviews for understanding tensions and contradictions within and between respondents (Johnston et al. 2011, Skey 2012, Pugh 2013, Lamont et al. 2014). In fact, several interview situations presented obvious discrepancies between what Pugh (Pugh) has called 'honorable' and 'visceral' information. These interviews were thus especially well-suited to reveal people's internal contradictions and emotions, their normative judgments and implicit motivations, and can help explain behavioral inconsistencies, dilemmas, and emotional ambiguities (Skey 2012, Pugh 2013, Lamont et al. 2014, Jarness & Flemmen 2019, Sølvberg & Jarness 2019). However, the inferences that can be drawn from these interviews are limited, not only because of their small sample size. Only few interviewees had low levels of economic and cultural capital. I relied on inferred or self-assessed measures of economic and cultural capital. While I tried to be discreet about it, some interviewees knew about or guessed my own opinion on the topic. What is more, it may be much easier for me to comprehend and interpret the accounts of participants that were similar to me (high cultural capital, female, intermediate economic capital) while these respondents may also feel more comfortable talking to me. Especially interviewees with lower levels of education may feel the need to 'provide the right answers' while interviewees with a lot of education feel the need to be 'politically correct' rather than reproducing the narratives they use when talking to their own social networks (e.g. Payne & Grew 2005, Davidson et al. 2006). These

relationships between interviewer and interviewee are especially daring when social class backgrounds differ substantially. Especially the willingness to construct moral boundaries might be much higher in rather homogeneous focus groups than in face-to-face interviews with an unknown researcher. However, the fact that all interviewees evoked moral boundaries towards other consumers at some point during the interviews without being explicitly asked to do so, shows the prevalence and importance of taking these judgments seriously and into account. Research frequently suggests that there is a social desirability bias in interviews, leading people to adopt an egalitarian and somewhat more open attitude towards others (Savage et al. 2005, Warde 2007, Skey 2012, Van Eijk 2013, Sølvberg & Jarness 2019). While this also depends on the characteristics of the interviewer and whether he or she is perceived as part of an in-group or of an out-group, it may generally lead to an underestimation of the amount of normative judgments, stigmatization and negative stereotyping that people engage in. That basically all respondents engaged in different kinds of boundary work towards meat-eaters, towards vegetarians or towards vegans is especially intriguing given the fact that I did not explicitly ask them to tell me about their opinions of people on different diets.

7 Discussion and implications

Despite its clear advantages, this study also has several limitations which need to be taken into account when engaging with its findings. In this final chapter, I discuss these limitations, and allude to the social and political implications that could nonetheless be drawn from this study by practitioners and by those who would like to engage with this study for more applied purposes.

Some of this study's limitations were already alluded to in the previous chapters. In the quantitative part, EVS household level data makes it difficult to assign individual consumption patterns to single household members. Domestic consumption patterns may differ from foods that are eaten outside. Households that reported no meat consumption may have eaten meat when dining out or they may have eaten meat in a different month. It is impossible to know the reason for reported non-consumption of meat. The SOEP data may suffer from social desirability bias. Moreover, the frequency of meat consumption may only roughly map onto the amount of meat that is actually eaten. Consumers may only consume very small amounts of meat daily while others may consume a large portion of meat only two days a week. Their overall meat intake may then be the same, which is not reflected by the data.

In the qualitative part, the interviewees' level of economic capital was inferred from the interviews and from their biographical accounts. While this is arguably reasonable as the related arguments refer to subjectively experienced situations of material scarcity, it makes standardized comparisons and large-scale tests rather difficult. What is more, social desirability bias is a potential problem in every interview study. Participants may have guessed my dietary habits as a researcher and may have wanted to sympathize with me or to challenge me. Interviewees with lower levels of education may have felt intimidated by my questions and may have wanted to provide the 'right' answers. What is more, moral boundary work may be less present in face-to-face interviews. Future studies may want to use focus groups to embark on an analysis of the mutual judgments, valuations and devaluations of taste more thoroughly. Future studies should also try to recruit interview participants more systematically in order

to exclude potential alternative, or competing explanations, like age and cohort effects. Restricting the age of respondents to a predefined age range might be a good strategy to begin with.

In general, the results of this study are based on a sample of German consumers. It is impossible to know how far the results are transferable to other cultural and national contexts as the cultural background has a significant impact on people's consumption patterns and on their cultural practices in general. The interviewees all resided in urban areas which makes it difficult to generalize the findings to rural and semi-rural populations. It would be interesting to conduct similar interviews with respondents from non-urban areas and to analyze whether their food ideals, their judgments and the effects cultural and economic capital exert on them differ.

A nested mixed-methods design would have been largely beneficial. Recruiting interviewees from the pool of survey respondents enlarges internal validity of any study. However, as the surveys are nationally representative, a different group of respondents with similar demographics should not have yielded different results. Another, very important point is the cross-sectional nature of this study. The lack of longitudinal data makes it impossible to analyze changes over time. However, theories about cultural omnivorousness, and individualization usually make claims about changes over time. They argue that, compared to an earlier time period, Bourdieu's homology thesis becomes less valid and other ways to think about the link between culture and social structure become more appropriate. Large amounts of cross-sectional and longitudinal data, or panel data are necessary to test these claims. For now, I can only make statements about the current situation, and I cannot claim that the link between meat consumption and socioeconomic position got stronger or weaker compared to 20 or 50 years ago. A challenge for future studies is to exploit the available data in the years to come to examine these changes over time.

Given these limitations, this study still provides many interesting results which are of interest for academics and practitioners alike. This thesis shows how different groups of consumers may have different levels of willingness and different capacities for implementing dietary changes towards meat-reduced diets. However, it is also evident from various other areas of research that changes to excessive meat consumption and to meat production are desirable and even necessary. Heavy meat-diets are associated with greater likelihood for many diseases; they are extraordinarily resource-intensive compared to more plant-based diets; and conventional meat production systems cause tremendous harm to millions of animals every day. Meat industry workers are often treated unfairly and paid poorly; the antibiotics utilized in animal farming result in antibiotic resistance in humans; and the waste that is produced pollutes waters and soils. In light of these facts, another major objective of this thesis is to add to a growing body of applied research that deals with the impact of excessive meat consumption and production, and aims at identifying avenues for change.

In light of the present research, the 'attitude-behavior-gap' and, more specifically, the 'meat paradox' (Rothgerber 2015, Stoll-Kleemann & Schmidt 2017, Oleschuk et al. 2019), presents itself as the default and not as a pathology, and future studies should direct critical attention to the social and material constraints consumers face when deciding on a course of action. This is especially relevant for applied research on sustainable, political or ethical consumption. While it is important to think about pathways towards reduced meat consumption, and towards changing resource-intensive consumption

patterns in general, it is equally important to keep our own vantage point in mind. Who are the ones willing to think about these problems, and who are the ones able to do so? What resources and capacities are needed to act upon these answers and what are the implications for those devoid of these capacities and resources?

Several social and political recommendations result from a sociological perspective on meat consumption. The implications of this study for an applied perspective on the topic of meat consumption are the following:

First off, and most generally, cultural and economic capital facilitates dietary changes, including changes towards meat-reduced diets. A lack of resources impedes these changes, and renders public health and eating recommendations largely ineffective. Other studies have shown that information campaigns and the distribution of nutritional knowledge are often ineffective in promoting dietary changes (Downs et al. 2009, Mollen et al. 2013, Campbell-Arvai et al. 2014, Robinson et al. 2014, Collins et al. 2019), and this study supports these conclusions. The mere proliferation of further sources of scientific knowledge and expertise, albeit usually being targeted at a wide audience, is unlikely to induce far-reaching changes (Alkon et al. 2013, Spaargaren et al. 2013, Dubuisson-Quellier & Gojard 2016, Thorslund & Lassen 2017), and may even foster dietary inequalities (Ricciuto et al. 2006, Thompson et al. 2009, Darmon & Drewnowski 2015) as it disproportionately reaches out to those who have an affinity for scientific knowledge.

The most effective measure to reduce dietary inequalities and to help consumers follow more 'healthy' or more 'sustainable' diets is to strengthen their ability to not only reflect on their consumption patterns but to successfully translate these reflections into behavior. As long as a change in dietary patterns necessitates time and energy to gather new culinary knowledge, and as long as it also comes with financial hardship for some consumers, it is illusory to expect all consumers to adapt their dietary habits equally. Providing more financial security can lift the monetary but also the psychological constraints that consumers may face, and can thus be a first step towards achieving greater dietary independence and volatility. Beyond its immediate material effects, reducing poverty and economic hardships can also help increase self-efficacy in general, and thus facilitate positive behavioral change. While this does not necessarily imply a reduction in meat consumption, it is an important first step towards making alternative diets more viable.

As long as meat consumption patterns are still socially stratified, reducing negative social judgments is imperative, as these potentially lead consumers to reject alternative dietary practices. A stigmatization of meat-eaters is counterproductive, as is a stigmatization of vegetarians and vegans. Future demonization of meat consumption and of meat consumers that resembles the demonization of smoking and of obesity will likely further the polarization of different dietary patterns. That is, meat-reduced diets need to be detached from their expressive function and be recognized as internal good, but this realization has to be accompanied by an understanding of the material and non-material cost of behavioral changes. Essentializing arguments can be detrimental because they construe differences in consumption practices as personal deficiencies and individual failures, thereby creating guilt, shame, anger, frustration or ignorance. This conclusion applies to individual consumers but also to media debates, popular as well as academic discourse on the topic.

Environmental policies need to be carefully designed, not to neglect consumers' different material

and non-material life worlds. In addition, environmental policies target a variety of areas, and food consumption, let alone meat consumption, is only one dimension of sustainable consumption behavior. Meat-eaters may, in fact, lead more environmentally-friendly lives than flexitarians, vegetarians or vegans. Many practices that help create the preconditions for dietary changes are unsustainable, and inflict damage on the environment. To name but one example, meat-reduced or meat-free diets do not nearly offset the carbon footprint that comes with extensive traveling.

Beyond that, some of the obstacles for dietary changes could be alleviated if supply structures operated differently. Changes to the supply structure may include increased access to meat-free dishes at workplaces and at schools, establishing meat-free and affordable convenience and fast foods, and a dispersion of vegetarian restaurants across urban and rural, wealthy and poor residential areas alike. The role of different vegetarian and vegan role models to promote new cultural norms across social groups may also be effective (Stoll-Kleemann & Schmidt 2017). In parallel, systems of meat production and distribution should directly be targeted by regulatory policies. While changes in meat consumption may gradually also transform meat production, meat producers should not be completely absolved from responsibility. A thorough discussion of potential measures is beyond the scope of this paper but is dealt with elsewhere (e.g. Rosegrant et al. 1999, Ripple et al. 2013, Bajželj et al. 2014, Bähr 2015).

While reduced meat consumption is clearly an important objective to be achieved nationally and internationally, it does not present the same challenges to all groups of society. Capital endowments and compositions lie at the core of people's capacity to adapt to changing food norms and social class background is still not only a strong indicator of the nature and social significance of consumption patterns, but also of their adaptability. In light of the above, social policy and environmental policy should always be considered in tandem.

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9 Appendix

A. Interview Guide English

Introduction:

- This will be recorded but anonymized
- If you feel uncomfortable at any point, you don't have to answer
- Please tell me about all of the details, there is nothing unimportant, you are the expert
- Don't get confused when I take notes, they help me to remember what I found especially interesting/ wanted to check back on

Vegetarians

1. First, let's start with your favorite dish. What is your favorite dish at the moment and what was your favorite dish when you were a child? Is there something you remember?
2. And what about a typical day? Could you describe what you eat on a typical weekday, from morning to evening?
3. Could you give me something like a 'biography' of your diet? How did you eat when you grew up? When did you become a vegetarian and why? Did you make any further changed to your diet after that?
4. (if applicable) What is it like to come back to the place you grew up in? How did your parents react to the changes you made to your diet? Are there frequent discussions about food?
5. (if applicable) What role does diet play for your children? How did you bring them up? Or If you were to have children, how would you bring them up?
6. What would you say is generally important for you when it comes to food? Is there anything you pay particular attention to when buying and cooking food? Is there anything you buy very frequently or you try to avoid?
7. Do you sometimes wonder why other people are not vegetarians? Do you understand that some people have reasons for not being vegetarian?
8. Is it easy or difficult for you to maintain your current diet? In which situations is it most difficult? Could you describe such a situation to me?
9. Some people tell me that it is easier for women to eat less or no meat. Would you agree? Do you have the same experience? Why?
10. Would you eat differently if you had more money? If so, how?
11. Would you eat differently if you had less money? If so, how?
12. Do you often eat out? If so, what are your favorite places? What is important to you when eating out?
13. Do you have many friends that have the same diet as you do? How do you and your friends deal with discrepancies?
14. (if applicable) How do you eat at work? How do your colleagues react to your diet? Do you talk to them about it?
15. When you meet somebody, is it important for you that this person has a similar diet?
16. Could you imagine being a meat-eater again?
17. Meat consumption is generally still quite high and even increasing in some countries. Why do you think that is?

Meat-eaters

1. First, let's start with your favorite dish. What is your favorite dish at the moment and what was your favorite dish when you were a child? Is there something you remember? For example, I remember loving my grandma's *Rouladen* (German meat dish) with potatoes and red cabbage when I was younger.
2. And what about a typical day? Could you describe what you eat on a typical weekday, from morning to evening? (probe meat frequency and types of meat)
3. Could you give me something like a 'biography' of your diet? How did you eat when you grew up? How did that change when you moved out and after that? Do you remember making changes to your diet at any point during the course of your life? If so, why was that? (probe meat frequency and types of meat)
4. (if applicable) When you go back to the place where you grew up, who does the cooking? What do you enjoy about it? Are there any discussions about food? (probe meat frequency and types of meat)
5. (if applicable) When you had children, did anything change in terms of food? What are your children's favorite foods? (probe meat frequency and types of meat)
6. So nowadays what would you say is generally important for you when it comes to food? Is there anything you pay particular attention to when buying and cooking food? Is there anything you buy very frequently or you try to avoid? (probe meat frequency and types of meat)
7. (if applicable) Do you sometimes wonder why other people do not avoid this? Is there a type of diet that you cannot understand?
8. Would you like to change anything about your diet? If so, why?
9. Would you eat differently if you had more money? If so, how?
10. Would you eat differently if you had less money? If so, how?
11. Do you sometimes pay attention to how the food you buy and prepare was produced?
12. Do you often eat out? If so, what are your favorite places? What is important to you when eating out?
13. Do you often share meals with friends or colleagues? Do you eat mostly at home, with your family or alone?
14. Do you talk to friends and colleagues about things like cooking, buying food, diet in general etc.? Is it important to you that they share your opinions about food and your tastes?
15. Some people say that women and men eat differently. Can you imagine what they mean by that?
16. There are a couple of dietary trends right now, for example vegetarians who don't eat meat. What do you think of this trend? Can you understand why some people don't eat meat?
17. Could you imagine ever being a vegetarian? Why (not)?
18. Do you know a vegetarian or a vegan? If yes, did you ever talk to that person about food? Could you describe the situation to me?

B. List of interview partners

Name	Age	Sex	Economic capital	Cultural capital	Recruitment	Self-reported diet
Julia	20	female	low to intermediate	in tertiary education	food organization	vegetarian
Lina	20	female	low to intermediate	in tertiary education	Facebook	vegan
Elena	24	female	low	intermediate	Facebook	vegan
Greta	25	female	intermediate	high	Facebook	vegan
Annika	27	female	low to intermediate	high	network	vegan
Amelie	25-30	female	intermediate	high	store ad	vegetarian
Susanne	28	female	low	high	network	vegan
Mila	30	female	intermediate to high	high	Facebook	vegetarian
Kimi	32	female	intermediate	high	Faceboook	vegan
Hannah	34	female	intermediate	high	Facebook	vegan
Sophia	36	female	intermediate	high	store ad	pescetarian
Emilia	44	female	intermediate to high	high	Facebook	vegan
Maria	45	female	intermediate to high	high	Facebook	vegan
Anna	48	female	intermediate to high	intermediate to high	Facebook	vegan
Natalia	54	female	low	intermediate	store ad	vegan
Dominik	25	male	low	intermediate to high	network	vegetarian
Milan	28	male	intermediate to high	high	Facebook	vegan
Elias	29	male	intermediate	high	Facebook	vegan
Liam	29	male	intermediate	high	Facebook	vegan
Samuel	35	male	high	high	Facebook	vegan
Linus	39	male	intermediate	high	Facebook	vegan
Jonas	39	male	intermediate	intermediate	Facebook	vegan
Emil	59	male	intermediate to high?	high	Facebook	vegan

Table 13: List of vegetarian interview partners

Name	Age	Sex	Economic capital	Cultural capital	Recruitment	Self-reported diet
Ella	19	female	low	intermediate	store ad	meat-reduced
Lena	27	female	intermediate	in tertiary education	food organization	meat-reduced
Alina	28	female	low to intermediate	high	Facebook	meat-eater
Sandra	34	female	intermediate to high	intermediate	store ad	meat-reduced
Johanna	41	female	intermediate	intermediate	food organization	meat-eater
Luise	43	female	low	intermediate	Facebook	meat-eater
Renate	over 50s	female	intermediate to high	intermediate	snowball	meat-eater
Sibylle	59	female	low to intermediate	high	store ad	meat-reduced
Kerstin	61	female	low to intermediate	intermediate	network	meat-eater
Barbara	62	female	high	high	snowball	meat-eater
Regina	71	female	intermediate to high	intermediate	store ad	meat-reduced
Anita	over 70s	female	intermediate?	low to intermediate	network	meat-eater
Levi	25	male	low	low to intermediate	snowball	meat-eater
Martin	over 30s	male	intermediate	intermediate	network	meat-eater
Matthias	over 40s	male	intermediate	high	Facebook	meat-reduced
Tim	46	male	low to intermediate	intermediate	store ad	meat-reduced
Lukas	51	male	high	high	food organization	meat-reduced
Igor	57	male	intermediate	high	store ad	meat-reduced
Werner	over 50s	male	intermediate to high	intermediate	Facebook	meat-eater
Marco	60	male	intermediate to high	high	Facebook	meat-eater
Jacob	67	male	intermediate to high	intermediate	store ad	meat-reduced
Thomas	over 70s	male	low	high	store ad	meat-eater
Hans	over 70s	male	intermediate	intermediate	network	meat-eater

Table 14: List of non-vegetarian interview partners

C. Robustness checks

Table 15 displays results from ordered logistic regressions instead of linear regressions for consumption frequencies of red meat, poultry, fish and meat in total using SOEP 2016 data. For each dependent variable, ordered logistic regressions were calculated for three slightly different samples, depending on how vegetarian respondents were defined. They are excluded from the analysis based on the three different definitions of vegetarianism described in Table 10 (Definition (a): "veggie", Definition (b): "veggie2", Definition (c): "veggie3").

Table 16 displays results from linear regressions for consumption frequencies of red meat, poultry, fish and meat in total using SOEP 2016 data. Vegetarian respondents were excluded based on different definitions of vegetarianism (see Table 10 (Definition (a): "veggie", Definition (c): "veggie3") which results in slightly different sample sizes.

Tables 17, 18, 19, 20, 21 and 22 display results from double hurdle models using the original and the logged versions of the dependent variables, and from Poisson regressions instead of negative binomial regressions using EVS 2013 data. The dependent variables are the same as in Tables 7 and 8. Alternative model specifications were calculated to account for the non-normal distribution of dependent variables, especially for the large amount of zeros, described in section 4.2.3.

	Red meat			**Poultry**			**Fish**			**Meat**		
	veggie	veggie2	veggie3	veggie	veggie2	veggie3	veggie	veggie2	veggie3	veggie	veggie2	veggie3
East	0.079*	0.094**	0.093**	0.046	0.073*	0.072*	0.132***	0.138***	0.137***	0.083*	0.103***	0.103**
	(0.035)	(0.033)	(0.034)	(0.034)	(0.033)	(0.033)	(0.034)	(0.034)	(0.034)	(0.033)	(0.032)	(0.032)
Urban area	-0.071*	-0.084**	-0.091***	0.109***	0.097***	0.088**	-0.009	-0.013	-0.020	0.020	0.005	-0.003
	(0.029)	(0.029)	(0.028)	(0.029)	(0.028)	(0.028)	(0.029)	(0.028)	(0.028)	(0.028)	(0.027)	(0.027)
Couple w/	0.576***	0.571***	0.593***	0.247***	0.255***	0.280***	0.116*	0.098*	0.122**	0.493***	0.492***	0.515***
	(0.046)	(0.045)	(0.045)	(0.045)	(0.044)	(0.044)	(0.046)	(0.045)	(0.045)	(0.044)	(0.043)	(0.043)
Single parent	0.091	0.080	0.095	0.281***	0.277***	0.289***	-0.120	-0.133*	-0.117	0.236***	0.222	0.234***
	(0.062)	(0.061)	(0.060)	(0.061)	(0.059)	(0.059)	(0.062)	(0.060)	(0.060)	(0.059)	(0.058)	(0.058)
Couple w/out	0.456***	0.446***	0.463***	0.132***	0.133***	0.153***	0.060	0.048	0.069	0.349***	0.345***	0.363***
	(0.043)	(0.041)	(0.041)	(0.042)	(0.041)	(0.041)	(0.042)	(0.041)	(0.041)	(0.041)	(0.040)	(0.040)
Other	0.321***	0.335***	0.346***	0.076	0.071	0.085	-0.054	-0.065	-0.052	0.221*	0.228**	0.242**
	(0.094)	(0.093)	(0.092)	(0.092)	(0.091)	(0.090)	(0.093)	(0.092)	(0.091)	(0.090)	(0.089)	(0.089)
Age	-0.016***	-0.015***	-0.015***	-0.018***	-0.017***	-0.017***	0.020***	0.019***	0.020***	-0.021***	-0.020***	-0.020***
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Female	-0.694***	-0.732***	-0.733***	0.006	-0.038	-0.047	0.050	0.059*	0.050	-0.416***	-0.461***	-0.465***
	(0.027)	(0.027)	(0.027)	(0.027)	(0.026)	(0.026)	(0.027)	(0.027)	(0.026)	(0.026)	(0.026)	(0.026)
Migration	-0.087	-0.055	-0.053	0.477***	0.495***	0.492***	0.521***	0.506***	0.502***	0.240***	0.263***	0.262***
	(0.042)	(0.041)	(0.041)	(0.041)	(0.041)	(0.041)	(0.042)	(0.041)	(0.041)	(0.040)	(0.040)	(0.039)
HH Income	0.000	0.000	0.000	-0.000***	-0.000***	-0.000***	0.000	0.000	0.000	-0.000**	-0.000***	-0.000**
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Education	-0.036***	-0.050***	-0.049***	-0.028***	-0.040***	-0.039***	0.044***	0.043***	0.043***	-0.036***	-0.050***	-0.049***
	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.006)	
Student	-0.226**	-0.306***	-0.306***	0.143	0.048	0.046	0.144	0.130	0.130	-0.053	-0.151*	-0.153*
	(0.083)	(0.080)	(0.080)	(0.081)	(0.078)	(0.078)	(0.081)	(0.079)	(0.078)	(0.079)	(0.077)	(0.077)
Worker	0.084	0.099*	0.099*	0.041	0.043	0.043	0.013	0.014	0.013	0.083	0.090	0.089
	(0.051)	(0.050)	(0.050)	(0.051)	(0.050)	(0.050)	(0.051)	(0.051)	(0.051)	(0.049)	(0.048)	(0.048)
Unemployed	-0.025	0.015	-0.011	0.120	0.130	0.105	-0.115	-0.086	-0.105	0.047	0.073	0.048
	(0.068)	(0.067)	(0.067)	(0.067)	(0.066)	(0.066)	(0.068)	(0.068)	(0.067)	(0.066)	(0.065)	(0.064)
Self-employed	0.013	-0.028	-0.029	-0.133*	-0.164*	-0.163*	0.073	0.085	0.083	-0.076	-0.119	-0.120
	(0.067)	(0.066)	(0.066)	(0.067)	(0.065)	(0.065)	(0.067)	(0.066)	(0.065)	(0.065)	(0.063)	(0.063)
Pseudo R^2	0.027	0.028	0.028	0.023	0.022	0.022	0.016	0.016	0.016	0.023	0.022	0.022
Observations	20873	21159	21672	20692	21365	21478	20672	21359	21472	20642	21314	21427

Note: Ordered logistic regressions based on SOEP 2016, vegetarians are excluded using different definitions. Asterisks indicate level of significance.
*p<0.05 **p<0.01 *** p<0.001.

Table 15: Influences on meat consumption frequency, SOEP 2016

	Red meat		**Poultry**		**Fish**		**Meat**	
	veggie=0	veggie3=0	veggie=0	veggie3=0	veggie=0	veggie3=0	veggie=0	veggie3=0
East	0.044**	0.054**	0.038*	0.053**	0.072***	0.073***	0.083***	0.109***
	(0.016)	(0.017)	(0.017)	(0.017)	(0.017)	(0.016)	(0.026)	(0.027)
Urban area	-0.043**	-0.054***	0.050***	0.040**	0.004	-0.001	0.007	-0.012
	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.022)	(0.023)
Couple w/	0.270***	0.290***	0.115***	0.137***	0.054*	0.057**	0.385***	0.427***
	(0.022)	(0.022)	(0.022)	(0.022)	(0.022)	(0.021)	(0.035)	(0.036)
Single parent	0.049	0.053	0.126***	0.136***	-0.049	-0.047	0.170***	0.183***
	(0.029)	(0.030)	(0.030)	(0.030)	(0.029)	(0.029)	(0.047)	(0.048)
Couple w/out	0.208***	0.223***	0.064**	0.077***	0.030	0.034	0.271***	0.300***
	(0.020)	(0.021)	(0.021)	(0.021)	(0.020)	(0.020)	(0.032)	(0.033)
Other	0.132**	0.152***	0.032	0.039	-0.010	-0.009	0.162*	0.187**
	(0.044)	(0.045)	(0.045)	(0.045)	(0.044)	(0.043)	(0.069)	(0.073)
Age	-0.007***	-0.007***	-0.009***	-0.008***	0.009***	0.009***	-0.016***	-0.015***
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Female	-0.331***	-0.368***	-0.004	-0.034*	0.013	0.012	-0.332***	-0.400***
	(0.013)	(0.013)	(0.013)	(0.013)	(0.013)	(0.013)	(0.021)	(0.021)
Migration	-0.042*	-0.023	0.227***	0.238***	0.246***	0.237***	0.190***	0.219***
	(0.020)	(0.020)	(0.020)	(0.020)	(0.020)	(0.019)	(0.031)	(0.033)
HH Income	0.000	0.000	-0.000***	-0.000***	0.000	0.000	-0.000**	-0.000*
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Education	-0.017***	-0.025***	-0.013***	-0.020***	0.019***	0.019***	-0.030***	-0.045***
	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.005)	(0.005)
Student	-0.105**	-0.149***	0.066	0.009	0.062	0.054	-0.038	-0.140*
	(0.039)	(0.040)	(0.040)	(0.040)	(0.039)	(0.038)	(0.062)	(0.063)
Worker	0.051*	0.068**	0.019	0.021	0.022	0.020	0.072	0.090*
	(0.024)	(0.025)	(0.025)	(0.025)	(0.025)	(0.024)	(0.039)	(0.041)
Unemployed	0.001	0.014	0.056	0.048	-0.030	-0.028	0.057	0.061
	(0.032)	(0.033)	(0.033)	(0.033)	(0.032)	(0.031)	(0.050)	(0.053)
Self-employed	0.006	-0.013	-0.057	-0.077*	0.034	0.037	-0.058	-0.099
	(0.032)	(0.033)	(0.033)	(0.033)	(0.033)	(0.032)	(0.051)	(0.053)
Adjusted R^2	0.065	0.069	0.056	0.053	0.037	0.036	0.071	0.071
Root MSE	0.901	0.947	0.921	0.945	0.900	0.897	1.423	1.513
Observations	20873	21672	20692	21478	20672	21472	20624	21427

Note: Linear regressions based on SOEP 2016, vegetarians are excluded from the analysis.
Asterisks indicate level of significance. *p<0.05 **p<0.01 *** p<0.001.

Table 16: Influences on meat consumption frequency, SOEP 2016, Version B and C

	Weight			**Costs**			**Value**		
	Hurdle (log)	Hurdle (exp)	Poisson	Hurdle (log)	Hurdle (exp)	Poisson	Linear	Linear (log)	Poisson
East	-0.102***	-0.103***	-0.161***	-0.196***	-0.206***	-0.282***	-0.821***	-0.092***	-0.093**
	(0.028)	(0.028)	(0.033)	(0.030)	(0.033)	(0.038)	(0.222)	(0.014)	(0.011)
Urban area	0.009	0.009	0.002	0.010	0.012	0.030	0.112	0.004	0.012
	(0.023)	(0.023)	(0.030)	(0.024)	(0.027)	(0.034)	(0.181)	(0.012)	(0.008)
Couple w/	0.354***	0.355***	0.444***	0.338***	0.360***	0.493***	-0.573	0.001	-0.048
	(0.073)	(0.073)	(0.091)	(0.078)	(0.085)	(0.101)	(0.579)	(0.037)	(0.028)
Single parent	0.146*	0.146*	0.222*	0.073	0.074	0.183	-1.136*	-0.065*	-0.125*
	(0.063)	(0.063)	(0.090)	(0.069)	(0.074)	(0.098)	(0.501)	(0.032)	(0.025)
Couple w/out	0.262***	0.262***	0.308***	0.251***	0.269***	0.344***	-0.402	-0.004	-0.035
	(0.041)	(0.041)	(0.050)	(0.044)	(0.048)	(0.057)	(0.327)	(0.021)	(0.015)
Other	0.290***	0.291***	0.379***	0.346***	0.374***	0.460***	0.370	-0.073	-0.046
	(0.079)	(0.079)	(0.095)	(0.084)	(0.092)	(0.107)	(0.626)	(0.040)	(0.030)
Age	0.006***	0.006***	0.005***	0.010***	0.011***	0.009***	0.049***	0.005***	0.005***
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.010)	(0.001)	(0.000)
Gender ratio	-0.065	-0.065	-0.064	-0.027	-0.024	-0.018	0.332	0.034	0.033
	(0.045)	(0.045)	(0.057)	(0.049)	(0.052)	(0.068)	(0.355)	(0.023)	(0.016)
Migration	0.321***	0.322***	0.387***	0.317***	0.339***	0.332**	0.116	0.016	0.006
	(0.089)	(0.089)	(0.114)	(0.094)	(0.104)	(0.106)	(0.706)	(0.046)	(0.033)
HH Income	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000***	0.000***	0.000***	0.000***	0.000***	0.000***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Education	-0.018**	-0.014**	-0.013	0.004	0.003	0.011	0.258***	0.020***	0.027***
	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.008)	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.009)	(0.050)	(0.003)	(0.002)
Student	-0.305***	0.306***	-0.410***	-0.311**	-0.325**	-0.427***	-0.287	-0.018	-0.050
	(0.092)	(0.093)	(0.102)	(0.106)	(0.108)	(0.130)	(0.732)	(0.047)	(0.036)
Worker	-0.069	-0.069	-0.059	-0.113*	0.130*	0.108	-0.611	-0.055*	-0.088*
	(0.053)	(0.053)	(0.069)	(0.057)	(0.062)	(0.080)	(0.420)	(0.027)	(0.021)
Unemployed	-0.005	-0.005	0.019	-0.065	-0.066	-0.139	-0.742	-0.064	-0.113*
	(0.072)	(0.073)	(0.097)	(0.078)	(0.085)	(0.101)	(0.574)	(0.037)	(0.029)
Pensioner	-0.077	-0.077	-0.053	-0.112*	0.132**	-0.094	-0.591	-0.049	-0.070
	(0.052)	(0.052)	(0.073)	(0.055)	(0.060)	(0.081)	(0.410)	(0.026)	(0.019)
Self-employed	-0.001	-0.001	-0.029	0.087	0.087	0.112	1.069*	0.080**	0.098*
	(0.061)	(0.061)	(0.078)	(0.064)	(0.071)	(0.095)	(0.481)	(0.031)	(0.021)
Constant	6.056***	6.053***	6.445***	1.083***	0.798***	1.432***	5.605***	1.833***	1.849***

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	Weight			**Costs**			**Value**		
	Hurdle (log)	Hurdle (exp)	Poisson	Hurdle (log)	Hurdle (exp)	Poisson	Linear	Linear (log)	Poisson
Selection/Zero-inflation									
East	-0.127***	-0.127***	0.205***	-0.123***	-0.123***	0.203***	-	-	-
	(0.029)	(0.029)	(0.047)	(0.029)	(0.029)	(0.047)			
Urban area	0.130***	0.130***	-0.210***	0.130***	0.130***	-0.211***	-	-	-
	(0.025)	(0.025)	(0.040)	(0.025)	(0.025)	(0.040)			
Couple w/	0.434***	0.434***	-0.691***	0.434***	0.434***	-0.687***	-	-	-
	(0.085)	(0.085)	(0.138)	(0.085)	(0.085)	(0.139)			
Single parent	0.310***	0.310***	-0.494***	0.310***	0.310***	-0.492***	-	-	-
	(0.068)	(0.068)	(0.110)	(0.068)	(0.068)	(0.110)			
Couple w/out	0.456***	0.456***	-0.728***	0.456***	0.456***	-0.725***	-	-	-
	(0.045)	(0.045)	(0.073)	(0.045)	(0.045)	(0.073)			
Other	0.316***	0.316***	-0.500***	0.316***	0.316***	-0.495***	-	-	-
	(0.088)	(0.088)	(0.143)	(0.088)	(0.088)	(0.143)			
Age	0.002	0.002	-0.003	0.002	0.002	-0.003	-	-	-
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.002)			
Gender ratio	0.067	0.067	-0.108	0.067	0.067	-0.109	-	-	-
	(0.042)	(0.042)	(0.068)	(0.042)	(0.042)	(0.068)			
Migration	-0.027	-0.027	0.041	-0.027	-0.027	0.043	-	-	-
	(0.096)	(0.096)	(0.164)	(0.096)	(0.096)	(0.164)			
HH Income	0.000**	0.000**	-0.000**	0.000**	0.000**	-0.000**	-	-	-
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)			
Education	-0.026***	-0.026***	0.039***	-0.024***	-0.024***	0.039***	-	-	-
	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.011)	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.011)			
Student	0.060	0.060	-0.096	0.060	0.060	-0.118	-	-	-
	(0.093)	(0.093)	(0.153)	(0.093)	(0.093)	(0.155)			
Observations	11080	11080	11080	11080	11080	11080	6051	6051	6051
Zero Obs	5351	5351	5029	5351	5351	5029	-	-	-

Note: Alternative model specifications for beef consumption based on EVS 2013, pescetarians are excluded. Poisson models with robust standard errors. Asterisks indicate level of significance. *p<0.05 **p<0.01 *** p<0.001.

Table 17: Influences on beef consumption, EVS 2013

	Weight			**Costs**			**Value**		
	Hurdle (log)	Hurdle (exp)	Poisson	Hurdle (log)	Hurdle (exp)	Poisson	Linear	Linear (log)	Poisson
East	0.123***	0.123***	0.102***	-0.006	-0.005	-0.038	-0.957***	-0.112***	-0.142***
	(0.026)	(0.026)	(0.029)	(0.022)	(0.026)	(0.027)	(0.087)	(0.009)	(0.011)
Urban area	-0.065**	-0.065**	-0.088***	-0.057**	-0.063**	-0.066**	0.080	0.002	0.011
	(0.022)	(0.022)	(0.026)	(0.019)	(0.022)	(0.024)	(0.074)	(0.008)	(0.009)
Couple w/	0.302***	0.303***	0.335***	0.273***	0.324***	0.333***	0.081	0.018	0.015
	(0.071)	(0.071)	(0.074)	(0.061)	(0.070)	(0.072)	(0.236)	(0.024)	(0.029)
Single parent	0.119	0.119	0.116	0.116*	0.148*	0.117	0.260	0.025	0.036
	(0.062)	(0.062)	(0.069)	(0.054)	(0.061)	(0.062)	(0.207)	(0.021)	(0.025)
Couple w/out	0.305***	0.306***	0.355***	0.272***	0.315***	0.354***	0.007	0.007	0.003
	(0.040)	(0.040)	(0.044)	(0.034)	(0.039)	(0.041)	(0.133)	(0.014)	(0.016)
Other	0.388***	0.389***	0.372***	0.341***	0.403***	0.388***	0.011	0.011	-0.000
	(0.075)	(0.075)	(0.072)	(0.064)	(0.074)	(0.069)	(0.251)	(0.026)	(0.031)
Age	0.006***	0.006***	0.005***	0.008***	0.009***	0.008***	0.022***	0.003***	0.003***
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.004)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Gender ratio	-0.205***	-0.205***	-0.236***	-0.140***	-0.161***	-0.154***	0.265	0.038**	0.037
	(0.043)	(0.043)	(0.050)	(0.037)	(0.042)	(0.047)	(0.142)	(0.015)	(0.017)
Migration	0.151	0.151	0.122	0.072	0.081	0.044	-0.494	-0.060	-0.072
	(0.092)	(0.092)	(0.092)	(0.080)	(0.091)	(0.088)	(0.308)	(0.032)	(0.038)
HH Income	-0.000**	-0.000**	-0.000**	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000***	0.000***	0.000***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Education	-0.046***	-0.046***	-0.052***	-0.029***	-0.033***	-0.032***	0.119***	0.012***	0.017***
	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.008)	(0.005)	(0.006)	(0.007)	(0.021)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Student	-0.341***	-0.341***	-0.458***	-0.296***	-0.329***	-0.401***	0.294	0.012	0.041
	(0.093)	(0.093)	(0.112)	(0.084)	(0.092)	(0.105)	(0.031)	(0.032)	(0.037)
Worker	0.076	0.076	0.018	-0.012	-0.019	-0.010	-0.749***	-0.083***	-0.113***
	(0.051)	(0.051)	(0.070)	(0.044)	(0.050)	(0.052)	(0.170)	(0.018)	(0.021)
Unemployed	0.131	0.132	0.040	0.007	0.012	-0.034	-0.878***	-0.103***	-0.139***
	(0.069)	(0.069)	(0.082)	(0.060)	(0.068)	(0.066)	(0.231)	(0.024)	(0.029)
Pensioner	-0.042	-0.042	-0.072	-0.111*	-0.128**	-0.107*	-0.659***	-0.075***	-0.094***
	(0.051)	(0.051)	(0.071)	(0.044)	(0.050)	(0.054)	(0.169)	(0.017)	(0.020)
Self-employed	-0.132*	-0.132*	-0.194*	-0.077	-0.088	-0.082	0.409*	0.040	0.050
	(0.060)	(0.060)	(0.076)	(0.052)	(0.059)	(0.067)	(0.200)	(0.021)	(0.023)
Constant	6.389***	6.386***	6.939***	1.438***	1.161***	1.626***	5.58***	1.86***	1.75***

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	Weight			**Costs**			**Value**		
	Hurdle (log)	Hurdle (exp)	Poisson	Hurdle (log)	Hurdle (exp)	Poisson	Linear	Linear (log)	Poisson
Selection/Zero-inflation									
East	0.164***	0.164***	-0.269***	0.164***	0.164***	0.270***	-	-	-
	(0.031)	(0.031)	(0.051)	(0.031)	(0.031)	(0.051)			
Urban area	-0.056*	-0.056*	0.097*	-0.056*	-0.056*	0.096*	-	-	-
	(0.026)	(0.026)	(0.043)	(0.026)	(0.026)	(0.043)			
Couple w/	0.582***	0.582***	-0.930***	0.582***	0.582***	-0.924***	-	-	-
	(0.093)	(0.093)	(0.159)	(0.093)	(0.093)	(0.159)			
Single parent	0.313***	0.313***	-0.483***	0.313***	0.313***	-0.479***	-	-	-
	(0.071)	(0.071)	(0.119)	(0.071)	(0.071)	(0.119)			
Couple w/out	0.458***	0.458***	-0.722***	0.458***	0.458***	-0.717***	-	-	-
	(0.048)	(0.048)	(0.082)	(0.048)	(0.048)	(0.082)			
Other	0.468***	0.468***	-0.732***	0.468***	0.468***	-0.724***	-	-	-
	(0.095)	(0.095)	(0.164)	(0.095)	(0.095)	(0.164)			
Age	0.005***	0.005***	-0.008***	0.005***	0.005***	-0.008***	-	-	-
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.002)			
Gender ratio	-0.087*	-0.087*	0.140*	0.087*	-0.087*	0.136*	-	-	-
	(0.042)	(0.042)	(0.069)	(0.042)	(0.042)	(0.069)			
Migration	-0.168	-0.168	0.260	-0.168	-0.168	0.262	-	-	-
	(0.097)	(0.097)	(0.179)	(0.097)	(0.097)	(0.179)			
HH Income	-0.000	-0.000	-0.000	-0.000	-0.000	0.000	-	-	-
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)			
Education	-0.060***	-0.060***	0.099***	-0.060***	-0.060***	0.099***	-	-	-
	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.011)	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.011)			
Observations	11080	11080	11080	11080	11080	11080	7238	7238	7238
Zero Obs	4163	4163	3842	4163	4163	3842	-	-	-

Note: Alternative model specifications for pork consumption based on EVS 2013, pescetarians are excluded. Poisson models with robust standard errors. Asterisks indicate level of significance. *p<0.05 **p<0.01 *** p<0.001.

Table 18: Influences on pork consumption, EVS 2013

	Weight			**Costs**			**Value**		
	Hurdle (log)	Hurdle (exp)	Poisson	Hurdle (log)	Hurdle (exp)	Poisson	Linear	Linear (log)	Poisson
East	0.027	0.027	0.053	-0.077***	-0.091***	-0.045	-0.781***	-0.099***	-0.114***
	(0.026)	(0.026)	(0.030)	(0.021)	(0.024)	(0.033)	(0.108)	(0.012)	(0.012)
Urban area	0.089***	0.089***	0.083***	0.083***	0.096***	0.099***	0.042	0.005	0.006
	(0.022)	(0.022)	(0.025)	(0.018)	(0.020)	(0.026)	(0.092)	(0.010)	(0.010)
Couple w/	0.193**	0.193**	0.217**	0.162**	0.194**	0.185	-0.296	-0.005	-0.037
	(0.070)	(0.070)	(0.075)	(0.056)	(0.065)	(0.098)	(0.292)	(0.032)	(0.031)
Single parent	0.047	0.047	0.068	0.076	0.097	0.074	0.200	0.038	0.029
	(0.059)	(0.059)	(0.065)	(0.048)	(0.055)	(0.072)	(0.247)	(0.027)	(0.026)
Couple w/out	0.137***	0.138***	0.186***	0.115***	0.137***	0.180***	-0.061	-0.002	-0.007
	(0.040)	(0.040)	(0.042)	(0.032)	(0.037)	(0.049)	(0.166)	(0.018)	(0.017)
Other	0.191*	0.191*	0.274***	0.123**	0.142*	0.244*	-0.395	-0.043	-0.054***
	(0.075)	(0.075)	(0.077)	(0.061)	(0.070)	(0.103)	(0.313)	(0.034)	(0.033)
Age	0.004**	0.004**	0.004***	0.003**	0.003***	0.005***	0.002	-0.000	0.000
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.005)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Gender ratio	-0.111**	-0.111**	-0.150**	-0.043	-0.046	-0.091	0.402*	0.055**	0.056*
	(0.043)	(0.043)	(0.048)	(0.035)	(0.040)	(0.050)	(0.179)	(0.019)	(0.019)
Migration	0.259**	0.259**	0.254***	0.077	0.084	0.097	-1.127***	-0.146***	-0.172***
	(0.080)	(0.080)	(0.079)	(0.064)	(0.074)	(0.088)	(0.333)	(0.036)	(0.037)
HH Income	-0.000	-0.000	-0.000	0.000***	0.000***	0.000***	0.000***	0.000***	0.000***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Education	-0.023***	-0.023***	-0.020**	0.005	-0.005	-0.005	0.142***	0.015***	0.020***
	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.007)	(0.005)	(0.006)	(0.007)	(0.026)	(0.003)	(0.003)
Student	-0.179*	-0.180*	-0.253**	-0.186**	-0.195*	-0.356***	0.062	-0.009	0.006
	(0.087)	(0.087)	(0.093)	(0.071)	(0.081)	(0.083)	(0.364)	(0.039)	(0.037)
Worker	-0.030	-0.030	-0.067	-0.117**	-0.124**	-0.215***	-0.530*	-0.079***	-0.082***
	(0.050)	(0.050)	(0.056)	(0.040)	(0.046)	(0.060)	(0.209)	(0.023)	(0.022)
Unemployed	0.047	0.047	0.004	-0.140**	-0.149*	-0.278***	-1.134***	-0.164***	-0.189***
	(0.067)	(0.067)	(0.071)	(0.055)	(0.062)	(0.072)	(0.281)	(0.030)	(0.031)
Pensioner	-0.040	-0.040	-0.081	-0.115**	-0.123**	-0.248***	-0.383	-0.069**	-0.056
	(0.050)	(0.050)	(0.058)	(0.040)	(0.046)	(0.062)	(0.208)	(0.023)	(0.021)
Self-employed	-0.135*	-0.135*	-0.143*	-0.089	-0.095	-0.161*	0.526*	0.038	0.065*
	(0.058)	(0.058)	(0.070)	(0.047)	(0.054)	(0.069)	(0.242)	(0.026)	(0.024)
Employee	-0.088*	-0.088*	-0.104*	-0.090**	-0.161***	-0.169***	0.026	-0.005	0.004
	(0.038)	(0.038)	(0.044)	(0.031)	(0.035)	(0.047)	(0.160)	(0.017)	(0.016)
Constant	6.477***	6.475***	6.837***	1.620***	1.377***	1.683***	6.21***	1.97***	1.84***

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	Weight			**Costs**			**Value**		
	Hurdle (log)	Hurdle (exp)	Poisson	Hurdle (log)	Hurdle (exp)	Poisson	Linear	Linear (log)	Poisson
Selection/Zero-inflation									
East	0.092**	0.092**	-0.150**	0.092**	0.092**	-0.150**	-	-	-
	(0.030)	(0.030)	(0.048)	(0.030)	(0.030)	(0.048)			
Urban area	0.071**	0.071**	-0.114**	0.071**	0.071**	-0.114**	-	-	-
	(0.025)	(0.025)	(0.041)	(0.025)	(0.025)	(0.041)			
Couple w/	0.633***	0.633***	-1.012***	0.633***	0.633***	-1.010***	-	-	-
	(0.087)	(0.087)	(0.150)	(0.087)	(0.087)	(0.150)			
Single parent	0.389***	0.389***	-0.614***	0.389***	0.389***	-0.612***	-	-	-
	(0.069)	(0.069)	(0.114)	(0.069)	(0.069)	(0.114)			
Couple w/out	0.444***	0.444***	-0.704***	0.444***	0.444***	-0.702***	-	-	-
	(0.046)	(0.046)	(0.077)	(0.046)	(0.046)	(0.077)			
Other	0.326***	0.326***	-0.507***	0.326***	0.326***	-0.504***	-	-	-
	(0.090)	(0.090)	(0.149)	(0.090)	(0.090)	(0.149)			
Age	-0.005**	-0.005**	0.008**	0.003**	0.003**	-0.008**	-	-	-
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.002)			
Gender ratio	0.144***	0.144***	-0.236***	0.144***	0.144***	-0.237***	-	-	-
	(0.042)	(0.042)	(0.068)	(0.042)	(0.042)	(0.068)			
Migration	0.245*	0.245*	0.410*	0.245*	0.245*	-0.409*	-	-	-
	(0.101)	(0.101)	(0.170)	(0.101)	(0.101)	(0.171)			
HH Income	0.000	-	-0.000	0.000	-	-0.000	-	-	-
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)			
Education	-0.021**	-0.021**	0.034***	-0.021***	-0.021**	0.034**	-	-	-
	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.011)	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.011)			
Observations	11080	11080	11080	11080	11080	11080	6345	6345	6345
Zero Obs	5056	5056	4735	5056	5351	4735	-	-	-

Note: Alternative model specifications for poultry consumption based on EVS 2013, pescetarians are excluded. Poisson models with robust standard errors. Asterisks indicate level of significance. *p<0.05 **p<0.01 *** p<0.001.

Table 19: Influences on poultry consumption, EVS 2013

	Weight			**Costs**			**Value**		
	Hurdle (log)	Hurdle (exp)	Poisson	Hurdle (log)	Hurdle (exp)	Poisson	Linear	Linear (log)	Poisson
East	-0.046	-0.047	0.003	-0.131***	-0.150***	-0.154***	-1.051***	-0.100***	-0.115***
	(0.026)	(0.026)	(0.037)	(0.021)	(0.024)	(0.027)	(0.194)	(0.155)	(0.011)
Urban area	-0.027	-0.027	0.001	0.029	0.031	0.036*	0.432**	0.032*	0.043**
	(0.021)	(0.021)	(0.026)	(0.018)	(0.020)	(0.023)	(0.162)	(0.013)	(0.008)
Couple w/	0.266***	0.267***	0.270***	0.312***	0.355***	0.362***	-0.252	-0.024	-0.011
	(0.069)	(0.069)	(0.076)	(0.059)	(0.067)	(0.076)	(0.519)	(0.041)	(0.029)
Single parent	0.151**	0.151**	0.186**	0.163***	0.187***	0.203***	-0.057	-0.017	-0.004
	(0.058)	(0.059)	(0.065)	(0.050)	(0.056)	(0.062)	(0.443)	(0.035)	(0.024)
Couple w/out	0.235***	0.235***	0.267***	0.289***	0.327***	0.344***	0.291	0.034	0.035
	(0.038)	(0.039)	(0.043)	(0.032)	(0.036)	(0.041)	(0.291)	(0.023)	(0.016)
Other	0.231**	0.231**	0.204**	0.250***	0.287***	0.283*	-0.154	-0.031	-0.008
	(0.075)	(0.075)	(0.076)	(0.063)	(0.071)	(0.075)	(0.567)	(0.045)	(0.031)
Age	0.004***	0.004***	0.005***	0.011***	0.012***	0.012***	0.048***	0.005***	0.005***
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.009)	(0.101)	(0.000)
Gender ratio	-0.241***	-0.242***	-0.268***	-0.084**	-0.089*	-0.145***	0.098**	0.085**	0.056*
	(0.041)	(0.042)	(0.044)	(0.033)	(0.037)	(0.043)	(0.312)	(0.025)	(0.016)
Migration	0.229**	0.229**	0.255**	0.168*	0.188*	0.203*	0.346	0.005	0.025
	(0.077)	(0.077)	(0.088)	(0.067)	(0.077)	(0.088)	(0.580)	(0.046)	(0.031)
HH Income	-0.000	-0.000	-0.000	0.000***	0.000***	0.000***	0.000***	0.000***	0.000***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Education	0.002	0.002	0.017	0.033***	0.037***	0.041***	0.218***	0.020***	0.022***
	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.009)	(0.005)	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.045)	(0.004)	(0.002)
Student	-0.001	-0.001	0.057	-0.061	-0.071	-0.089	1.106	0.053	0.103
	(0.093)	(0.093)	(0.118)	(0.075)	(0.084)	(0.088)	(0.707)	(0.056)	(0.038)
Worker	0.036	0.036	-0.062	-0.063	-0.808*	-0.092**	-0.530*	-0.079***	-0.110**
	(0.049)	(0.049)	(0.053)	(0.042)	(0.047)	(0.051)	(0.373)	(0.030)	(0.021)
Unemployed	0.090	0.090	0.115	-0.153**	-0.174**	-0.135	-1.012*	-0.115**	-0.149**
	(0.067)	(0.067)	(0.078)	(0.057)	(0.064)	(0.076)	(0.506)	(0.040)	(0.029)
Constant	6.021***	6.018***	6.122***	1.053***	0.742***	1.140***	5.14***	1.79***	1.82***
Selection/Zero-inflation									
East	-0.080**	-0.080**	0.130**	0.131***	0.131***	-0.228***	-	-	-
	(0.029)	(0.029)	(0.047)	(0.033)	(0.033)	(0.058)			

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	Weight			**Costs**			**Value**		
	Hurdle (log)	Hurdle (exp)	Poisson	Hurdle (log)	Hurdle (exp)	Poisson	Linear	Linear (log)	Poisson
Urban area	-0.007	-0.007	0.012	0.011	0.011	-0.023	-	-	-
	(0.025)	(0.025)	(0.040)	(0.028)	(0.028)	(0.048)			
Couple w/	0.537***	0.537***	-0.853***	0.271**	0.271**	-0.413*	-	-	-
	(0.084)	(0.084)	(0.141)	(0.100)	(0.100)	(0.187)			
Single parent	0.337***	0.337***	-0.535***	0.138	0.138	-0.200	-	-	-
	(0.067)	(0.067)	(0.110)	(0.075)	(0.075)	(0.135)			
Couple w/out	0.393***	0.393***	-0.627***	0.343	0.343	-0.559***	-	-	-
	(0.045)	(0.045)	(0.073)	(0.052)	(0.052)	(0.094)			
Other	0.397***	0.397***	-0.633***	0.207*	0.207*	-0.314	-	-	-
	(0.088)	(0.088)	(0.145)	(0.100)	(0.100)	(0.185)			
Age	0.008***	0.008***	-0.012***	0.011***	0.011***	-0.019***	-	-	-
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.002)			
Gender ratio	0.104*	0.104*	-0.170*	0.029	0.029	-0.048	-	-	-
	(0.042)	(0.042)	(0.068)	(0.043)	(0.043)	(0.072)			
Migration	0.242*	0.242*	-0.391*	0.255*	0.255*	-0.437*	-	-	-
	(0.099)	(0.099)	(0.162)	(0.116)	(0.116)	(0.207)			
HH Income	-0.000	-0.000	-0.000	0.000	0.000	-0.000	-	-	-
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)			
Education	0.014*	0.014*	-0.023*	0.018*	0.018*	-0.031*	-	-	-
	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.011)	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.013)			
Observations	11200	11200	11200	11200	11200	11200	5963	5963	5963
Zero Obs	5240	5240	5237	2680	2680	2478	-	-	-

Note: Alternative model specifications for fish consumption based on EVS 2013, vegetarians are excluded. Poisson models with robust standard errors. Asterisks indicate level of significance. *p<0.05 **p<0.01 *** p<0.001.

Table 20: Influences on fish consumption, EVS 2013

	Weight			**Costs**			**Value**		
	Hurdle (log)	Hurdle (exp)	Poisson	Hurdle (log)	Hurdle (exp)	Poisson	Linear	Linear (log)	Poisson
East	0.085***	0.085***	0.069**	-0.048*	-0.051*	-0.078***	-1.099***	-0.119***	-0.148***
	(0.023)	(0.023)	(0.023)	(0.021)	(0.023)	(0.024)	(0.101)	(0.009)	(0.009)
Urban area	0.016	0.016	0.003	0.028	0.030	0.032	0.203*	0.013	0.026*
	(0.020)	(0.020)	(0.020)	(0.018)	(0.019)	(0.021)	(0.086)	(0.008)	(0.007)
Couple w/	0.490***	0.490***	0.502***	0.441***	0.487***	0.519***	-0.424	-0.006	-0.045
	(0.064)	(0.064)	(0.058)	(0.058)	(0.063)	(0.064)	(0.281)	(0.025)	(0.025)
Single parent	0.242***	0.243***	0.237***	0.218***	0.248***	0.239***	-0.145	0.003	-0.017
	(0.054)	(0.054)	(0.052)	(0.048)	(0.053)	(0.052)	(0.235)	(0.021)	(0.021)
Couple w/out	0.423***	0.423***	0.443***	0.383***	0.424***	0.455***	-0.239	-0.001	-0.025
	(0.035)	(0.035)	(0.033)	(0.031)	(0.034)	(0.035)	(0.153)	(0.013)	(0.013)
Other	0.471***	0.471***	0.481***	0.425***	0.467***	0.513***	0.011	-0.005	-0.034
	(0.068)	(0.068)	(0.057)	(0.061)	(0.067)	(0.065)	(0.299)	(0.026)	(0.027)
Age	0.006***	0.006***	0.006***	0.008***	0.009***	0.009***	0.022***	0.002***	0.003***
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.005)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Gender ratio	-0.146***	-0.146***	-0.180***	-0.093**	-0.104**	-0.102**	0.237	0.036**	0.029
	(0.036)	(0.036)	(0.037)	(0.032)	(0.035)	(0.040)	(0.157)	(0.014)	(0.013)
Migration	0.226**	0.227**	0.194**	0.121	0.129	0.102	-0.641	-0.083**	-0.088*
	(0.075)	(0.075)	(0.072)	(0.068)	(0.074)	(0.078)	(0.330)	(0.029)	(0.030)
HH Income	-0.000	-0.000	-0.000	0.000***	0.000***	0.000***	0.000***	0.000***	0.000***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Education	-0.043***	-0.044***	-0.037***	-0.019***	-0.021***	-0.012*	0.222***	0.020***	0.028***
	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.006)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.006)	(0.024)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Student	-0.206**	-0.206**	-0.350***	-0.173*	-0.178*	-0.360***	0.346	0.026	0.039
	(0.078)	(0.078)	(0.077)	(0.071)	(0.077)	(0.072)	(0.341)	(0.030)	(0.029)
Worker	0.068	0.068	-0.002	-0.021	-0.019	-0.062	-0.749***	-0.075***	-0.096***
	(0.045)	(0.045)	(0.048)	(0.041)	(0.045)	(0.047)	(0.199)	(0.018)	(0.018)
Unemployed	0.110	0.110	0.050	-0.023	0.020	-0.107	-0.942***	-0.111***	-0.149***
	(0.060)	(0.060)	(0.062)	(0.054)	(0.059)	(0.060)	(0.264)	(0.023)	(0.024)
Pensioner	-0.007	-0.007	-0.061	-0.075	-0.081	-0.116*	-0.549**	-0.063***	-0.073**
	(0.044)	(0.044)	(0.048)	(0.040)	(0.044)	(0.049)	(0.194)	(0.017)	(0.016)
Self-employed	-0.110*	-0.110*	-0.176***	-0.035	-0.035	-0.077	0.787***	0.068***	0.085**
	(0.052)	(0.052)	(0.054)	(0.047)	(0.051)	(0.059)	(0.228)	(0.020)	(0.019)
Constant	6.827***	6.826***	7.343***	1.820***	1.639***	2.115***	5.77***	1.89***	1.803***

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	Weight			**Costs**			**Value**		
	Hurdle (log)	Hurdle (exp)	Poisson	Hurdle (log)	Hurdle (exp)	Poisson	Linear	Linear (log)	Poisson
Selection/Zero-inflation									
East	0.107**	0.107**	-0.188**	0.107**	0.107**	-0.188***	-	-	-
	(0.023)	(0.023)	(0.069)	(0.038)	(0.038)	(0.069)			
Urban area	0.036	0.036	-0.059	0.036	0.036	-0.059	-	-	-
	(0.038)	(0.038)	(0.057)	(0.031)	(0.031)	(0.057)			
Couple w/	0.742***	0.742***	-1.299***	0.742***	0.742***	-1.298***	-	-	-
	(0.031)	(0.031)	(0.252)	(0.127)	(0.127)	(0.252)			
Single parent	0.383***	0.383***	-0.606***	0.383***	0.383***	-0.606***	-	-	-
	(0.127)	(0.127)	(0.171)	(0.089)	(0.089)	(0.172)			
Couple w/out	0.618***	0.618***	-1.059***	0.618***	0.618***	-1.059***	-	-	-
	(0.064)	(0.064)	(0.128)	(0.064)	(0.064)	(0.128)			
Other	0.418***	0.418***	-0.634*	0.418***	0.418***	-0.633*	-	-	-
	(0.122)	(0.122)	(0.249)	(0.122)	(0.122)	(0.249)			
Age	0.002	0.002	-0.004	0.002	0.002	-0.004	-	-	-
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.003)			
Gender ratio	0.131**	0.131**	-0.220**	0.131**	0.131**	-0.220**	-	-	-
	(0.045)	(0.045)	(0.077)	(0.045)	(0.045)	(0.077)			
Migration	0.187	0.187	-0.397	0.187	0.187	-0.397	-	-	-
	(0.131)	(0.131)	(0.258)	(0.131)	(0.131)	(0.258)			
HH Income	0.000	0.000	-0.000	0.000	0.000	-0.000	-	-	-
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)			
Education	-0.042***	-0.042***	0.076***	-0.042***	-0.042***	0.076***	-	-	-
	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.015)	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.015)			
Observations	11080	11080	11080	11080	11080	11080	9470	9470	9470
Zero Obs	1931	1931	1610	1931	1931	1610	-	-	-

Note: Alternative model specifications for fresh meat consumption based on EVS 2013, pescetarians are excluded. Poisson models with robust standard errors. Asterisks indicate level of significance. *p<0.05 **p<0.01 *** p<0.001.

Table 21: Influences on fresh meat consumption, EVS 2013

	Weight			**Costs**			**Value**		
	Hurdle (log)	Hurdle (exp)	Poisson	Hurdle (log)	Hurdle (exp)	Poisson	Linear	Linear (log)	Poisson
East	0.118***	0.118***	0.084***	0.044**	0.051**	0.001	-0.922***	-0.077***	-0.098***
	(0.018)	(0.018)	(0.016)	(0.016)	(0.017)	(0.015)	(0.081)	(0.007)	(0.008)
Urban area	-0.086***	-0.086***	-0.062***	-0.070***	-0.074***	-0.064***	0.153*	0.009	0.016*
	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.013)	(0.014)	(0.015)	(0.013)	(0.069)	(0.006)	(0.006)
Couple w/	0.605***	0.605***	0.578***	0.563***	0.616***	0.588***	-0.268	0.001	-0.021
	(0.051)	(0.052)	(0.041)	(0.046)	(0.050)	(0.041)	(0.231)	(0.019)	(0.022)
Single parent	0.437***	0.438***	0.393***	0.337***	0.425*	0.378***	-0.311	-0.009	-0.030
	(0.042)	(0.042)	(0.036)	(0.037)	(0.040)	(0.035)	(0.188)	(0.015)	(0.017)
Couple w/out	0.516***	0.517***	0.486***	0.480***	0.527***	0.500***	0.055	0.019	0.010
	(0.027)	(0.027)	(0.023)	(0.024)	(0.026)	(0.023)	(0.123)	(0.010)	(0.011)
Other	0.560***	0.561***	0.571***	0.495***	0.548***	0.547***	-0.370	-0.015	-0.036
	(0.054)	(0.054)	(0.046)	(0.048)	(0.052)	(0.044)	(0.242)	(0.020)	(0.023)
Age	0.009***	0.009***	0.006***	0.010***	0.011***	0.009***	0.025***	0.002***	0.003***
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.004)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Gender ratio	-0.303***	-0.303***	-0.309***	-0.222***	-0.243***	-0.253***	1.123***	0.098***	0.114***
	(0.018)	(0.026)	(0.026)	(0.023)	(0.025)	(0.025)	(0.117)	(0.010)	(0.011)
Migration	-0.130*	-0.130*	0.129	-0.164**	-0.176**	-0.131*	-0.307	-0.043	-0.034
	(0.018)	(0.060)	(0.066)	(0.053)	(0.058)	(0.065)	(0.271)	(0.022)	(0.025)
HH Income	0.000***	0.000**	0.000**	0.000***	0.000***	0.000***	0.000***	0.000***	0.000***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Education	-0.052***	-0.052***	-0.046***	-0.038***	-0.041***	-0.033***	0.216***	0.017***	0.022***
	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.019)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Student	-0.290***	-0.291***	-0.359***	-0.286***	-0.320***	-0.372***	-0.426	-0.031	-0.048
	(0.059)	(0.059)	(0.057)	(0.052)	(0.056)	(0.057)	(0.265)	(0.022)	(0.025)
Worker	0.112**	0.112**	0.098***	0.057	0.060	0.068*	-0.595***	-0.059***	-0.069***
	(0.036)	(0.036)	(0.031)	(0.032)	(0.035)	(0.029)	(0.161)	(0.013)	(0.015)
Unemployed	-0.039	-0.039	-0.034	-0.159***	-0.171***	-0.152***	-1.298***	-0.130***	-0.154***
	(0.047)	(0.047)	(0.043)	(0.041)	(0.045)	(0.042)	(0.210)	(0.017)	(0.020)
Pensioner	-0.053	-0.053	-0.023	-0.104***	-0.114***	-0.075*	-0.525***	-0.045***	-0.055***
	(0.034)	(0.034)	(0.032)	(0.030)	(0.033)	(0.031)	(0.154)	(0.013)	(0.014)
Self-employed	-0.118**	-0.118**	-0.096**	-0.094**	-0.104**	-0.057	0.409*	0.027	0.038
	(0.041)	(0.041)	(0.035)	(0.036)	(0.039)	(0.036)	(0.183)	(0.015)	(0.016)
Constant	6.828***	6.827***	7.306***	2.267***	2.134***	2.583***	7.12***	2.08***	2.01***

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	Weight			**Costs**			**Value**		
	Hurdle (log)	Hurdle (exp)	Poisson	Hurdle (log)	Hurdle (exp)	Poisson	Linear	Linear (log)	Poisson
Selection/Zero-inflation									
East	0.041	0.041	-0.094	-0.037	-0.037	0.079	-	-	-
	(0.075)	(0.075)	(0.177)	(0.091)	(0.091)	(0.229)			
Urban area	-0.017	-0.017	0.052	-0.076	-0.076	0.224	-	-	-
	(0.063)	(0.063)	(0.147)	(0.079)	(0.079)	(0.198)			
Couple w/	0.600	0.600	-1.468	0.478	0.478	-1.293	-	-	-
	(0.307)	(0.307)	(0.876)	(0.340)	(0.340)	(1.024)			
Single parent	0.350	0.350	-0.755	0.533*	0.533*	-1.393***	-	-	-
	(0.200)	(0.200)	(0.560)	(0.262)	(0.262)	(0.808)			
Couple w/out	0.697***	0.697***	-1.729***	0.722***	0.722***	-1.940***	-	-	-
	(0.146)	(0.146)	(0.401)	(0.171)	(0.171)	(0.495)			
Other	0.631*	0.631*	-1.456*	0.664	0.664	-1.762**	-	-	-
	(0.288)	(0.288)	(0.599)	(0.355)	(0.355)	(0.638)			
Age	0.007*	0.007*	-0.017*	0.005	0.005	-0.014	-	-	-
	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.007)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.009)			
Gender ratio	-0.175*	-0.175*	0.391*	0.087*	0.087*	0.537*	-	-	-
	(0.081)	(0.081)	(0.179)	(0.103)	(0.103)	(0.243)			
Migration	-0.275	-0.275	0.649	-0.283	-0.283	0.645	-	-	-
	(0.196)	(0.196)	(0.426)	(0.231)	(0.231)	(0.563)			
HH Income	0.000	0.000	-0.000	-0.000	-0.000	0.000	-	-	-
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)			
Education	-0.044**	-0.044**	0.102**	-0.052**	-0.052**	0.130**	-	-	-
	(0.016)	(0.016)	(0.037)	(0.020)	(0.020)	(0.050)			
Student	-0.359*	-0.359*	0.714	-0.409*	-0.409*	0.908*	-	-	-
	(0.169)	(0.169)	(0.370)	(0.206)	(0.206)	(0.464)			
Observations	11080	11080	11080	11080	11080	11080	10881	10881	10881
Zero Obs	518	518	199	428	428	109	-	-	-

Note: Alternative model specifications for processed meat consumption based on EVS 2013, pescetarians are excluded. Poisson models with robust standard errors. Asterisks indicate level of significance. *p<0.05 **p<0.01 *** p<0.001.

Table 22: Influences on processed meat consumption, EVS 2013

D. Interactions

1. **SOEP 2016**

(a) Frequency of meat consumption

Table 23: Figure 2: Average marginal effects of education on meat consumption for workers and non-workers

	AME	SE	z	p
Red meat				
Workers	-0.002	(0.009)	-0.26	0.797
Non-workers	-0.028	(0.003)	-9.04	0.000
Poultry				
Workers	0.005	(0.009)	0.56	0.574
Non-workers	-0.024	(0.003)	-7.45	0.000
Fish				
Workers	0.044***	(0.008)	5.26	0.000
Non-workers	0.015	(0.003)	5.13	0.000
Meat				
Workers	0.002	(0.012)	0.13	0.893
Non-workers	-0.052	(0.005)	-10.3	0.000

Table 24: Figure 2: Predicted frequencies of meat consumption by level of education for workers and non-workers

	Workers		Non-workers	
Red meat	Margins	SE	Margins	SE
Basic vocational qualification	3.329***	(0.024)	3.293***	(0.011)
Intermediate vocational qualification	3.325***	(0.023)	3.237***	(0.007)
General maturity certificate ('Abitur')	3.323***	(0.028)	3.209***	(0.007)
Higher tertiary education	3.316***	(0.048)	3.124***	(0.013)
Poultry				
Basic vocational qualification	2.573***	(0.024)	2.589***	(0.011)
Intermediate vocational qualification	2.583***	(0.024)	2.542***	(0.008)
General maturity certificate ('Abitur')	2.588***	(0.028)	2.518***	(0.007)
Higher tertiary education	2.603***	(0.049)	2.448***	(0.013)
Fish				
Basic vocational qualification	1.992***	(0.023)	2.009***	(0.010)
Intermediate vocational qualification	2.080***	(0.023)	2.039***	(0.007)
General maturity certificate ('Abitur')	2.125***	(0.027)	2.055***	(0.007)
Higher tertiary education	2.258***	(0.046)	2.101***	(0.012)
Meat				
Basic vocational qualification	5.902***	(0.039)	5.880***	(0.017)
Intermediate vocational qualification	5.906***	(0.038)	5.777***	(0.012)
General maturity certificate ('Abitur')	5.908***	(0.044)	5.725***	(0.012)
Higher tertiary education	5.913***	(0.077)	5.570***	(0.021)

Table 25: Figure 3: Average marginal effects of education and income on meat consumption for women and men

	AME	SE	z	p
Education				
Women	-0.066	(0.006)	-10.62	0.000
Men	-0.023	(0.007)	-3.6	0.000
Income				
Women	-0.000	(0.000)	-4.29	0.000
Men	0.000	(0.000)	-0.56	0.575

Table 26: Figure 3: Predicted frequencies of meat consumption by level of education and by income for women and men

	Women		Men	
	Margins	SE	Margins	SE
Basic vocational qualification	5.746***	(0.020)	6.033***	(0.022)
Intermediate vocational qualification	5.614***	(0.014)	5.986***	(0.016)
General maturity certificate ('Abitur')	5.548***	(0.015)	5.962***	(0.016)
Higher tertiary education	5.350***	(0.027)	5.892***	(0.028)
Adj. household income = 0	5.693***	(0.028)	5.989***	(0.027)
Adj. household income = 1000	5.611***	(0.015)	5.979***	(0.028)
Adj. household income = 2000	5.529***	(0.020)	5.969***	(0.019)
Adj. household income = 3000	5.447***	(0.036)	5.960***	(0.033)
Adj. household income = 4000	5.364***	(0.054)	5.950***	(0.049)

Figure 4: Interaction between level of education and income

Table 27: Figure 4: Average marginal effects of education on meat consumption by income

	AME	SE	z	p
Adj. household income = 0	-0.056	(0.008)	-7.25	0.000
Adj. household income = 1000	-0.047	(0.005)	-9.81	0.000
Adj. household income = 2000	-0.038	(0.007)	-5.84	0.000
Adj. household income = 3000	-0.029	(0.011)	-2.67	0.000
Adj. household income = 4000	-0.020	(0.016)	-1.27	0.205

(b) Vegetarianism and pescetarianism

Table 28: Figure 9: Predicted probability of vegetarian diet by level of education and income

	Margins	SE	z	p
Basic vocational qualification				
Adj. household income = 0	0.018	(0.002)	9.08	0.000
Adj. household income = 2000	0.031	(0.003)	11.77	0.000
Adj. household income = 4000	0.052	(0.011)	4.57	0.000
General maturity certificate ('Abitur')				
Adj. household income = 0	0.041	(0.003)	15.40	0.000
Adj. household income = 2000	0.048	(0.002)	21.18	0.000
Adj. household income = 4000	0.056	(0.007)	8.39	0.000
Higher tertiary education				
Adj. household income = 0	0.087	(0.007)	11.89	0.000
Adj. household income = 2000	0.072	(0.004)	18.76	0.000
Adj. household income = 4000	0.060	(0.007)	8.45	0.000

Table 29: Figure 10: Average marginal effects of education on probability of vegetarian diet by income

	AME	SE	z	p
Household income = 0	0.009	(0.001)	10.83	0.000
Household income = 1000	0.008	(0.001)	13.38	0.000
Household income = 2000	0.006	(0.001)	9.57	0.000
Household income = 3000	0.004	(0.001)	3.31	0.001
Household income = 4000	0.001	(0.002)	0.61	0.542

2. **EVS 2013**

(a) Level of meat consumption

Table 30: Figure 5: Average marginal effects of education on fresh and processed meat consumption by age

Age (years)	AME	SE	z	p
Fresh meat				
20	-135.9	(19.21)	-7.07	0.000
30	-157.8	(19.34)	-8.16	0.000
40	-162.9	(17.53)	-9.29	0.000
50	-147.7	(15.31)	-9.65	0.000
60	-115.2	(15.54)	-7.41	0.000
70	-73.9	(18.42)	-4.01	0.000
80	-34.0	(20.91)	-1.63	0.104
Processed meat				
20	-143.3	(16.91)	-8.47	0.000
30	-156.7	(15.81)	-9.91	0.000
40	-157.6	(13.56)	-11.63	0.000
50	-144.7	(11.45)	-12.64	0.000
60	-119.8	(11.77)	-10.18	0.000
70	-87.3	(14.72)	-5.93	0.000
80	-53.1	(17.99)	-2.95	0.003

Table 31: Figure 6: Average marginal effects of education on fresh and processed meat consumption by income

Age (years)	AME	SE	z	p
Fresh meat				
Household income = 0	-76.3	(22.68)	-3.37	0.001
Household income = 2000	-104.4	(15.10)	-6.91	0.000
Household income = 4000	-132.7	(14.15)	-9.38	0.000
Household income = 6000	-161.5	(21.39)	-7.55	0.000
Household income = 8000	-190.5	(32.10)	-5.94	0.000
Processed meat				
Household income = 0	-71.9	(16.88)	-4.26	0.000
Household income = 2000	-105.5	(11.22)	-9.40	0.000
Household income = 4000	-141.7	(11.36)	-12.47	0.000
Household income = 6000	-180.5	(18.79)	-9.61	0.000
Household income = 8000	-222.2	(29.52)	-7.53	0.000

Table 32: Figure 6: Average marginal effects of income on meat consumption by level of education

Education	AME	SE	z	P
Basic vocational qualification	0.149	(0.046)	3.22	0.001
Intermediate vocational qualification	0.082	(0.029)	2.86	0.004
General maturity certificate ('Abitur')	0.052	(0.024)	2.19***	0.028
Higher tertiary education	-0.021	(0.028)	-0.75	0.452

Table 33: Figure 7: Predicted frequencies of poultry consumption by income in metropolitan and non-metropolitan areas

	Urban areas		Other areas	
	Margins	SE	Margins	SE
Household income = 0	900.2***	(33.73)	868.9***	(35.08)
Household income = 1500	905.3***	(23.96)	843.1***	(23.65)
Household income = 3500	912.2***	(16.98)	811.0***	(15.80)
Household income = 6000	920.8***	(26.93)	772.6***	(24.95)

Table 34: Figure 7: Predicted frequencies of poultry consumption by level of education for workers and non-workers

	Workers		Non-workers	
	Margins	SE	Margins	SE
Basic vocational qualification	833.1**	(54.80)	956.2***	(23.24)
Intermediate vocational qualification	851.4***	(50.24)	885.7***	(13.48)
General maturity certificate ('Abitur')	860.3***	(59.37)	852.1***	(12.64)
Higher tertiary education	886.2***	(110.25)	757.5***	(22.56)

Table 35: Figure 8: Predicted frequencies of fish consumption by level of education for pensioners and non-pensioners

	Pensioners		Non-pensioners	
	Margins	SE	Margins	SE
Basic vocational qualification	459.4**	(22.93)	453.7***	(15.31)
Intermediate vocational qualification	503.4***	(22.41)	461.7***	(11.18)
General maturity certificate ('Abitur')	526.9***	(23.74)	465.7***	(10.79)
Higher tertiary education	603.6***	(34.90)	477.5***	(16.88)

(b) Vegetarianism and pescetarianism

Table 36: Figure 11: Average marginal effects of education on likelihood of vegetarian diet by age

	AME	SE	z	p
Age = 20 years	0.001	(0.001)	0.53	0.595
Age = 40 years	0.002	(0.000)	3.36	0.001
Age = 60 years	0.002	(0.000)	5.15	0.000
Age = 80 years	0.002	(0.001)	3.54	0.000

Table 37: Figure 11: Predicted likelihood of vegetarian diet by level of education and age

Education	Margins	SE
Age = 20 years		
Basic vocational qualification	0.014**	(0.005)
Intermediate vocational qualification	0.015***	(0.004)
General maturity certificate ('Abitur')	0.016***	(0.004)
Higher tertiary education	0.018**	(0.001)
Age = 40 years		
Basic vocational qualification	0.007***	(0.002)
Intermediate vocational qualification	0.010***	(0.002)
General maturity certificate ('Abitur')	0.012***	(0.002)
Higher tertiary education	0.018***	(0.003)
Age = 60 years		
Basic vocational qualification	0.004***	(0.001)
Intermediate vocational qualification	0.006***	(0.001)
General maturity certificate ('Abitur')	0.008***	(0.001)
Higher tertiary education	0.018***	(0.003)
Age = 80 years		
Basic vocational qualification	0.002***	(0.001)
Intermediate vocational qualification	0.004***	(0.001)
General maturity certificate ('Abitur')	0.006***	(0.002)
Higher tertiary education	0.019***	(0.006)

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