

Masculine Mesclun:
The Management of Vegetarian Masculinities

by
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On my honor
I have neither given nor received
unauthorized aid on this thesis:

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Abstract

In this thesis, I studied differences in conceptions and practices related to food and gender between males, females, vegetarians, and meat-eaters, with the key focus surrounding Male Vegetarians. I conducted a correspondence analysis of food and gender conceptions and supplemented it with information from five interviews with Male Vegetarians. I collected data by surveying Colorado Springs vegetarians and meat eaters, then entered the data into Ucinet 6 matrices and analyzed the results. From an online vegetarian “meet up” group, I found male volunteers for supplemental interviews that enabled interesting relationships shown in the correspondence data to be discussed in detail to better understand Vegetarian Male opinions, beliefs, and actions. I found that Vegetarian Men, as deviants of consumptive practices and gender performance, are excluded from normal status-seeking and power-building practices. However, aligned with their greatly individualized identities as vegetarians, these men have developed individualized definitions and strategies for managing and redefining their masculinity.

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A 2006 television advertisement shows two men waiting in line at the grocery store. As the first man's package of tofu is scanned through, the second man flashes him a glance. The first then loses his confident smile when he notices the other man's pile of red meat waiting to be scanned, dominant over his own jumble of vegetarian foods. He looks to the magazine rack out of embarrassment and insecurity, finding hope in an advertisement for a Hummer. He leaves the grocery store, speeds to the Hummer dealership and purchases a brand new car—a very masculine car to make up for his unmasculine eating practices. A smile returns to his face as he snacks on vegetables and “hauls ass” in his brand-new man car, an object of status and power that will reassure that his manhood be recognized and validated by other men. The tagline, “Restore the balance,” flashes across the screen. Restoring the balance obviously implies that vegetarian men are less masculine than they ‘should’ be and therefore need to compensate by buying a Hummer. By this assessment, it seems that vegetarian eating habits are not masculine and, thus, not for men because it diminishes their masculinity to an unacceptable level. This research will examine the deviant male identities of vegetarian men and the ways in which they attempt to manage their masculinity.

In a humorous book about gender-stereotypes that gained some popularity and an appearance in *Playboy Magazine* in the 1980s entitled *Real Men Don't Eat Quiche*, Bruce Feirstein comically brings to light stereotypes about manhood, and specific to my study, about normative masculine diets. In addition to the title, whimsical references include: “real men are meat and potatoes eaters...real men eat steak and chips...real men eat beef...real men never eat the compulsory sprig of watercress...they know that proper meals are centered around meat...and that salad is for rabbits” (Feirstein 1982: 73). Also,

tofu secured the number four ranking for Feirsteins's (1982) "things you won't find in a real man's stomach" list (p. 75). Regardless of how satirical Feirstein's book was trying to be, it still tells us much about the acceptable and widely perceived correlative discourse about men and meat and the combative discourses about vegetarian men; men who eat "wimp foods" (Feirstein 1982: 75).

Although satirical books do uncover some of the discourse around this issue, I now offer a real life example. My college's cafeteria recently began a weekly tradition, in an effort to reduce the school's carbon footprint, called "Meatless Mondays" where, every Monday, all meals served in the cafeteria are free of meat. While walking by the cafeteria on such a Monday, I saw a group of freshmen and sophomore men walk up to the entrance, realize that it was "Meatless Monday", and subsequently, almost in unison, release an angered groan. One such proud male even exclaimed, in route to another campus restaurant, "Fuck that, there is no way in hell that I am not going to Meatless Mondays. That is for *vaginas*".

Although this was simply an observation, outside of a research setting, I think it is a valuable example to reference for an introduction to understanding the types of language used to describe vegetarianism, the repugnance of men to the deviant diet, and the element of masculinity involved in bringing to the surface the feminine qualities of such a diet. Witnessing such a remark, especially at such an elite liberal arts college, also planted a seed for this research: gender holds significant influence in the determining of one's eating practices, how one thinks and talks about food, and how one can 'otherize' those who don't fit the standard. There is an expectation that men should want meat and that men will not participate in any form of digression from said masculine, meat-eating

habits under any circumstance. So for the few men who do choose to be vegetarian, what are the consequences, and specifically what are the consequences in terms of gender?

This research will explore the understudied relationship between masculinity and vegetarianism, how vegetarians differ from meat eaters in conception of food and of gender, and how vegetarian men manage their masculinity. Based on a correspondence analysis of on survey data and supplemental qualitative interviews, I will argue that the way people relate to food has an impact on the way they relate to masculinity.

Literature Review

Theoretical Framework

In *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (1899), Thorstein Veblen discusses the correlation between consumption habits and the maintenance of status. Specifically he discusses his idea of *conspicuous consumption*, a form of consumption using money and resources that is purposefully performed to obviously display social status above others. “In order to gain and to hold the esteem of men it is not sufficient merely to possess wealth or power. The wealth or power must be put in evidence, for esteem is awarded only on evidence” (Veblen 1899: 36). Whereas privately consumed goods allow for no display of status (and therefore are not worth consuming), goods such as silver dining utensils used at a dinner party flaunt the host’s excessive wealth and freedom to consume as he/she desires. To follow suit with the maintenance of status, less prestigious, lower ranking citizens emulate consumption habits of respected and high status individuals in attempt to gain status. In other words, “the ideal of consumption [...] lies just beyond our

reach... [with] each class emulating the class next above it in the social scale” (Veblen 1899: 103-104).

For Veblen and his theorizing on early barbaric civilizations, social respect is based on the physical and substantial display of evidence of one’s expertise and aggression (exemplified by the first leisure class’s makeup of warriors). “The activity of the men more and more takes on the character of exploit...Tangible evidences of prowess—trophies—find a place in men’s habits of thought as an essential feature of the paraphernalia of life...Aggression becomes the accredited form of action, and [trophies] serve as [...] conventional evidence of successful content” (Veblen 1899/1967:16-17). In addition to bringing social status to practitioners, these traits also represent traditional masculinity. Conspicuous consumption is, therefore, gendered: the subjugation and exclusion of women is a consequent occurrence, for example, women being “trophies” of a men’s success. Patriarchy, and gender inequality on the whole, is reaffirmed through Veblen’s theory: by not permitting his wife to work, a man can prove his prestige by boasting her conspicuous leisure, or the economic freedom that allows for her time to be spent in the pursuit of culture, or by spending money on his wife (conspicuously consuming). Moreover, strategies for men proving their status are very similar to strategies for proving their masculinity.

Veblen even goes on to mention explicitly, the conspicuous consumption of food. “The quasi-peaceable gentleman of leisure...consumes freely and of the best, in food, drink, narcotics, shelter, services, ornaments, apparel, weapons and accoutrements, amusements, amulets, and idols or divinities” (Veblen 1899:73-74). As evidence of wealth, honor is awarded to those who consume foods of higher quality and quantity

while inferiority is attached to those who fail to consume such goods (Veblen 1899).

Status is, therefore, tied directly to the foods an individual consumes with "...certain victuals, and...certain beverages, [...] strictly reserved for the use of the superior class" (Veblen 1899:70).

Within this theoretical framework, I will explore the status of those who consume inferior foods of a vegetarian diet. I seek to understand if and how Vegetarian Males conspicuously consume to manage their status and their masculinity without traditional diets or traditional conceptions of food and gender.

In his *Distinction* (1984), Pierre Bourdieu analyzes power relations, stratification of capital (economic, social, and cultural), and social mobility throughout "fields". Bourdieu argues that the distribution of capital makes up the structure of the social world and determines the chances of success. Economic capital is the dominant form of capital that, described simply, can be immediately and directly converted into money and institutionalized in the form of property (material appropriation). Cultural capital, on the other hand, is institutionalized through educational qualifications and can be converted into economic capital if certain conditions allow (symbolic appropriation). Social capital is made up of the resources made available by the network of relationships found in membership to a particular group. It is the collectively-owned capital that gives members entitlement to credentials. By increasing one's capital, one gains opportunity for social mobility, and therefore, power.

"Symbolic goods, especially those regarded as the attributes of excellence...[are]...the ideal weapons in strategies of distinction" (Bourdieu 1982:66). However, because class divisions are determined by differences of capital, groups with

accumulated quality and quantity of capital are the ones who produce dominant definitions of culture and “excellence” based on class interests.

For Bourdieu, capital is a form of power. All individuals and groups in society compete for distinction in autonomous arenas of struggle, known as *fields* (Swartz 1997). In these fields of power, individuals are constantly struggling to advance against self-perpetuating hierarchies of domination, to gain power, to be autonomous, and to be distinctive (Swartz 1997). As an ongoing competition for scarce resources, “the structure of the field, i.e., the unequal distribution of capital, is the source of the specific effects of capital, i.e., the appropriation of profits and the power to impose the laws of functioning of the field most favorable to capital and its reproduction” (Bourdieu 1986:246). All cultural symbols and practices, including eating habits, embody interests and function to enhance social distinctions. However, “the successful exercise of power requires legitimation” (Swartz 1997:6). This struggle for legitimation of power strongly resembles the struggle for the legitimation of masculinity, a struggle that will be discussed shortly.

Bourdieu struck a difficult balance by integrating social structure (objectivism) and autonomous action (subjectivism), acknowledging that both play a role in determining an individuals’ or group’s actions, in an idea he called *habitus*. Different classes and subgroups have different ways of evaluating and, thus, obtaining power based on the cognitive structures (unique to their autonomous thought) and structural positions (unique to the allocation and distribution of capital).

Within this theoretical framework, we will explore the cognitive structure of vegetarian men (how they conceive of themselves, the food they eat, and the gender they

perform) and the structural positions of vegetarian men (how society conceives of them, the food they eat, and the deviant/subordinate form of gender they perform). In this research, I aim to understand the struggle for Vegetarian Males to remain in positions of power and domination, after giving up traditional tools (eating meat) for seeking status and masculinity.

Consumption and Identity

Fischler (1988) theorized that a person's food choices are well intertwined with their self-identities. Kwan and Roth (2004) believe that food consumption is "an avenue for expressing a certain construction of the self, including a moral and political self" (p. 2-3). Using these two conceptions, I will discuss the vegetarian identity, and later the male vegetarian identity. One difficulty in studying an all-encompassing vegetarian identity is that all vegetarians have personalized and varied reasons for choosing to be vegetarian. Most commonly, vegetarians choose to identify as such because of health, ethical, environmental, or religious reasons, or some combination of some or all of them. Because of this broad and varied reasoning, Bedford and Barr (2005) found that vegetarians and vegans create self-definitions based on their own unique practices. Fox and Ward (2008) claim that individuals' differing reasoning for following a meat-free diet produces different identities. Stiles (1998) agrees that vegetarian identity takes on various meanings for different individuals. Moreover, by choosing to convert to vegetarianism, individuals are not only refuting the dominant dietary principles of meat-eating culture that they were raised in, in doing so they reform and manage new personal identities, which influences their social relationships, their norm definitions and, clearly,

their eating practices (Jabs, Sobal, and Devine 2000). Identity, or “an embodied, reflexive process grounded firmly upon practice and the relational context within which it takes place,” is heavily influenced by and strongly derived from dietary practices (Fox and Ward 2008:2592). Thus, self-reflection and evaluation are constant and lead to the emergence of greatly individualized identities (Fox and Ward 2008). This ambivalence and lack of cohesiveness makes defining vegetarianism or a vegetarian identity somewhat difficult. However, Jabs et al. (2000) acknowledge that a group identity exists, saying “adopting the common label of vegetarian established a unifying identity affiliating respondents with a group that followed particular types of practices, allowing them to form social networks to aid in maintaining a vegetarian diet” (p. 387). Instead of using social networks or similarity of reasoning to group vegetarians into a population fit for study, their common counter-hegemonic practices will serve as a more appropriate definition for studying vegetarianism in this research.

Food choices play a crucial role in the construction of identity. When the food one chooses to eat is counter-normative, as will be one’s identity. Jabs et al. (2000) label this a deviant identity while Kwan and Roth (2004) call it counter-hegemonic. Kwan and Roth (2004) side with Adams (1990) to argue that vegetarianism is a counter-hegemonic identity that aims to reject mainstream systems of power while elevating vegetarian knowledge and practice to a morally and spiritually superior level. Kwan and Roth studied only vegetarian women, so this feminist embodiment may not exist with male vegetarians. Jabs et al. (2000) discusses how vegetarianism, like any identity, has norms and rules. Unique to the vegetarian identity are feelings comparable to ‘cheating’ or such described as ‘breaching a code’, when a “rule” is broken. But what are the effects of this

deviant identity? The answer has not been researched specifically in terms of gender, however we can draw a few results from what has been observed prior.

Social Reactions to Vegetarianism

Because eating habits are such a vitally important aspect of everyday life, dietary changes have a tremendous effect on social relationships in symbolic, expressive, and nutritional ways (Beardsworth and Keil 1992). Moving to vegetarianism “may elicit sympathy and support on the one hand, or on the other criticism, bewilderment or even outright hostility” (Beardsworth and Keil 1992:276). Some vegetarians are self-conscious of their eating practices in social settings due to the potential for criticism and would rather eat meat than make a social upset (Beardsworth and Keil 1992). Likewise in the work environment, hostile joking can turn forced eating in a game; meat eaters may continually try to get a vegetarian to eat meat to “win” such a game (Beardsworth and Keil 1992). These sorts of social tensions are avoided by vegetarians by the formation of networks, where people of like-minds can share meals and ideas (Beardsworth and Keil 1992).

Fiddes (1991) comments that there exists a “conventional assumption of the majority of the population that meat is a normal, natural part of the diet, and vegetarianism an aberration to be explained” (p. 4). Iacobbo and Iacobbo (2006) discuss how vegetarians can often receive prejudice, coined “vegudice”, for their eating choices. This inhibits vegetarians from being able to vocalize their protest as well. Because they are a part of a minority class of eaters, they don’t preach out of fear of rejection: for many

of these individuals, it is their first time being a part of a minority class (Iacobbo and Iacobbo 2006).

Several researchers have studied familial support for vegetarians (Amato and Partridge 1989; Beardsworth and Keil 1992; Jabs et al. 2000; Larsson et al. 2003; Stiles 1998) with all reporting some form of skepticism or disagreement coming from the father. While mothers' were frequently interested in their offspring's general health and well-being, it was reported that fathers were not normally inquisitive about health until meat, or a masculine diet, was suddenly put in jeopardy (Jabs et al. 2000). Whereas mothers were more sympathetic to their son or daughter's changes in diet, fathers had a much harder time coping with it, sometimes opposed it directly, and even felt offended by their children's rejection of a food they love (Beardsworth and Keil 1992; Larsson et al. 2003). Additionally, female vegetarians often complained about their husband's unwillingness to cooperate or to cook separately (Beardsworth and Keil 1992). Further, teenage males expect less support from their friends than their female peers (Larsson et al. 2003). There is a clear gender division in the acceptance of vegetarianism. This theme grows as we approach the context of meat.

Many researchers have given statistics for rates of vegetarianism, all showing a predominantly female majority. As of 2002, only about 30% of vegetarians were men (Maurer 2002). The notion that men and women have different attitudes towards eating meat is solidified by the fact that more women are vegetarian (Amato and Partridge 1989). In a psychological study done by Ruby and Heine (2011), vegetarian men, by intentionally abstaining from the symbolic power, status, and masculinity that comes with meat, were perceived as less masculine than omnivorous men, a discovery that shows the

outward effects of the underlying link between men, meat, and masculinity. It can be expected that because of men's association with meat, they are less likely to be supportive towards vegetarians, to be supported as a vegetarian, or to be vegetarian. But where does this gender division come from? The relationship of men and meat has developed discursively throughout history.

The Ideology and Discourse of Men and Meat

It is important to understand that meat is more than just a food one can choose to eat or not eat. It acts discursively throughout sexuality, class, and gender to produce imbedded inequality. This is evident by the formation of normative food practices for men. The now ingrained association that men and meat share has historical roots that have always created male privilege and dominance.

In Julia Twigg's *Vegetarianism and the Meanings of Meat*, she illustrates a hierarchy of food. With meat at the top of the hierarchy, the most highly prized and therefore most tabooed food, and fruits and vegetables at the bottom, the most greatly criticized food for its insufficiency and weakness, the model describes dominant food ideology. When individuals choose to abstain from eating the 'sacred' and powerful top tier of food, as vegetarians and vegans do, there are social repercussions. These will be explored in this research.

Meat-eating contributes to the objectification of women, thereby uplifting the patriarchy of male dominance. In *The Sexual Politics of Meat*, Carol J. Adams argues that the gender inequality that fuels male dominance and power has historically fit with a meat based diet: "People with power have always eaten meat" (Adams 1990: 26). Eating

practices declare class divisions and affirm class privilege because meat has always been expensive, but they proclaim patriarchal divisions as well (Adams 1990). In early Hunter-Gatherer societies, men controlled the valuable economic commodity of meat by hunting and obtaining the meat and therefore, held power over women (Adams 1990). Similarly, in the aristocracy of Europe, women, in a class below men, were traditionally given a second-class diet consisting of vegetables, fruit and grains instead of red meat which was reserved for the men (Adams 1990). Discourse of meat-eating produced cultural myths that “men eat meat” and “meat gives bull-like strength” that resulted in breadwinners of the Industrial Revolution necessitating and thus receiving the meat, as opposed to women (Adams 1990: 28). During World War Two, meat was prioritized for American soldiers who each received two and a half times more meat than each civilian (Adams 1990). This unequal rationing was based on the belief that meat makes men strong and therefore our warriors “needed” it (Adams 1990).

Echoed in all of these historical examples and Adam’s writing is Veblen’s (1899) argument: the leisure class, made up of male soldiers and nobility, consume high status foods which reaffirms their status and power. Today, meat remains a central component of status and normativity for masculinity.

Social Reactions to Male Vegetarians and ‘Doing Gender’ through Food

Adams says that socially, we hold the expectation that “people should eat animals” and the belief that “meat is good for you” (Adams 1990: 13). Moreover, she speculates that “meat is a masculine food and meat eating is a male activity” and that “attributes of masculinity are achieved through eating masculine foods” (Adams

1990:26,33). For men, becoming vegetarian means “renouncing their domination over animals” and giving up a “quintessentially masculine food,” transitions that men are quite reluctant towards (Amato and Partridge 1989: 219, Fiddes 1991:46). For all of these reasons, it is concerning for the men who choose to deviate from the meat eating practices of normative masculinity.

Due to differences in eating beliefs, values, and practices, and the individualism that the United States fosters, “the dominant meat-eating culture often fails to readily accept differences and may respond with ridicule or even hostility” (Iacobbo and Iacobbo 2006: 100). Same-sex policing is a way of monitoring men’s heterosexuality that is institutionalized into our food industries and markets, an argument that runs parallel to Adrienne Rich’s argument in *Compulsory Heterosexuality and Lesbian Existence* (1986). Rich goes on to argue that masculinity is eroticized dominance and femininity is eroticized passivity: discursive elements of masculinity and femininity that Carol Adams argues eating meat creates and discursive elements that Rich would claim compel men and women to heterosexuality. Along these same lines, Pepper Schwartz might see the meat diet as another social script that men must perform in order to prove to other men he is heterosexual (2007).

Jeffrey Sobal (2005) argues that food is symbolically gendered and represents gendered ideas. He states, “men and women ‘do gender’ by consuming gender appropriate foods” (Sobal 2005: 1; West and Zimmerman 1987). Diets consisting of masculine or feminine foods establish an identity as either a man or a woman (Sobal 2005). Considering the discourse surrounding men and meat, in order to do gender properly, men must do meat. “Men who decide to eschew meat eating are deemed

effeminate; failure of men to eat meat announces that they are not masculine” (Adams 1990: 34). Vegetarian males’ deviant eating practices distinguish them as unmasculine. Because a vegetarian diet closely relates to a stereotypical ‘female diet’, women, although policed for their healthy, slender figure, are rarely policed for their vegetarianism. With men it is the opposite: “the condemnation of men [for their vegetarian diet...is] much heavier than women” (Twigg 1983: 24).

By choosing not to eat in manly ways, vegetarian men are forced to give accounts to explain and excuse their deviant behavior (Sobal 2005). Lacking the “‘ruddy’ good health or ‘red blooded virile’ approach of the meat eater,” vegetarian men have subtly redefined maleness and its traditional association with meat by viewing it as a “false, macho stereotype of masculinity” instead of an approved of conception: “‘strength’ and ‘power’ become ‘cruelty’ and ‘aggression’” (Twigg 1983:24,27). “Vegetarian men are marginalized, and therefore, have to make extra efforts to manage gender in relationship with their vegetarian identities” (Maurer 1995:141). How vegetarian men challenge traditional conceptions and stereotypes and the extra efforts they take to manage their gender and status is of crucial focus for this study. As we move forward, we will attempt to understand how vegetarian men manage their masculinity, how consumption affects identity, and how the correlation between consumption and status in turn affects mobility within a hierarchy of conceptions.

Masculinity

In Kimmel’s (2006) words, “the quest for manhood—the effort to achieve, to demonstrate, to prove our masculinity—has been one of the formative and persistent

experiences in men's lives" (p. 3). Masculinity is defined through homosocial interactions, meaning that men are the judges of other men's manhood and that men's identities are formed out of interactions with one another (Kimmel 2006). The highest value for men is their reputation as a man among other men. Moreover, all men fear "being ashamed or humiliated in front of other men, or being dominated by stronger men (Kimmel 2006). In this sense, it can be said that masculinity is very fragile. This relates to the competition for distinction among men and the struggle for legitimation and validation from men in Bourdieu's fields of power.

Although 'masculinity' is an incredibly difficult concept to define simply and briefly, Connell (2001) believes it to be "simultaneously a place in gender relations, the practices through which men and women engage that place in gender, and the effects of these practices in bodily experience, personality and culture" (p. 33-34). We have discussed dietary practices of each gender and the identity and social outcomes for those who stray from what is expected of their gender. But we must further investigate masculinity to understand what vegetarianism means for men in greater detail, how and why these men are subordinated and marginalized, how these men can continue to maintain their masculinity, and also why manhood and gender identity is so important, so heavily sought-after, and so preciously managed by men.

Locating itself in a feminist theoretical framework, the sociology of masculinity focuses on "the critical study of men, their behaviors, practices, values and perspectives" (Whitehead and Barret 2001:14). "What it means to be a man in America depends heavily on one's class, race, ethnicity, age, sexuality, religion, region of country" (p. 3-4). I would argue that all these categories are symbolized by a series of practices that define

one's manhood. Diet is also a set of practices, one that traditionally does not differ amongst men. However, with the rise of vegetarianism, diet is becoming, although less significant to some of the other categories, a defining characteristic of identity and practice of masculinity. Vegetarian men must practice and prove their manhood differently from those who eat normative meat-filled diets. How so, is what this research seeks to discover.

Masculinities are “plural, changing, and historically informed around dominant discourses or ideologies of masculinism” (Whitehead and Barret 2001:15). Discourses are “social and cultural assumptions which, once taken up by a person, are presented as ‘truths’ and as ways of being and relating in the world and too others,” (Whitehead and Barret 2001:21). Masculinities are discourses that are crucial in the formation of identities: they exist as “dominant and subordinated ways of thinking, talking and acting as males, and as such provide the very means by which males ‘become’ men” (Whitehead and Barret 2001:21). The discourse, as it stands now is that men eat meat. Therefore, vegetarian men are lesser men, marginal, and subordinate and must utilize alternative forms of symbolic capital (Bourdieu 1984) to gain social mobility and power.

It is important to note that not all men have equal access to the same resources in identity formation, nor do all men seek the same resources (Whitehead and Barret 2001). Vegetarians are not able to utilize their consumptive identity to boost their manhood. In other words, “since masculinity is something that one ‘does’ rather than something one ‘has’, it would be appropriate to say that men ‘do’ masculinity in a variety of ways and in a variety of settings, depending on the resources available to them” (Whitehead and

Barret 2001:18). This research aims to explore how vegetarian men ‘do’ masculinity by relying on nontraditional resources and tactics.

Socially dominant forms of manhood (masculinities) provide an acceptable means by which boys and men may express their gender and thus their sense of identity. By performing the symbolic practices of the specific local culture, such as eating meat, men achieve an association with other men and also “a differentiation from the ‘Other’—not only women but also those males who appear ‘different’” (Whitehead and Barret 2001:20). The embodiment of vegetarianism is a variation on the traditional masculine performance of eating and therefore constitutes a ‘different’ connotation: vegetarians are therefore marked as an ‘other’ and a deviant. Vegetarian men are excluded from the normative community of men and ejected from the circle of legitimacy. This research aims to understand the male vegetarian experience.

Methods

I chose to explore male vegetarianism using several methods including surveying, correspondence analysis, and qualitative interviews. First, I drafted a survey of 33 questions, asking participants to answer questions mostly about food choices and conceptions (see Appendix A). I designed the survey with gender mind, so many of the questions required participants to select from lists of words to describe foods (and vice versa) in somewhat counter-intuitive ways. For example, one question required participants to select the vegetables that they find most ‘delectable and luscious’, gendered words I picked to hint at the selection of more feminine vegetables. These are two adjectives that some would never use to describe vegetables, but by analyzing who

chose to describe which vegetables in this way, relationships of gender, diet, and food were brought to the surface.

In attempt to reach the hard-to-find vegetarian male population which was crucial for my research, I first stood outside of a local natural foods store with paper surveys. The survey was pitched as a survey about food for a senior thesis student at Colorado College. After getting a sample of about 50 from outside of this natural foods store, I still didn't have a large enough sample of vegetarian males, so I sought out an online "meet-up" group for vegetarians in Colorado Springs. I sent an email with a link to an online version of the survey to the head of the group who proceeded to send out my message and link to the survey to the group email list. This provided my sample with a sufficient number of vegetarians (about 12 of each gender). I then attempted to access the traditional eaters of the Colorado Springs area by standing with paper surveys in city parks. With only marginal success (4 completed surveys), I turned to a relative who lives in an apartment building in Colorado Springs who kindly handed out surveys to her friends and coworkers who were willing to take the survey and who all happened to fulfill the traditional, conservative, Colorado Springs meat-eater gap in the sample. As a last attempted to achieve a balanced sample, I had a handful of Colorado College students fill out the survey.

In the 128 surveys taken, there were 42 male participants and 86 female participants. Of those 128 individuals, 15 were Male Vegetarians, 26 were Male Non-Vegetarians, 22 were Female Vegetarians, and 65 were Female Non-Vegetarians. There was an age range of 18 to 93, with the mean age being 46.5, the median age being 47, and the mode age being 21. Of the respondents 82.0% were Caucasian (105 individuals),

5.4% were Hispanic (7 individuals), 3.1% were Asian American (4 individuals), less than one percent were African American (1 individual), 6.3% were of mixed origin (8 individuals), and 6 individuals chose not to identify with a race or ethnic group. 53.9% (69 individuals) of the sample were employed in middle or high income level jobs, 17.2% (22 individuals) were students, 17.2% (22 individuals) were retired, 3.12% (4 individuals) were unemployed, 1.6% (2 individuals) were working low income level jobs, and 9 individuals chose to abstain from answering the question. Participants were also asked to select their highest level of school completed: 2.3% completed some high school (3 individuals), 11.7% completed all of high school (15 individuals), 39.8% completed some college (51 individuals), 26.6% (34 individuals) completed a college degree, 4.7% completed some post-college (6 individuals), and 14.8% completed a post-college degree (19 individuals). 39.8% of participants were single (51 individuals), 36.7% were married (47 individuals), 11.7% were divorced (15 individuals), 10.2% were widowed (13 individuals) and 1.6% were partnered (2 individuals).

After compiling all of the data, I entered it into a matrix in UCINET6 (Borgatti, Everett, and Freeman 2002) to then create correspondence analysis maps. By grouping responses into the four categories, Male Vegetarian, Male Non-Vegetarian, Female Vegetarian, Female Non-Vegetarian (MV, MNV, FV, FNV respectively), I was then able to compare spatially how closely each of these groups were to ideas (answers from the survey) and to each other in how they conceive of these ideas.

Correspondence Analysis

A correspondence analysis is a form of data mapping and analysis that allows the viewer to observe spatially the correlative relationships of ideas. “Correspondence analysis produces a map of a two-dimensional space on which [groups of ideas] which often occur together in the same types of respondents appear close together in space while those [ideas] which seldom appear together are far apart on the map” (Giuffre 2012). By taking answers from a survey, we can map groups of attributes, opinions, ideas, and preferences and show how closely related each is to each other. Pierre Bourdieu’s *Distinction* (1984) is the premiere research that first used a correspondence analysis. Unlike Bourdieu who looked at the preferences and habits of individuals, in this research I divided respondents into four categories based on gender and diet (MV, MNV, FV, FNV). Also unlike Bourdieu who combined all of his maps in to one, all of my maps are separate, only displaying responses to one survey question per map.

By regarding each row and column of a matrix as a vector, a point is assigned to each response in an n-dimensional space. With these high-dimensional maps unfeasible to try to picture, UCINET helps condense the relationships between points to a 2- or 3- deminsional format while preserving the original relationships computed in the n-dimensional space (Giuffre 2012). This way, “points which were far apart in the n-dimensional space should still be far apart in the lower-dimensional space and those that were close together should still be close together” (Giuffre 2012).

“Correspondence analysis is about the relationships among the attributes that are shared (or not) between groups of actors” (Giuffre 2012). In this sense, it acts as a valuable tool to analyze differences between men, women, vegetarians, and meat eaters

since it shows us visually how closely or distantly related their opinions and conceptions about food and gender are.

After compiling the survey data and completing the correspondence analysis, I assembled a list of interview questions based on interesting relationships observed in the correspondence analysis (see Appendix B). Interviews consisted of around nineteen questions and ranged from lasting half an hour to an hour and a half. Interviewees were told that interviews were completely voluntary and if they ever felt uncomfortable answering a question, they were free to skip it. Interviews were recorded, transcribed, and analyzed for common themes to act as supplemental narratives to help with the understanding and interpreting of the data from the correspondence analysis.

Interview Participants

Interview participants were contacted through the Colorado Springs Vegetarian meet-up group email list and were all adult males, who were vegetarian, vegan, or formerly one. Five supplemental interviews were conducted, some online with follow-ups over the phone and others in person. The first interview subject, Tim¹ has been a vegan for 10 years. He is 42 years old, married with children, who are all vegan, and works as the breadwinner for his household as a hospital technician. The second interview subject, Brad, also middle-aged, was a vegetarian off and on for ten years and has now shifted to a more ‘flexitarian’ diet because he sees more spiritual significance in eating locally and finds the diet easier to follow when traveling around the world, as he

¹ All names of interview participants have been changed and replaced with pseudonyms to maintain confidentiality.

does often. Paul is a 60-year-old consultant who was vegetarian for 20 years but recently quit due to some health concerns. Steve is a 26-year-old mortgage banker who took a class in college entitled “Food and the Environment” which convinced him to become vegetarian four years ago. Ryan is in the military. He has been Vegan for almost six years. He claims that he woke up one morning and realized it was wrong to be killing and eating animals. While deployed, he found it difficult to be vegan but remained vegetarian.

Discussion

Choices and Conceptions of Food

One of the most fascinating, yet predictable, results from the survey is the male non-vegetarians’ infatuation with the potato, almost exclusively (with the exception of a few other ‘manly’ vegetables). By asking survey participants to label vegetables with words like ‘delectable and luscious’ (Figure 1 in Appendix C) and ‘hearty’ (Figure 2), words that could be thought of as gendered (feminine and masculine respectively), I was hoping to learn whether certain vegetables are gendered, or whether there is a gender correlation of foods and how these differences in opinion compare between men, women, meat eaters, and vegetarians. I argue that in conception, there is a distinct divide between genders and between diets in the ways they describe foods, and thus, how they think about food. Moreover, how these conceptions of food relate to conceptions of the portrayal and performance of gender will be discussed. The gendered words, however, didn’t have a great effect on the Male Non-Vegetarians. Interestingly, the potato is loved by all NVM regardless of the adjective used to describe it. Interview participants

believed this trend to result from stereotypical association of men with a ‘meat and potatoes’ meal.

I think men are associated with meat and potatoes. Women I would say are more associated with a vegetarian diet, or maybe fish or chicken, you know something lighter. (Ryan)

Another commented on the process of producing stereotypes, relating it to a male gender experience:

Well yes I think that it’s certainly out there, the meat and potatoes stereotype for men. Those stereotypes—perceptions, I like perceptions better...those perceptions are out there and they may correlate to the way things actually are. It may be that that part of the experience of masculinity is growing up thinking you are supposed to eat meat and care about those types of things. (Brad)

Others felt it is more than a stereotype.

I think very generally speaking, men associate being manly with what they eat. Men eat meat and potatoes and don’t eat vegetables. I do think that is pretty accurate to mainstream society in the United States. (Steve)

In both figures and Figure 3, which asked participants to select ‘nutritious’ vegetables, Male Non-Vegetarians had a low frequency of fluctuation in vegetable selection, selecting traditionally masculine vegetables like peas, carrots, and corn, sides to a ‘meat and potatoes’ meal, or onions and tomatoes, toppers to a juicy burger, nearly every time. Male Non-Vegetarians lacking variety of choice gives us several ideas about their conceptions of food and gender. Perhaps MNV have a hard time conceiving of vegetables in different ways because they eat a limited variety of vegetables, or maybe because they typically see vegetables as unimportant and not central to a meal, and therefore haven’t spent a lot of time thinking about how to describe vegetables. Further, it can be said that MNV, compared to women, don’t see gender. By not ‘seeing gender’ I

mean that men are not as familiar with gendered language, stereotypes, practices, or instances of gender inequality because they benefit from this imbalance and rarely question it. It is possible to say that vegetarian men see gender somewhat more because many of them recognize and deal with their deviant and unmasculine food identities on a daily basis.

We can see this notion in Female Non-Vegetarians selections, where gendered words had a huge effect on their choices. When asked to select vegetables that were 'delectable and luscious', FNV's selected light vegetables with few calories, in other words, feminine vegetables that women 'should' like such as asparagus, cucumber, lettuce, and bean sprouts. For 'hearty' vegetables FNV's chose potatoes, spinach, carrots, and cabbage, vegetables that could be considered more masculine for their frequent accompaniment to a manly meal of meat. I argue that FNV side with gender stereotypes of food more. As discussed above, this could be attributed to a familiarity with gender issues and a greater awareness of gender; whereas men are not as familiar with the subject and therefore don't categorize things in such ways as much. However, it is interesting that there is no connection between the two groups of women. Female Vegetarians show very little correspondence to either 'delectable and luscious' or 'hearty' vegetables. Possibilities for this behavior could be that FV conceive of a wider range of vegetables to be 'delectable and luscious', since vegetarians likely consume a wider variety of vegetables and are less cohesive in their conceptions, or perhaps it is that Female Vegetarians, because of their deviant, atypical diet and lifestyle, see and fulfill gender stereotypes less. This lack of cohesiveness of vegetarians is a crucial point that will be discussed in greater detail later.

On the other hand, for Male Vegetarians, gendered adjectives do affect their conceptions of vegetables to some extent. MV selected artichokes and okra as ‘delectable and luscious’, two feminine vegetables that are conceived of with feminine adjectives but that also displays Male Vegetarian food choices as more exotic and diverse than MNV. As stated previously, we could also argue that MV see gender more, as living as a male vegetarian is living a deviant gender identity. To further this notion, it is interesting that MV show no correspondence to any ‘hearty’ vegetables. Perhaps their gender issues, the fragile state of masculinity, and their personal recognition that vegetables are not as hearty as the meat they renounce, make it difficult to cohesively conceive of any vegetables as ‘hearty’.

These themes are made clearer by Figure 4, where we once again see Non-Vegetarians cohesive and masculine conceptions of potatoes. Stereotypically a manly vegetable, or at least one that men enjoy eating in a generalized meat and potatoes dinner, the potato is conceived of by Male and Female Non-Vegetarians as substantial, stable, filling, and appetizing; gendered words linked to strength, or traditional masculinity, and that fulfill the needs of hungry men.

Contrary to the variety of descriptions Non-Vegetarians selected to describe the potato, Male and Female Vegetarians don’t have nearly as much to say about potatoes. They approach ‘sturdy’ and ‘palatable’ but show not nearly as strong of a correspondence to any adjectives as much as Non-Vegetarians. Perhaps what is most interesting lies in Figure 5 where we see Male and Female Vegetarians describing artichokes as substantial, filling, and stable, or in exactly the same way Non-Vegetarians described potatoes.

Male and Female Vegetarians conceive of artichokes as ‘filling, substantial, and stable’, word that could be considered more masculine and used traditionally to describe meat. It is fascinating that Vegetarians conceive of a traditionally feminine food with masculine descriptors. This could be, in part, due to the fact that vegetarians eat more exotic vegetables more often, an idea that was mentioned earlier. However, it could also be due to the fact that vegetarians rely on vegetables as their main food group and, thus, must masculinize any foods they can to maintain gender normative practices. Another idea is that they simply categorize the foods they eat as ‘filling, substantial, and stable’ because, in their diet, they are considered as such to them.

Male and Female Non-Vegetarians are much less cohesive in their conceptions of artichokes than potatoes (because they probably don’t eat them often) yet, nonetheless, describe them as insubstantial, fragile, icky, and subtle; gendered words associated with weakness, or traditional femininity. We see a gendered trend among the descriptions for artichokes and potatoes, dividing along dietary lines, where Non-Vegetarians conceive of potatoes with positive, masculine language and of artichokes with negative, feminine language.

To further investigate how conceptions of food differ by gender and diet, we now turn to Figure 6, where we see Male and Female Vegetarians describing burgers in rather negative ways (selecting words such as cheap, tough, insubstantial, or expensive) and Male and Female Non-Vegetarians describing burgers in positive ways. Beyond the obvious conception that burgers are good according to meat-eaters, it is fascinating that there is a gender divide among meat-eaters whereby men choose to describe traditionally masculine foods in traditionally feminine ways and vice versa for women. Male Non-

Vegetarians, describe burgers as lovely and exquisite, two descriptors rarely spoken by males, unless, apparently they are used to describe their dearly beloved masculine meat.

Female Non-Vegetarians describe burgers as juicy, tender, filling, gourmet, and sturdy.

Similarly in the conception of ribeye steaks, seen in Figure 7, Male and Female Non-Vegetarians are cohesive in their conceptions (selecting words such as sturdy, filling, gourmet, exquisite, and tender), yet again with the feminine words ‘lovely’ and ‘fabulous’ positioned closer to the Male Non-Vegetarians. Negative words were selected again by Male and Female Vegetarians to describe the steak, this time with Male Vegetarians positioned much farther from the Male and Female Non-Vegetarians than the Female Vegetarians. By this data, Male Vegetarians are much more disgusted by steak than Female Vegetarians. This is a fascinating point that goes to show how masculinity and vegetarianism clash. By removing meat from their diet, vegetarian males are giving up a quintessentially masculine characteristic, symbol, and social signifier to where they feel the need to despise meat for its gender-threatening power and, therefore, remove themselves from any close association with it. In other words, MV have to be defensive and strong in their renunciation of meat because it is such an atypically masculine lifestyle; compared to Female Vegetarians who are positioned not nearly as far away from meat, showing their disliking of the food itself but uncaring about the association that comes with it. MV recognition of their diets being atypically masculine must greatly affect their conceptions of gender. These ideas will be explored shortly hereafter.

In Figure 8 we can see that Male Vegetarians continue to conceive of all meat, including fish, in negative ways describing it as cheap, fast, and insubstantial. We also see Female Non-Vegetarians describing fish as juicy, tender, creamy, fabulous, exquisite,

and lovely. Male Non-Vegetarians do not strongly correlate to feminine descriptions in their conception of fish. It is hard to understand why meat-eating men describe typically masculine meats (red) in feminine ways don't when it comes to fish (white meat) which is typically associated with females, but it a fascinating observation nonetheless.

Figure 9 shows one of the largest gender divides in all of the data. While both Male and Female Vegetarians show correspondence to positive conceptions of salad ('lovely' for females and 'tender' for males), Male Vegetarians conceptions about salad are much closer to those belonging to Male Non-Vegetarians. Male Vegetarians, despite their supposed love for vegetables, describe salads as insubstantial. Because of the mix of adjectives (positive and negative, masculine and feminine), it is hard to know exactly how men (both meat-eating and not) feel about salads; however it is clear that their conceptions differ greatly from those of vegetarian and non-vegetarian women. It appears that vegetarian and non-vegetarian males think salad is "girly". To me, it is surprising that vegetarian men feel this way about salad, but the data makes it apparent that their ties to gender are stronger than their ties to diet. Men aren't supposed to eat or like salad. Vegetarian men eat lots of vegetables but must strive to equalize their masculinity with other men, handicapped by their feminine diet, and therefore maintain some traditional conceptions of food to level the competition in fields of power, even if only slightly.

One interview participant commented on the subject's insufficiency, saying "salad is never a main course" (Tim). And another hates salad, after liking it while growing up as a meat eater:

Honestly, I don't like it. I liked it growing up but now I just don't care for salad as much. Maybe because I haven't had a lot of interesting salads...I still think of it as a big boring bowl of iceberg lettuce. (Tim)

In Figure 10, we can see clearly that Male and Female Vegetarians say they never eat unhealthy foods such as meatloaf or French fries. Female Non-Vegetarians claim to never eat venison, wine, or beer, thereby avoiding alcohol and "manly" meats. Male Non-Vegetarians claim to stay away from lady-like foods such as tofu. All of these correspondences are predictable but still interesting because they show how strictly Non-Vegetarian Men feel about foods other than meat: food that doesn't reaffirm their manhood or positions them nearby femininity is something that, in conception, real, meat-eating men should never eat.

As we observe in Figure 11, conceptions of an ideal dinner with guests vary among genders and diets. Female Non-Vegetarians enjoy more traditional food at meal gatherings such as, appetizing and economical food, traditional American food, pot-luck, and simple but well-presented food. Aligned with their gender, they admire well-cooked and tasty meals that please their husbands' bellies and billfolds, meals that show their love of country and of meat, and meals that don't require an absurd amount of work like pot-lucks (shared duties) or simple meals, since these women are probably doing the bulk of the cooking. Male Non-Vegetarians, on the other hand simply enjoy good food and lots of it, shown by their correspondence to meals that are plentiful and good. In contrast, Male Vegetarians admire meals that are delicate and exquisite, a description that is not thought to be normatively masculine. Female Vegetarians, far away from Female Non-Vegetarians, enjoy meals that are original and exotic. Counter-cultural and experimental eating habits may be the cause of vegetarians enjoying original and exotic meals. The big

question remains what enables vegetarian men to describe things in non-masculine ways? Vegetarian men's choice in language aligns with a more feminine description of food, which makes sense because their diet is thought of as traditionally feminine. But why would they be choosing to describe food with those words if they know that they will be effeminized for it?

To further distinguish vegetarian identities from meat eaters, we turn to respondents' conceptions of the activities they do. We see in Figure 12 that there is a strong divide between Non-Vegetarians and Vegetarians in the activities they often do. More active activities are done by Vegetarians while more passive activities are done by Non-Vegetarians. Male Vegetarians often play sports and ski. Female Vegetarians often hike, go to the movies, and cook. In contrast, Female Non-Vegetarians read, do crafts, socialize with friends and watch reality TV while their male counterparts (true to the stereotypical masculine activities) watch sports on TV. Vegetarians are eating healthier and doing healthier activities. Certainly some masculinity for vegetarian men comes from strength and athleticism. Interview participant supported the notion that there are negative judgments about the unhealthiness and insufficiency of vegetarianism. These preconceptions originally turned Steve away from the diet as a young athlete. Later, after a class he took in college convinced him to try it, he now thrives as a vegetarian athlete.

I did not know anybody like me [an athlete] that was vegetarian. I would say now, I still think it is very rare to be a younger male vegan or even vegetarian, especially if you are an athlete. But now I know that there are male vegetarian athletes that are very healthy and strong, just like myself, whereas before I became vegan I did not know that was the case.

Ryan also commented on the misconceptions of veganism, reinstating the physical strength that can be attained without a traditionally masculine meat-based diet:

That's the common misconception about it too, that you can't be fit...I always like to throw out there that they have vegan body builders now and plenty of healthy people.

Tim even claimed unhealthiness to be unmasculine, going on to reestablish his masculinity through his fitness:

But the American ways, you know, animal ingredients in a lot of foods, greater degrees of processing result in an unhealthy unfit individual later in life. And I don't consider that masculine at all. If you can't run up a flight of stairs, or pick up a bag of cement, then...when I think of masculinity I think of physical strength but that's not necessarily always masculine, I guess. But from a purely physical standpoint, you know I'm willing to pit myself against any meat eater, and I'm sure that I'd come in just as close as they would or better.

In Figure 13 we see the words chosen to describe a favorite meal. Most interesting is Male Non-Vegetarians' correspondence to status-related words such as 'expensive' and 'gourmet'. This is aligned with the ideals of traditional men, earning economic and social capital for himself and his family, and consuming his wealth publicly to show the grandeur of his success, as Veblen theorizes with conspicuous consumption. It is interesting that Non-Vegetarian Men value status as much as they do, considering how far away Vegetarian Men are from those words. This goes to show that loyalty to gender does not apply in all cases. The ideals of a vegetarian diet and distinctive conceptions of food, provide vegetarian men and women with a unique set of shared values, one being the lack of importance of status. On the other hand, Meat-eating men like showing off their status with their money, their diets, and thus, their manhood. Vegetarian men do not often display traits of traditional masculinity, far from them in all correspondence graphs. Therefore, they rely on other means to prove their masculinity, and don't necessarily need public approval because rarely is their consumption

conspicuous. These themes were recurrent in the interviews. Brad was openly uncomfortable when status was attributed to him or his diet:

The only thing that I felt self-conscious about was when someone would attribute merit to me for eating vegetarian and that just didn't seem—this is just how I'm eating, it's not about doing something admirable. It would just seem odd. I was never much into needing other people to do things differently with their eating...unless they were interested. I would gladly talk about it obviously.

Here Brad also hints at his value in not 'preaching' to meat eaters in attempt to convert them, a process that all the interview participants told me they tried to avoid for several reasons. Although no one explicitly mentioned emotions associated with "vejudice" (Iacobbo and Iacobbo 2006), we can presume, based on their string resistance to preaching, that they do feel prejudice toward their beliefs and practices. Ryan was firm in his belief that debates with meat eaters wouldn't go anywhere:

I try not to debate people I know well because it usually doesn't go anywhere. I lay out what I believe and why and, maybe they'll pick it up, maybe they won't...but to just endlessly debate, it doesn't go anywhere. I've been down that road sometimes, and they have their opinions and I have mine. Neither of us are going to change our minds, it's not likely at least. I think they have to come to [the belief] on their own like I did.

Tim also stressed his belief in not preaching to people, no matter their diet or beliefs.

I just want to make my own choices and if somebody wants to make their own choices, I'm great with that. I don't really want to tell somebody how to live...I have no interest in competing with or arguing with anybody, unless they want to talk to me about it, but I don't want to proselytize, I'm not interested in that. It also just depends on the day, sometimes I feel like talking about it...other times I don't want to talk about it. If they do want to talk about it, I just say make sure they know that I'm not trying to convert them and that they won't get offended.

The caring, compassionate nature of these statements shows vegetarians' unique personality traits that enable them to practice their individualized values without status

concerns or a need to convince others of their rightness. Moreover, some vegetarians feel concern for helping humanity and the world we live in. Ryan commented:

I have to be careful not to alienate [others] by talking about [veganism] because I don't want to judge their choices. I guess when I talk about veganism to anybody, I want it to be more about "we", like what "we" as humanity should do, as opposed to what "you" should do...

The key theme seems to be that vegetarians don't want to offend others. With that intention, it is hard to argue that vegetarians conspicuously consume so to gain status.

However Tim, later, hinted at an interesting point, a more indirectly status-seeking element of vegetarianism: leading by example. He said:

Like I said, I'm not interested in pushing; I just do my own thing. Example is the strongest convincer. I mean, I can talk and push until I'm blue in the face but really the results and the example I am setting are the most powerful message you can administer.

In leading by example as a fit and healthy vegan, Tim believes his coworkers recognize his athleticism, and this recognition acts as a boost in status.

A woman I work with is married to a guy who likes to hunt so they are all about eating meat and she's talked to me about it. We actually have this annual employee health screening at work and she always wants to compete with me. She wants to know what my cholesterol is, and what my blood pressure is, you know so she can either invalidate my veganism or validate her meat consumption, I'm not sure which or both...so I would say that's been a competition but I can tell she feels kind of a little threatened by it.

And he continues to comment on how other coworkers feel uncomfortable by his fitness for his age and, therefore, taunt him:

Yeah you know just little stuff like "oh, well, you are so skinny, you need to eat some meat" you know. So then you have to wonder do they really mean that or maybe it depends on the source. I mean, if it is an overweight person telling me that, I assume that it is them trying to assuage their discomfort and the fact that I'm fit and they're not, I guess.

The way Tim talks about his athleticism makes for a potential status marker. However, one notion to keep in mind, is that while fitness is a conspicuous and observable trait, veganism is not. It is an attribute that may be observed while a person is eating but one that can only be confirmed with a conversation. Therefore, it is not the same conspicuous consumption strategies that meat eaters use to gain status. Additionally, Ryan shared his disagreement with the status meat eaters think they have over animals:

Usually I feel like meat eaters have an entitlement to do what they want with animals because they're the top of the food chain.

This different conception and practice of status shines through vegetarian conceptions of success and power, two ideas that will be discussed shortly.

It is of important consideration to think about why vegetarians conceive of food in such vastly different ways than non-vegetarians. The two groups eat vastly different foods, practice vastly different lifestyles, live by vastly different identities, and abide by vastly different sets of rules and norms. Therefore, we can say Vegetarians and Non-Vegetarians conceive of food very differently; how they are different was illuminated by interview participants. As a vegan, Ryan is very food consciousness, compared to meat-eaters who can eat anything. He says:

I mean every time I eat something, I always think about where it came from and what's in it before I eat it...if I don't know what's in it, then I have to find out what's in it.

Brad can relate, although his mentality is more spiritually based, having become vegetarian after wanting to be in a certain relation with the food he was eating. He comments:

I think there are people who bring awareness to their eating and people that don't bring awareness to their eating, and it's not a black and white

distinction, more like a continuum of awareness... But I really don't think all meat eaters are this way, a smaller percentage of people are conscious and aware of their eating habits whether they are meat eaters or vegetarians, although I'd say a larger percentage of vegetarians pay attention to how they eat than folks who eat meat...

There is no argument that the two groups conceive of food very differently. Yet this research also aims to explore the effects of such differences. In theory, the dominant forms of food choices, practices, identities, and norms overrule those deemed deviant, and thus force vegetarians to regulate their behavior and thought, an effect that we can see occurring in the correspondence analysis that shows differences in conception of food and practice. The lack of cohesiveness of the responses in the correspondence analysis goes to show that it is easy for vegetarians to be labeled different, abnormal, and deviant compared to the Non-Vegetarians who more commonly agree and therefore, create a cohesive, coherent, and narrow view of food that allows them to 'otherize' subcultures outside of their narrowed own. Examples of this were elucidated through interviews.

Tim was very open about his deviance, particularly in terms of gender:

I'm not the typical American male. I don't care about football, basketball, but you know, there's a lot of things with the, I guess you'd say, the average American male that I don't share. So I am used to being an outlier. And I don't mind it...I'm just an all around outcast...I feel that way...but, with my friends not so much.

Brad agrees but mostly felt excluded by his family, saying:

I was already so different from my family in so many different ways that [my diet] was just one more way to be weird from their point of view.

Ryan felt the same way and discussed his technique for dealing with it:

You kind of have to have a thick skin about it, because the world is against you in the sense of the food that you eat..

Generally, Male and Female Non-Vegetarians are more cohesive in the conceptions of food (specifically what is most important to them when considering what to eat), further exemplified in Figure 14. Figure 14 clearly shows the large spaces around vegetarians that exist without corresponding words surrounding them. This tells us that either vegetarians do not think about food in a specific set of ways and that they are more open, or that vegetarian choices and conceptions are more individualized, a difficulty that is mirrored when trying to identify a clear and concise definition for the term vegetarian or for the vegetarian identity. From the ways in which all four groups label the foods, we can pose ideas about their views about and performances of gender.

Conceptions and Performances of Gender Understood through Conceptions of Food

Figure 15 shows the traits most admired in men by the four groups. As could be expected, Male Non-Vegetarians admire traditional male figures that sport normative and patriarchal masculinity, by selecting words such as brave, chivalrous, and powerful. Male Vegetarians, on the other hand, don't admire traditional descriptions of manhood, but instead men who are knowledgeable, organized, creative, and articulate, in other words well-educated and talented men. However, it is interesting to see pockets of space around both male groups, compared to the female groups who have many attributes corresponding nearby. Men are less cohesive and decisive about how they see themselves and how they form conceptions of masculinity. With masculinity being such a fragile identity and definitions coming from so many varied directions, it is no wonder that men have trouble labeling what they admire. These themes were reiterated in the

interviews. Ryan was thorough in his description of traditional men, but then quickly explained how he conceived differently of manhood.

Traditionally men are the strong silent type, who doesn't cry, doesn't complain, the breadwinner of the household, the 50's 60's idea when I think about it regardless of whether I agree with it or not...beer-drinking, sports-loving, meat-eating, rough. That's the kind of stuff I think of...but I disagree with all of them. I don't embody any of those traits. [Instead, I embody] compassion.

Referring back to Figure 15, there is a great divide between the two female groups as well. Female Non-Vegetarians admire men in traditional roles who are strong, handsome, trustworthy, driven, and a father. They also admire somewhat more cliché 'good guy' traits such as sensitive, social, passionate, and caring. Female Vegetarians in contrast admire new age type men who are hip, healthy, and educated, selecting descriptions such as stylish, intelligent, humorous, cultured, and expressive. Female vegetarians also admired in men traits that align with their vegetarian identity ideals such as athletic and compassionate. The last description selected by Female Vegetarians, successful, leaves some questions to be answered.

The adjectives, powerful and successful, are two words that I think of as being very closely related. However, in Figure 16 we see that they are on opposite ends of the map meaning they are not similarly conceived of by the survey sample. Female Vegetarians correspond most closely to 'successful' while Male Non-Vegetarians correspond to 'powerful'. Without any ideas as to why these two ideas are so conflicting, I turned to the interview participants, who had several interesting things to say about the relationship. Here are Steve's definitions:

Success: doing what you perceive as valuable. Power: control over a majority of people or ideas. I think of success as something each

individual does internally, whereas power is relative to society or a culture.

Based on Steve's perception of power and success, it is clear that Vegetarians are more interested in doing what they perceive as valuable which, for them, is removing animal products from their diet for all the various individualized reasons they choose to become vegetarian. Counter to this, Vegetarians are not interested in controlling a majority of people or ideas. Even though they are passionate about their beliefs, none of them wish to push their beliefs onto others to control their dietary choices or conceptions. Instead, it is an internal, individual process. Counter to Veblen (1899) and Bourdieu (1984), it appears that these vegetarian men are not interested in conspicuously consuming or holding greater power or status over others in these traditional ways.

Much of meat-eating involves, as abstractly or directly as you choose to recognize it, the controlling of one's surrounding environment and the animals in it. As Ryan puts it,

I think we as the human race oppress animals and we have definitely shaped them to our own ends. I mean we selectively breed animals, always mixing up their biology to get out of them what we want, and the ultimate end of that is killing them and eating them...and the longer I'm a vegan, the more I think that's just a weird, messed up idea.

We can draw the connection between this idea, having dominative power over one's environment, and the reasoning behind Vegetarian's lacking correspondence and far removal from 'powerful' in Figure 15. The Vegetarian men that I interviewed shared this opinion, had negative opinions about power, and were not interested in attaining it. Tim commented:

But to me power means you control your environment, and the people around you know, I guess...and I'm not interested in controlling the

people around me, I'm not interested in having a great control over my environment or my interrelations with people...Generally I feel the word power, to me, is a kind of negative word, to be honest. When I think of power I think of prison warden which doesn't necessarily mean he is a bad person, but he has a lot of power over other people's freedom, perhaps a politician or a corporate CEO, you know those are all people that I consider to have significant amounts of power, or a judge perhaps...I don't think I would want any of those positions to be honest...

Vegetarians seem to have different definitions of personal power. Brad comments with his philosophy on power, which hints at notes of individuality, a distinguishing trait of vegetarianism:

...At a deeper level I do think that there is a kind of a power that is about agency and freedom in a certain sense, it's about being able to have a sense that you are living your own life, rather than being kind of lived by it or being sort of controlled by what's going on around you. For me, power is the ability to live a life that you are choosing in a way that's consistent and coherent with the kinds of things that are important to you in life...

With signifiers of power and power itself, unimportant to vegetarians, I argue that, instead, Vegetarians are interested in a form of personal success that can be lived through their animal-free diet and lifestyles. This personal success is much more valued by vegetarians than traditional conceptions of success such as material success or status-based consumption as Veblen (1899) discusses. Brad believes success to be internally and meaning-driven

For me success, is more about having some kind of self understanding about how you understand meaning in your life and living in a way that feels like it's in coherence with that... Some of the most successful people I know don't look like that [externally or materially successful].

Ryan defines success as achieving goals, a belief that is reflective of his goals to live an animal-free lifestyle.

I think of success more as defining a goal for yourself and, when you have reached that goal, then you are successful.

Tim agrees but also mentions the importance of fulfillment and worth to success, emotions that are felt by these men in their ritual practice of vegetarianism.

I would say the happiest and most fulfilled you could feel, I guess would be the most successful you could be. Whatever you are happiest at and you felt you got the most worth, you know, if you felt like what you were doing everyday mattered and was worth something and you were happy doing it I'd say you were pretty lucky and I'd say that would be pretty successful.

In conclusion, Vegetarians conceptions of success and power are hugely different from traditional, meat-eating American conceptions. Instead of seeking status through conspicuous consumption or competing for distinction in fields of power, Vegetarians appear to be consuming on their own behalf, for their own purposes, and with their own unique reasoning. Status and power over others, therefore, is not a primary concern for Vegetarian Men.

Although Figure 15 displays a better picture for analysis of differences in conceptions of gender among between vegetarians and non-vegetarians, Figure 16 reiterates some important points and opens up some more unanswered questions/hypotheses. Perhaps the most interesting observation is Male Non-Vegetarians' least admired traits, which seem to reaffirm their heteronormativity: they don't admire feminine men who are expressive, passionate, handsome, or stylish.

Figure 17 shows a similar trend with Non-vegetarians admiring traditional traits and roles in women and vegetarians admiring more non-traditional traits. By selecting words such as helpful, friendly, caring, social, extroverted, stylish, cultured, organized, warm, and mother, it can be said that Female Non-Vegetarians admire social, hip, and fun

women who are good mothers and good wives. Female Vegetarians, on the other hand, admire nontraditional female figures that are brave, driven, and athletic. Male Non-vegetarians admire women who are cheerful, experienced, passionate, clean, sensitive, expressive and skillful, traits that would also make a good and classic 1950s wife. Male Vegetarians also appear to admire the traditional trait, pretty, while also admiring nontraditional traits such as eloquent, articulate, and strong. The two male groups are much closer together meaning they agree somewhat in how they conceive of admirable women. The two female groups, on the other hand are far apart from one another, telling us FMV and FV do not share similar conceptions of admirable women.

To reiterate these themes, we can turn to Figure 18 to see Male Vegetarians least admire traditional female traits such as expressive, social and a mother. Male Non-Vegetarians don't admire hardworking, athletic, strong, or wealthy women. And similarly, Female Non-Vegetarians don't admire women who are brave, powerful, or driven.

In the interviews, based on the men's responses about femininity and women, it became clear that many of them were very socially progressive and approached being considered feminist, referencing the women's movement and hopes for greater equality in the near future. It is obvious in Ryan's response:

[I admire] compassion and strength in women because women are still oppressed, in a, I would say, very male dominated society, with pay gaps between genders where there shouldn't be, and you know with some opportunities still denied to women. Especially like in the military, I can speak to that, women still can't be in combat because somebody feels that it's not ok for whatever reason to not be in combat. But you have women out there that keep pushing to be in jobs like that, to bring themselves up as equal to men to show men that they are equal, "we're your equals if not your betters"...I admire that. A lot of educated women now which is

great, you know consistently more throughout the decades. So that's something good. You know women are doing more than the typical gender roles...

Gender Differences in Interactions with Vegetarianism

In Figure 19 we see the statements about vegetarianism that the four groups strongly agree with. As would be expected, Male and Female Vegetarians are close in position to statements 1 and 2 (“Vegetarian Diets are progressive and eco-conscious” and “Vegetarianism is underrated”) and do not correspond to any of the other statements. More interestingly we see a difference in correspondence between Male Non-Vegetarians and Female Non-Vegetarians. Whereas Female Non-Vegetarians strongly correspond to statement number 9, “men eat meat”, Male Non-Vegetarians significantly correspond to statement number 10, “vegetarian diets are for wimps”. This distinction leads me to hypothesize that pressure (on diet and masculinity) come from women and that pressure to be seen not as weak or wimpy come from other men. Although these questions can't be answered fully, interview participants did tell of situations where they felt pressure from both genders. As mentioned earlier, Ryan's family was “openly derisive” about his diet, mostly in good-natured ways, but enough of an insult to where it can sometimes get to him.

My family has been kind of openly derisive about it, it's mostly good-natured stuff, but it kind of gets to you. It can get to you after a while—a dig every time because food comes up constantly. You can never escape it. If food comes up, your dietary choices come up. I think my grandpa is probably the worst about it...saying stuff like “You know you want to eat this tasty meat”...but I just kind of brush it off the side, he's probably the only one in my family who continues to give me a hard time about it, it's all good-natured from his end just kind of constant, it's silly and I just kind of laugh it off...My grandmother had a problem with it at first because she took it personally that I didn't want to eat her cooking any

more 'cause I ate it so much growing up. So at first she took it as a personal affront...But now she's cool with it and will cook different things for me apart from what she cooks for everyone else. So she's adapted to it...And then the attitude of everyone else, like "oh, you are missing out" or "how can you not eat this?" or "I feel sorry for you because you can't eat this or don't want to eat this" and that's not unique to family. Everyone does that that's not a vegetarian or vegan.

Tim also commented on the language he heard when he first became vegetarian:

I've had some of my friends when I first went vegetarian crack some jokes an stuff...and say "what are you going to have for lunch today? Sticks and gravel?"

Brad also discussed some of the language directed towards him as a vegetarian:

I know my brothers and parents have made outright jokes about. The classic line I heard was..."Why don't you just go outside and graze?" I've heard that more than once. Usually, I would insult them back about eating meat saying, "It's better than feasting on carcasses of dead animals"...

Tim talked about the element of gender, believing to hear insults more frequently from men, but continues not to take any real offense. He comments:

The girl [coworker] hardly ever says anything...it's the guy. He says it now because he just jokes with me. It's just because he knows that I think those sorts of comments are ridiculous and he just says them just for fun and we get a chuckle out of it...I don't feel offended by it any way.

He went on to tell a story about being insulted at a punk rock show:

Let's see I've heard the, I guess you'd call it a stereotype, or a, well I wouldn't call it a slur I guess, but referring to vegetarians as "salad-eaters". It was at a concert. I think it was the performer was trying to liven up the crowd a little bit, this was at a punk rock show, and he definitely made some defamatory remarks towards vegetarians, I guess you could say, implying that because the crowd wasn't active that they were vegetarians or "salad-eaters"...And then he went on to talk about how he and his band were meat eaters...

Whether it's being called a "salad-eater" (Tim), someone who eats "rabbit food"

(Ryan), a "grazer" (Brad), or "frail and unmanly" (Steve), vegetarian men are insulted

frequently about the clash of their gender and diet. Since masculinity involves men vying for legitimation of their manhood, insulting and same-sex gender policing are common occurrences among men. These narratives show that much of the weakness/wimpy paired with vegetarianism is regulated by (meat eating) men.

Most of the men I interviewed said that they were stubborn in their beliefs. Regardless of whether they had this attribute before becoming a vegetarian, it is clear that is an important attribute to have now that helps keep their beliefs strong enough to subdue socially awkward situations and insults. As referenced earlier, Ryan attributes his triumph to his thick skin:

You kind of have to have a thick skin about it, because the world is against you in the sense of the food that you eat... if you don't have the thick skin to let the insults you hear to bounce off, then you may give [vegetarianism] up. Some people even take the comical [insults] seriously. If you bow into the pressure from friends and family...or the pressure from society in general, you may give it up.

Steve also commented on his strategy for letting go of pressures and maintaining his strong beliefs in vegetarianism:

Yea, I am pretty stubborn, and will do what I feel is right no matter what others think most all the time. So I block it out, I think a lot, and get used to the questions I get asked over and over... I think I do get some pressure at social gatherings, but I very rarely go to those...

Tim also commented on his solidarity with his beliefs and how his stubbornness helps him not to be offended.

I guess I could get offended if I wanted to but...I'm convinced of the end result so it doesn't really matter what somebody says to me.

This stubborn, thick skin seems similar to the traditionally masculine trait of toughness. Perhaps this is one way vegetarian men manage their masculinity: stubborn strength, an

alternative form of masculine reaffirmation that reinforces their beliefs and values so that they (and their gender) cannot be cracked and invalidated by other men. Perhaps male vegetarians who give up are thus, seen as the weak ones among vegetarian males.

Additionally, as hinted at in the quote above, an interesting trend among these vegetarians is not going to social events. It is too difficult to find “like-minded people” (Tim) who won’t bug you or ask you questions. Therefore, often these men will stay home, not go to parties, and eat alone, perhaps to conserve the energy it takes to keep their skin impenetrable and for interactions where gender management is mandatory.

In Figure 20 we see the choices resulting from a specific uncomfortable social situation wherein participants are at a work party where all the food is unappetizing, and their boss is watching them look at the food. Females Vegetarians are strict in their dietary habits and choose not to eat the food, despite their boss’s eyes. In contrast, Female Non-Vegetarians choose to eat the food or at least nibble at the food (eat lightly). From this, it can be said that Vegetarians are more used to making social upsets with their diet than are non-vegetarians. Both male groups are positioned fairly close together, choosing either to joke about the food or to speak to their boss about the poor quality of their food. Joking is a choice among men (and is positioned farthest away from both female groups) because food is not really a male endeavor so discomfort is often resolved with humor. One possible explanation for why the Male Vegetarians correspond more to speaking to their boss is because scenarios like this happen often and they are used to asking for special meal requests or meal changes.

These types of social events often cause trouble for vegetarians, particularly in exclusionary ways. They often feel like “*persona non grata* (an unwelcome person)”

(Tim) when they are seen not eating like all the other guests, hearing statements like “hey how come you aren’t eating? Did you get something? Did you want something?” (Tim).

Conclusion

This research aimed to understand the social experience of male vegetarians, how their interactions and gender normativity are threatened by their dietary choices, and how they manage their masculinity as a result. In the end, it is clear that the way Vegetarian Males conceive of food impacts their conception and enactment of gender. In a few small ways, it appears that Vegetarian Men are attempting to hold on to their traditional gender ties, such as in the way they conceive of salad and a “lady food”. But in all other aspects of consumption and masculinity, these men are deviants (made especially apparent in the correspondence analysis maps that show a lack of cohesiveness among vegetarians compared to meat-eaters). The effects of this deviance on their identities are tremendous. In their deviant consumptive practices and conceptions of food, they have very low status compared to dominant practices and conceptions, and therefore have very little social mobility in traditional fields of power. In Veblen’s terms, they consume inconspicuously and of not high enough quality or quantity, and therefore are subordinate and inferior.

Based on their cognitive (counter-hegemonic conceptions of food and gender) and structural positions (marked as a deviant), Male Vegetarians have unique distributions of cultural and social capital (Bourdieu 1984) that not only change their opportunities for success, but also alter their definitions of power and success to fit more with their individualized identity. Fields of power reproduce the effects of capital distributions,

making Vegetarian Men disadvantaged in traditional struggles for masculine distinction (they hold on to deviant conceptions while positioned in a traditional field of power).

Therefore, traditional associations of status, power, and legitimation are not things Vegetarian Men are capable of attaining.

However, based on interview data, it appears that this doesn't bother Male Vegetarians all too much. They seem to have developed alternative methods for producing equivalent traits that are more significant to them. They have redefined new masculinities (similar to Sobal's 2005 claims) with new focuses of fitness and athleticism that bolster their status (if it is desired, which it not always is) and dominance over meat-loving and less fit Americans. By adopting alternative definitions and practices for success and power (i.e., through personal, meaningful success and through individual empowerment to put their values into practice), they have developed nontraditional ways of seeking status (Veblen) and autonomy (Bourdieu). Finally, they have developed unique ways of managing such masculinities, building up thick skin and discreet social strategies to ward off insults and other forms of gender policing so that their gender performance is not hindered or delegitimized.

There are several shortcomings to this study. The bulk of the study was based on a correspondence analysis, a type of analysis that is derived from subjective interpretations. Although I tried to be as objective as possible when analyzing the maps, my conclusion may not be completely accurate or unbiased. Second, the data came from a sample of mostly middle-class white people. Obviously cultural and racial dynamics play a huge role in food and gender conception. Based on the demographics of this data, this research is limited to a very specific population and therefore, cannot be generalized

to all people or societies. Another shortcoming in the sample resulted from the difficulty in finding people that don't shop at natural food stores to take my survey. The length of time the survey took to complete made middle aged individuals, in particular men, not as interested in taking the survey. I ended up having an overly elderly sample, since most of the residents in my relative's apartment building were above the age of 60. However the mean, median, and mode ages show a relatively middle age, so perhaps when added in with the other surveys, the older age was balanced out with younger college students and young adult natural food store shoppers.

In further research, I would attempt to understand the management of vegetarian masculinity in other cultures, other countries, and with other races through similar methods. In an attempt to further understand all perspectives on the issue, I would also want to interview more vegetarians, male and female, as well as male and female meat-eaters.

Masculinity is a force rooted in history and societal construction. Studying masculinity is helpful in understanding what sustains the oppression of women—what maintains systems of patriarchy, beyond the institutions and organizations of governance, it can uncover what the performance of a deep-seated hegemonic masculinity looks like and actually means. By studying masculinity and being critical of its former and contemporary constructions, we can shed new light on experiences and structures of inequality to help combat them.

Food is so much a part of our interactions, therefore analyzing food constructs, the meanings behind them, and the repercussions and reactions to deviant choices can facilitate our understanding of food identities, gender identities, and deviant identities.

Specific to this research, studying vegetarianism is important for the sustainability of our planet. A vegetarian diet is undoubtedly a less resource intensive lifestyle that, by learning more about, could bring awareness to its viability and practicality. By studying the combative relationship between vegetarianism and masculinity, we not only gain access to nuanced gender interactions that bring potential for transformations of power, but also enable us to target the rigid, and therefore limiting structures of masculinity, to understand why gender expectations and lifestyle choices (like diet) are what they are, and to make environmentally efficient ways of life more possible for people of all types.

Although a lot of research has been done on vegetarianism and masculinity as separate subjects, none have been centered on the combination of the two constructs. The vegetarian subgroup is a unique population for study, offering many critical insights into social life. Particularly in the Colorado Springs conservative setting, the liberal mentality typically associated with vegetarianism is a point of conflict. However, social life for vegetarians is getting better; the world is becoming more open and familiar with practitioners' rules and reasoning. Many interview participants mentioned that the social exclusion and discomfort is not nearly as bad as it was several years ago. At this point in time, vegetarianism is becoming more socially acceptable, but men still must exercise alternative strategies of masculinity to maintain their gender status.

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Appendix A: Survey

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Contexts of Food
 Consent Form

You are invited to take part in a research survey about food. Your participation will require between ten and twenty minutes of your time. There are no known risks or discomforts associated with this survey. If you agree to participate, you will be entered into a drawing for a \$20 gift card to Chipotle Mexican Grill. Taking part in this study is completely voluntary. If you choose to be in the study you can withdraw at any time without adversely affecting your relationship with anyone at Colorado College. Your responses will be kept strictly confidential, and digital data will be stored in secure computer files after it is entered. Any report of this research that is made available to the public will not include your name or any other individual information by which you could be identified. If you have questions or want a copy or summary of this study's results, you can contact the researcher at the email address above. If you have any questions about whether you have been treated in an illegal or unethical way, contact the Colorado College Institutional Research Board chair, Amanda Udis-Kessler at 719-227-8177 or audiskessler@coloradocollege.edu. Completing this survey indicates your consent to participate in the research.

- 1) What race/ethnic group do you identify with? _____
- 2) How old are you? _____
- 3) Which gender do you identify with? Male___ Female___ Other ___
- 4) Marital Status? Single___ Widowed___ Married___
 Divorced___ Partnered___
- 5) How much school have you completed?
 Some high school___ High School___ Some college___ College___
 Some Post-College___ Post-College___
- 6) Occupation? _____

7) Circle the vegetables that you feel are most **delectable** and **luscious**.

Potatoes	Spinach	Squash
Peas	Lettuce	Celery
Carrots	Bell peppers	Corn
Onions	Artichoke	Brussel sprouts
Garlic	Zucchini	Cabbage
Tomatoes	Olives	Bean sprouts
Asparagus	Cucumbers	Okra

8) Circle the vegetables that you feel are the most **heartly**.

Potatoes	Spinach	Squash
Peas	Lettuce	Celery
Carrots	Bell peppers	Corn
Onions	Artichoke	Brussel sprouts
Garlic	Zucchini	Cabbage
Tomatoes	Olives	Bean sprouts
Asparagus	Cucumbers	Okra

9) Circle the vegetables that you feel are the most **nutritious**.

Potatoes	Spinach	Squash
Peas	Lettuce	Celery
Carrots	Bell peppers	Corn
Onions	Artichoke	Brussel sprouts
Garlic	Zucchini	Cabbage
Tomatoes	Olives	Bean sprouts
Asparagus	Cucumbers	Okra

10) In the following list of adjectives, circle the ones indicating how you would describe a **potato**:

Subtle	Stable	Insubstantial	Palatable	Appetizing
Filling	Fragile	Substantial	Sturdy	Icky

11) In the following list of adjectives, circle the ones indicating how you would describe an **artichoke**:

Subtle	Stable	Insubstantial	Palatable	Appetizing
Filling	Fragile	Substantial	Sturdy	Icky

12) Which of these adjectives are *most* important to you when considering what to eat?

Subtle	Stable	Insubstantial	Palatable	Appetizing
Filling	Fragile	Substantial	Sturdy	Icky

13) In the following list of adjectives, circle the ones indicating how you would describe a **burger**

Cheap	Exquisite	Tough	Tender
Fast	Lovely	Creamy	Expensive
Insubstantial	Fabulous	Colorful	Sturdy
Gourmet	Juicy	Filling	Subtle

14) In the following list of adjectives, circle the ones indicating how you would describe a **Ribeye steak**

Cheap	Exquisite	Tough	Tender
Fast	Lovely	Creamy	Expensive
Insubstantial	Fabulous	Colorful	Sturdy
Gourmet	Juicy	Filling	Subtle

15) In the following list of adjectives, circle the ones indicating how you would describe **fish**

Cheap	Exquisite	Tough	Tender
Fast	Lovely	Creamy	Expensive
Insubstantial	Fabulous	Colorful	Sturdy
Gourmet	Juicy	Filling	Subtle

16) In the following list of adjectives, circle the ones indicating how you would describe a **salad**

Cheap	Exquisite	Tough	Tender
Fast	Lovely	Creamy	Expensive
Insubstantial	Fabulous	Colorful	Sturdy
Gourmet	Juicy	Filling	Subtle

17) Think of your favorite meal. What is it?

And which of the following adjectives would you use to describe your favorite meal?

Cheap	Exquisite	Tough	Tender
Fast	Lovely	Creamy	Expensive
Insubstantial	Fabulous	Colorful	Sturdy
Gourmet	Juicy	Filling	Subtle

18) Of these foods, which do you eat never, rarely, sometimes, or often?

Food	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often
French Fries				
Meat Loaf				
Spinach				
Escargot				
Wine				
Beer				
Venison				
Corn				
Brussel Sprouts				
Tofu				

19) Of these activities, which do you do never, rarely, sometimes, or often?

Activity	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often
Watching sports on TV				
Playing sports				
Cooking				
Crafts				
Hiking				
Skiing				
Reading				
Watching Reality TV				
Going to the movies				
Socializing with friends				

20) What is your favorite restaurant in Colorado Springs? _____

21) When you have guests over for a meal, what kind of meals do you prefer to serve?

Simple but well-presented _____

Delicate and exquisite _____

Plentiful and good _____

Pot-luck _____

Appetizing and economical _____

Traditional American food _____

Original and exotic _____

Other _____

22) Do you like to cook? Never _____ Rarely _____ Sometimes _____ Always _____

23) What is your favorite dish to cook? _____

24) In the following list of adjectives, circle the ones indicating the personal qualities you *most* admire in a **man**:

Humorous	Compassionate	Knowledgeable	Clean
Driven	Sensitive	Street-smart	Skillful
Stylish	Helpful	Wealthy	Chivalrous
Social	Experienced	Handsome	Organized
Brave	Hard-working	Warm	Connoisseur
Cultured	Expressive	Trustworthy	Cheerful
Pretty	Successful	Extroverted	Eloquent
Artistic	Caring	Friendly	Articulate
Strong	Intelligent	Introverted	Powerful
Creative	Passionate	Athletic	Father

25) In the following list of adjectives, circle the ones indicating the personal qualities you *least* admire in a **man**:

Humorous	Compassionate	Knowledgeable	Clean
Driven	Sensitive	Street-smart	Skillful
Stylish	Helpful	Wealthy	Chivalrous
Social	Experienced	Handsome	Organized
Brave	Hard-working	Warm	Connoisseur
Cultured	Expressive	Trustworthy	Cheerful
Pretty	Successful	Extroverted	Eloquent
Artistic	Caring	Friendly	Articulate
Strong	Intelligent	Introverted	Powerful
Creative	Passionate	Athletic	Father

26) In the following list of adjectives, circle the ones indicating the personal qualities you *most* admire in a **woman**:

Humorous	Compassionate	Knowledgeable	Clean
Driven	Sensitive	Street-smart	Skillful
Stylish	Helpful	Wealthy	Chivalrous
Social	Experienced	Handsome	Organized
Brave	Hard-working	Warm	Connoisseur
Cultured	Expressive	Trustworthy	Cheerful
Pretty	Successful	Extroverted	Eloquent
Artistic	Caring	Friendly	Articulate
Strong	Intelligent	Introverted	Powerful
Creative	Passionate	Athletic	Mother

27) In the following list of adjectives, circle the ones indicating the personal qualities you *least* admire in a **woman**:

Humorous	Compassionate	Knowledgeable	Clean
Driven	Sensitive	Street-smart	Skillful
Stylish	Helpful	Wealthy	Chivalrous
Social	Experienced	Handsome	Organized
Brave	Hard-working	Warm	Connoisseur
Cultured	Expressive	Trustworthy	Cheerful
Pretty	Successful	Extroverted	Eloquent
Artistic	Caring	Friendly	Articulate
Strong	Intelligent	Introverted	Powerful
Creative	Passionate	Athletic	Mother

28) Rank these statements on a scale from 1 to 5 depending on how much you agree or disagree with them. 1 being strongly disagree and 5 being strongly agree.

Vegetarian diets are progressive and eco-conscious. _____

Vegetarianism is underrated. _____

I appreciate what vegetarians are doing but I myself could never be one. _____

I don't understand vegetarianism. _____

One person's diet makes no difference in the grand scheme of things so I don't understand where vegetarians are coming from. _____

I don't care about food—food is food. _____

Vegetarians do not get enough protein. _____

Eating meat is natural. _____

Men eat meat. _____

Vegetarian diets are for wimps. _____

29) Imagine you are at a work party. All the food is unappetizing to you; however your boss is watching you eye the food. What do you do? Check all that apply.

Eat it _____

Don't eat it _____

Joke about the food _____

Speak to your boss about the poor quality of the food _____

Other _____

30) Imagine you and your romantic partner have very different food preferences. They want to go to a restaurant that you absolutely hate. What do you do? Check all that apply.

- Eat there_____
- Complain the whole time_____
- You give in with good grace_____
- Your partner gives in with good grace_____
- You give in with bad grace_____
- Your partner gives in with bad grace_____
- Stay home and don't go out_____

31) Imagine you are planning a dinner party. How do you plan for the meal to be? Check all that apply.

- Fancy_____
- Simple_____
- Impressive_____
- Something that the guests will like_____
- Something that you will like_____
- Don't care_____

32) How would you describe your diet?

Meat-Eating_____ Vegetarian/Vegan_____ Other_____

33) Do you have specific reasons for your dietary choices? Yes_____ No_____

If yes, what are they?

- Health_____
- Taste_____
- Cost_____
- Tradition_____
- Necessity_____
- Availability_____
- Other_____

Appendix B: Interview Questions

- 1) How long have you been vegetarian?
- 2) How did you learn about vegetarianism?
- 3) Did you have judgments about vegetarianism before you became one? What were they? Have those changed now?
- 4) Why did you choose to be vegetarian? (Morality, Environmentalism,?)
- 5) How do you feel about salad? Do you make it, eat it, love it?
- 6) Do you think you think about food differently than meat eaters? How so?
- 7) You know I asked some weird questions in the survey, I got some feedback on that, but I want to go into it more...do you think there are certain foods that are associated with men and women? Is there a gender correlation?
 - a. If “Yes”—Tell me the foods that you associate with different genders? Does this ideology weight into your food choices?
 - b. If “No”—Well, the only vegetable Male Non-Vegetarians were at all interested in was the potato...what do you think about that?
- 8) Are you self-conscious to eat or talk about your vegetarianism around your male friends? Around your female friends?
- 9) Back to the survey data...people who really valued success didn't value power and vice versa. I think about success and power as being very closely related...how do you think about it?
- 10) In traditional conceptions of manhood/men, what are the characteristics associated with men? Which of these do you agree/disagree with? Which do you feel are correct/incorrect?
- 11) In traditional conceptions of womanhood/women, what are the characteristics associated with women? Which of these do you agree/disagree with? Which do you feel are correct/incorrect?
- 12) Have you ever felt pressure from a woman to eat a certain way?
- 13) Have you ever felt pressure from another man to eat a certain way?
- 14) Can you tell me about a time when you had to deal with a situation where no vegetarian food was available to you and you were forced to approach someone about another option?
- 15) Do you and your friends ever talk about food and health? In what ways? What comes up? Do you ever talk about eating meat or not eating meat?
- 16) How does your Dad feel about you being a vegetarian? Does he tease you ever? What does the rest of your family think about your diet?
- 17) Have you ever been insulted because of your diet? What was the insult? Are their derogatory slang terms for vegetarians that you have heard?
- 18) Is meat eating associated with a particular gender? Is meat eating perceived as a male activity and masculine?
- 19) Do you think masculinity and vegetarianism clash? Why?

Appendix C: Correspondence Analysis Maps

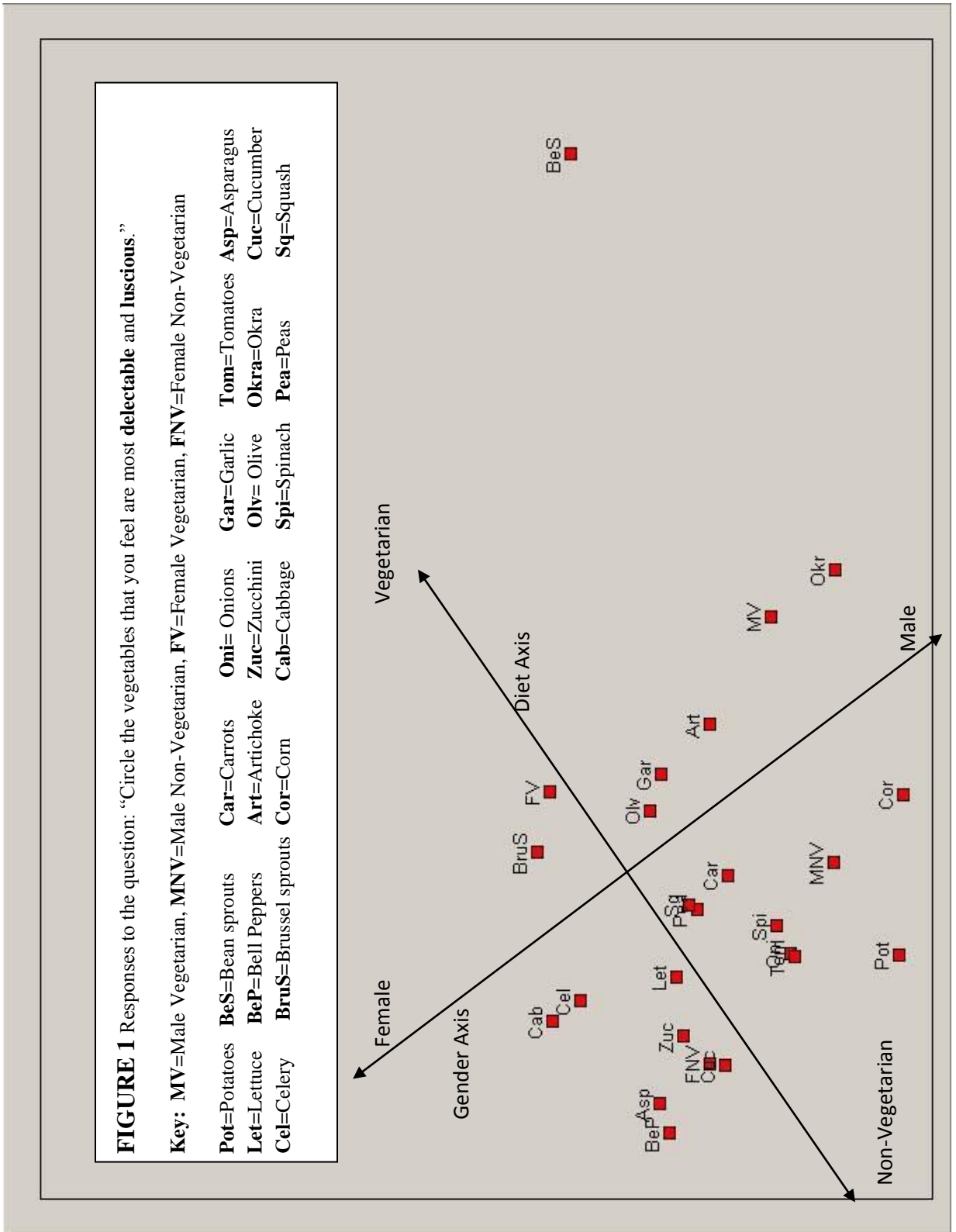


FIGURE 2 Responses to the question: "Circle the vegetables that you feel are most hearty."

Key: MV=Male Vegetarian, MNV=Male Non-Vegetarian,

FV=Female Vegetarian, FNV=Female Non-Vegetarian

Pot=Potatoes **Car**=Carrots **Oni**= Onions **Gar**=Garlic **Tom**=Tomatoes
Asp=Asparagus **Let**=Lettuce **Art**=Artichoke **Zuc**=Zucchini **BruS**=Brussel sprouts
Olv= Olive **Cuc**=Cucumber **Cel**=Celery **BeP**=Bell Peppers **Cab**=Cabbage
Spi=Spinach **Pea**=Peas **Cor**=Corn **Sq**=Squash

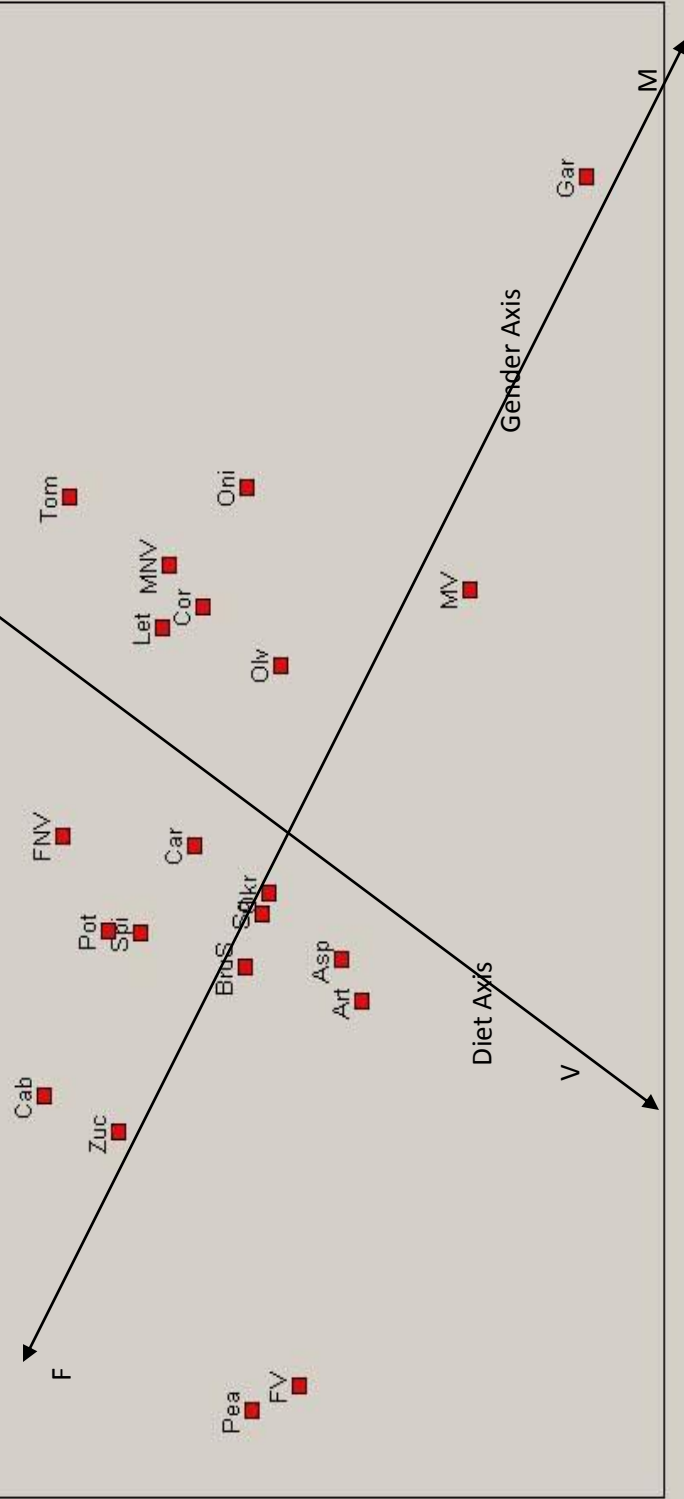
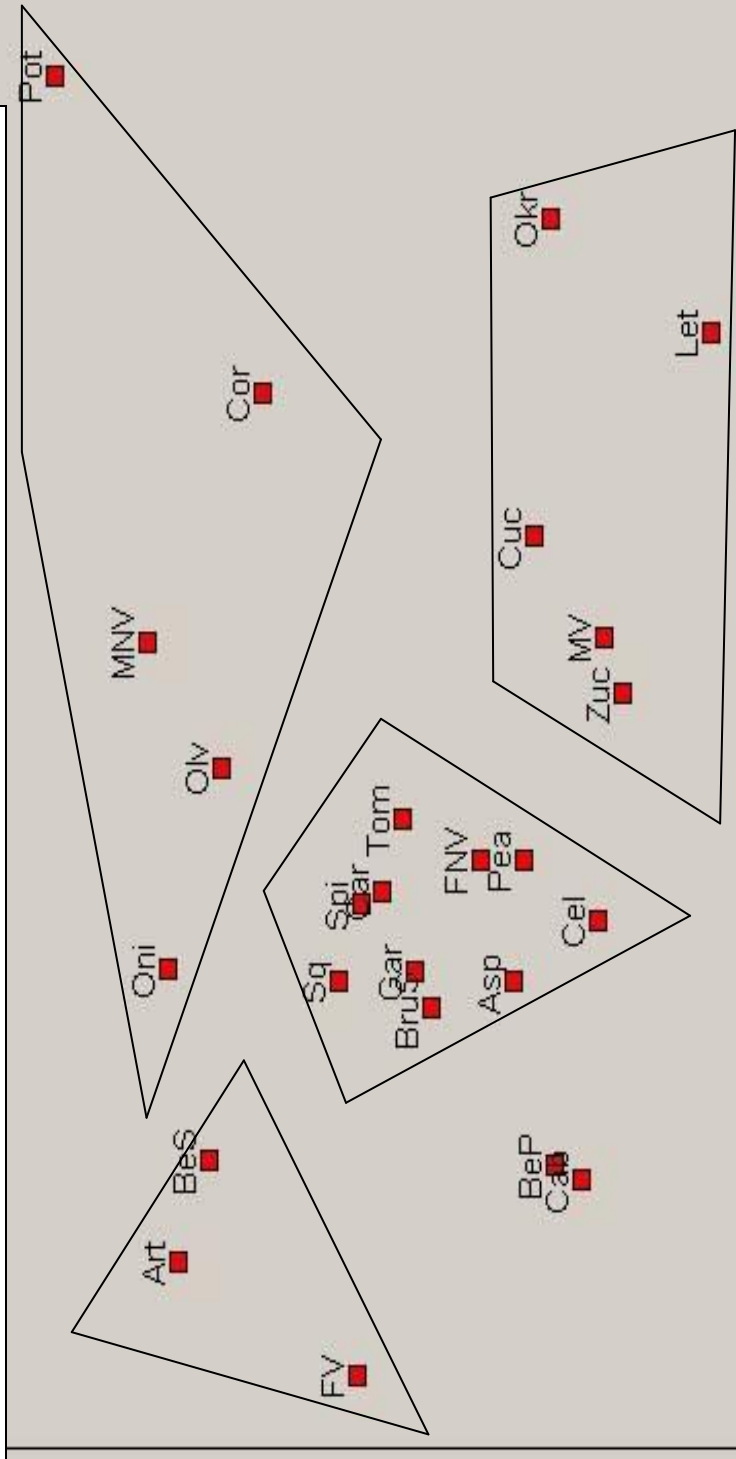
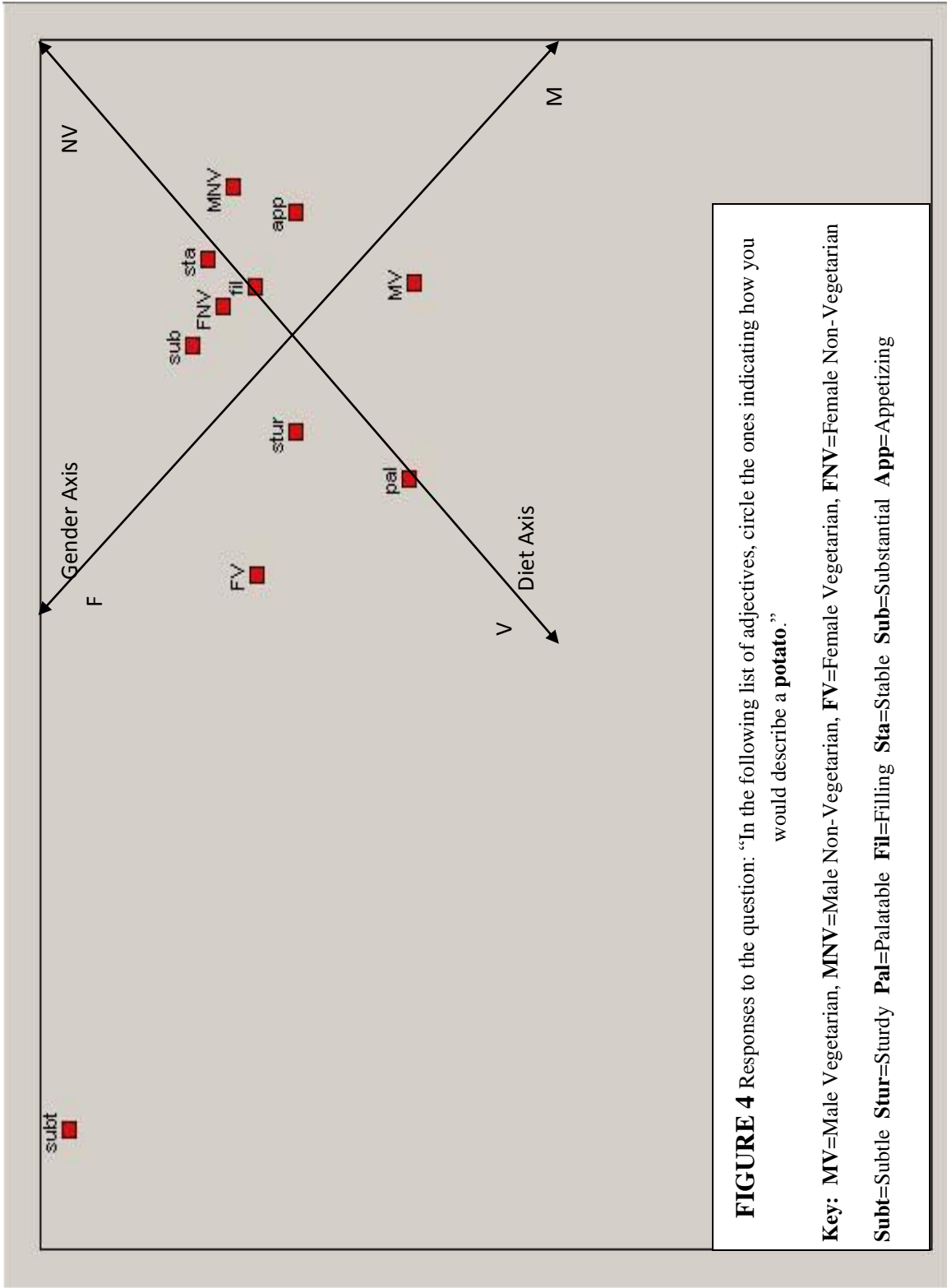


FIGURE 3 Responses to the question: "Circle the vegetables that you feel are most nutritious."

Key: MV=Male Vegetarian, MNV=Male Non-Vegetarian, FV=Female Vegetarian, FNV=Female Non-Vegetarian
Pot=Potatoes **BeS**=Bean sprouts **Car**=Carrots **Oni**= Onions **Gar**=Garlic **Tom**=Tomatoes **Asp**=Asparagus
Let=Lettuce **BeP**=Bell Peppers **Art**=Artichoke **Zuc**=Zucchini **Olv**= Olive **Okra**=Okra **Cuc**=Cucumber
Cel=Celery **BruS**=Brussel sprouts **Cor**=Corn **Cab**=Cabbage **Spi**=Spinach **Pea**=Peas **Sq**=Squash





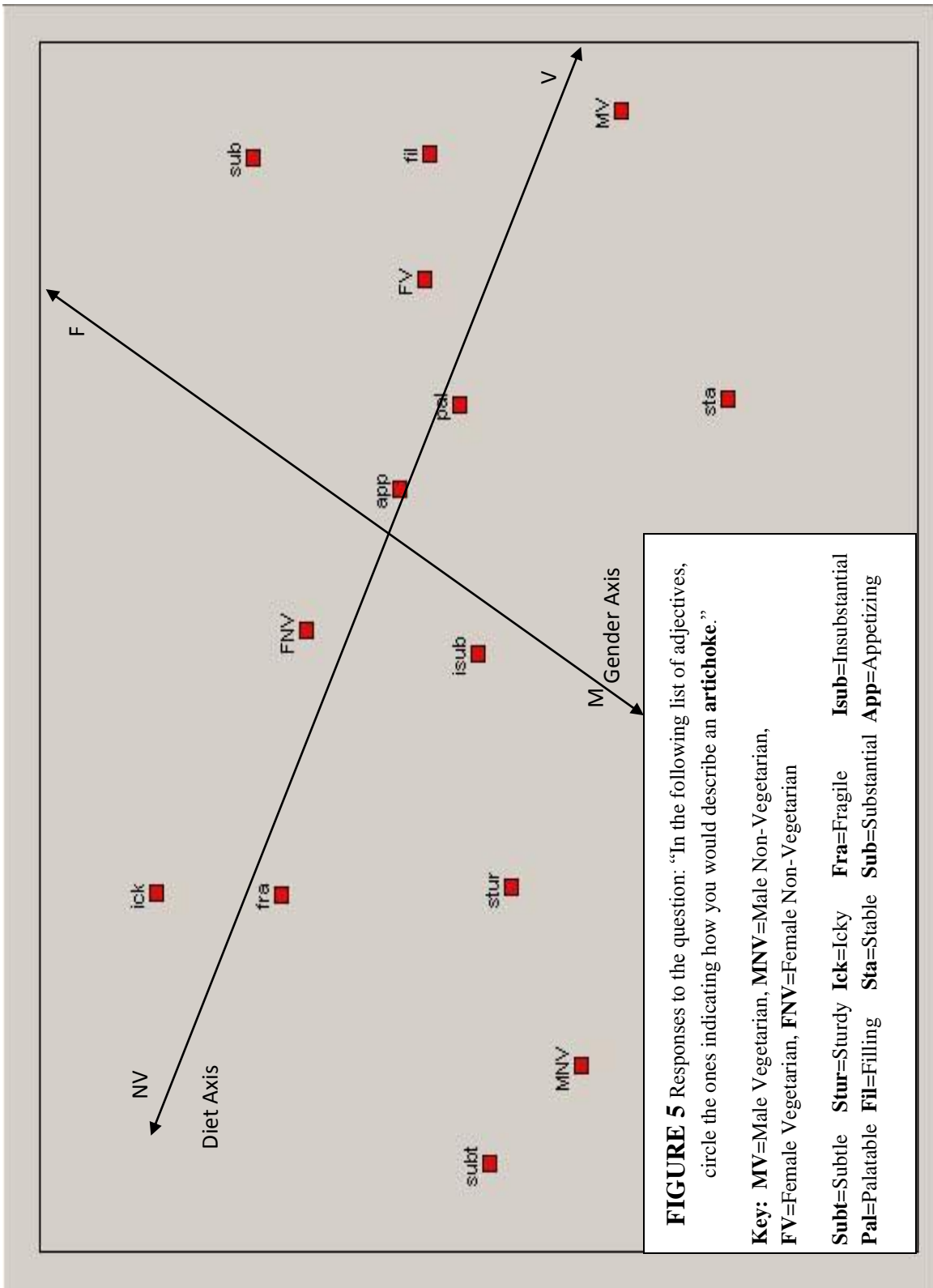
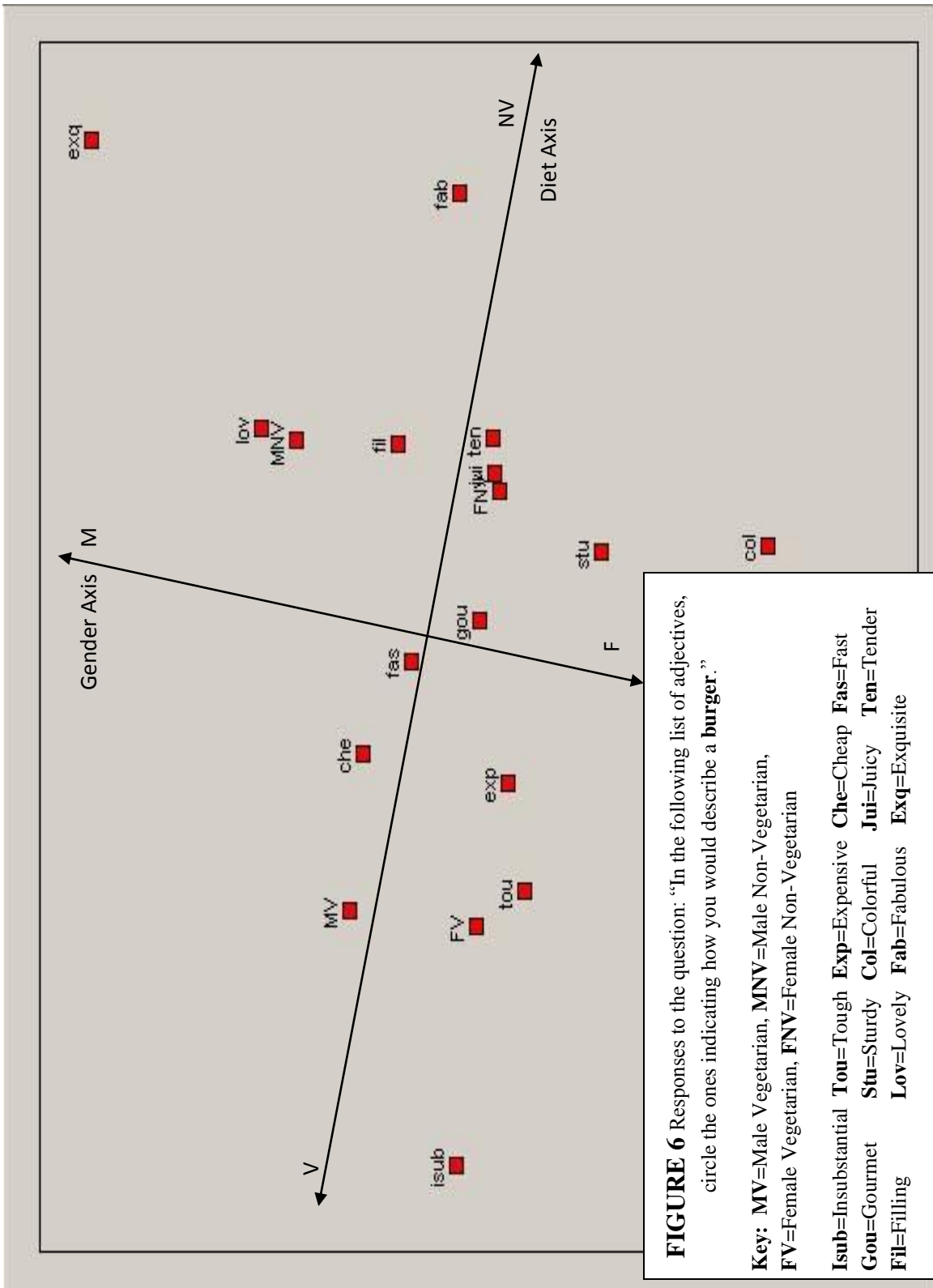


FIGURE 5 Responses to the question: "In the following list of adjectives, circle the ones indicating how you would describe an **artichoke**."

Key: **MV**=Male Vegetarian, **MINV**=Male Non-Vegetarian, **Subt**=Subtle **Stur**=Sturdy **Ick**=Icky **Fra**=Fragile **Isub**=Insubstantial
FV=Female Vegetarian, **FNV**=Female Non-Vegetarian **Pal**=Palatable **Fil**=Filling **Sta**=Stable **Sub**=Substantial **App**=Appetizing



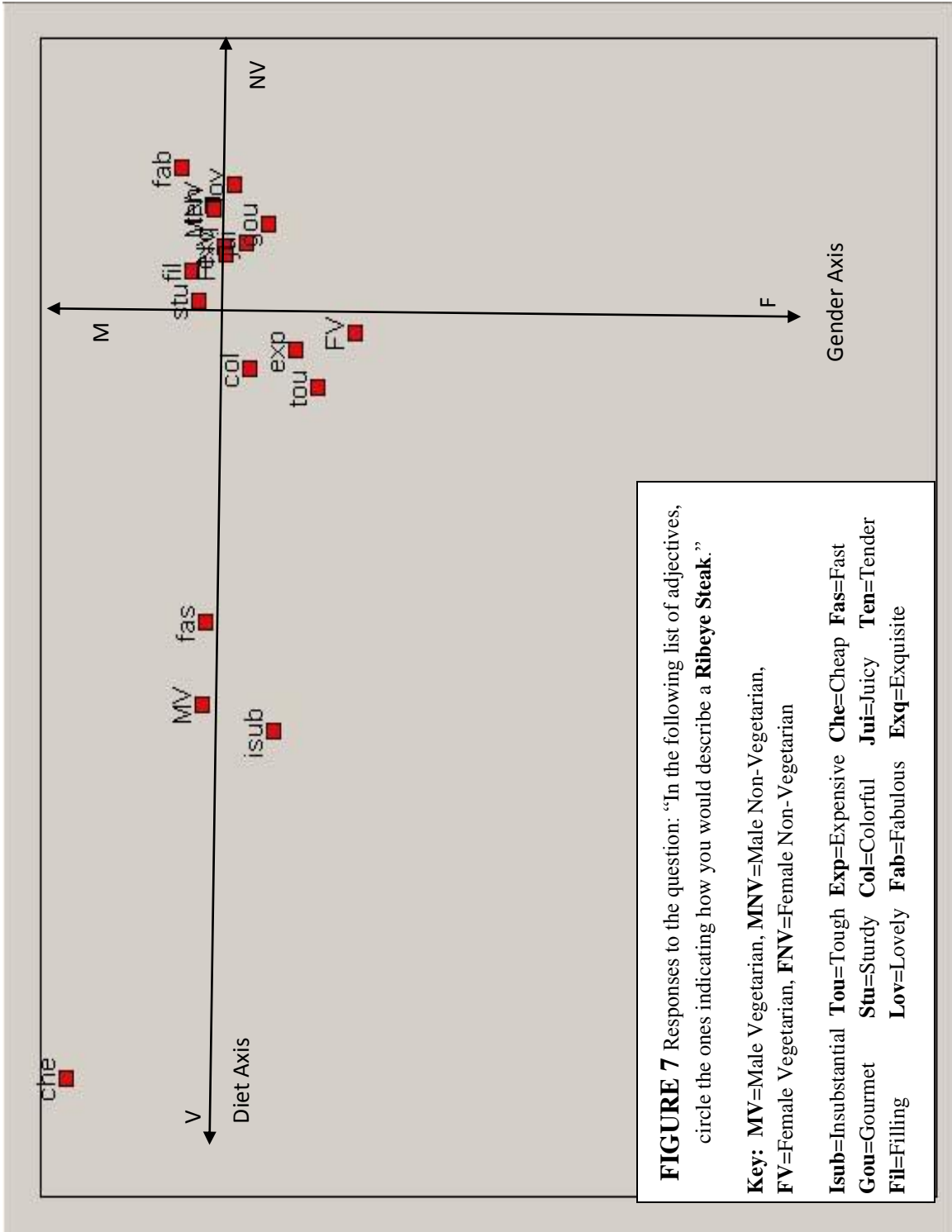
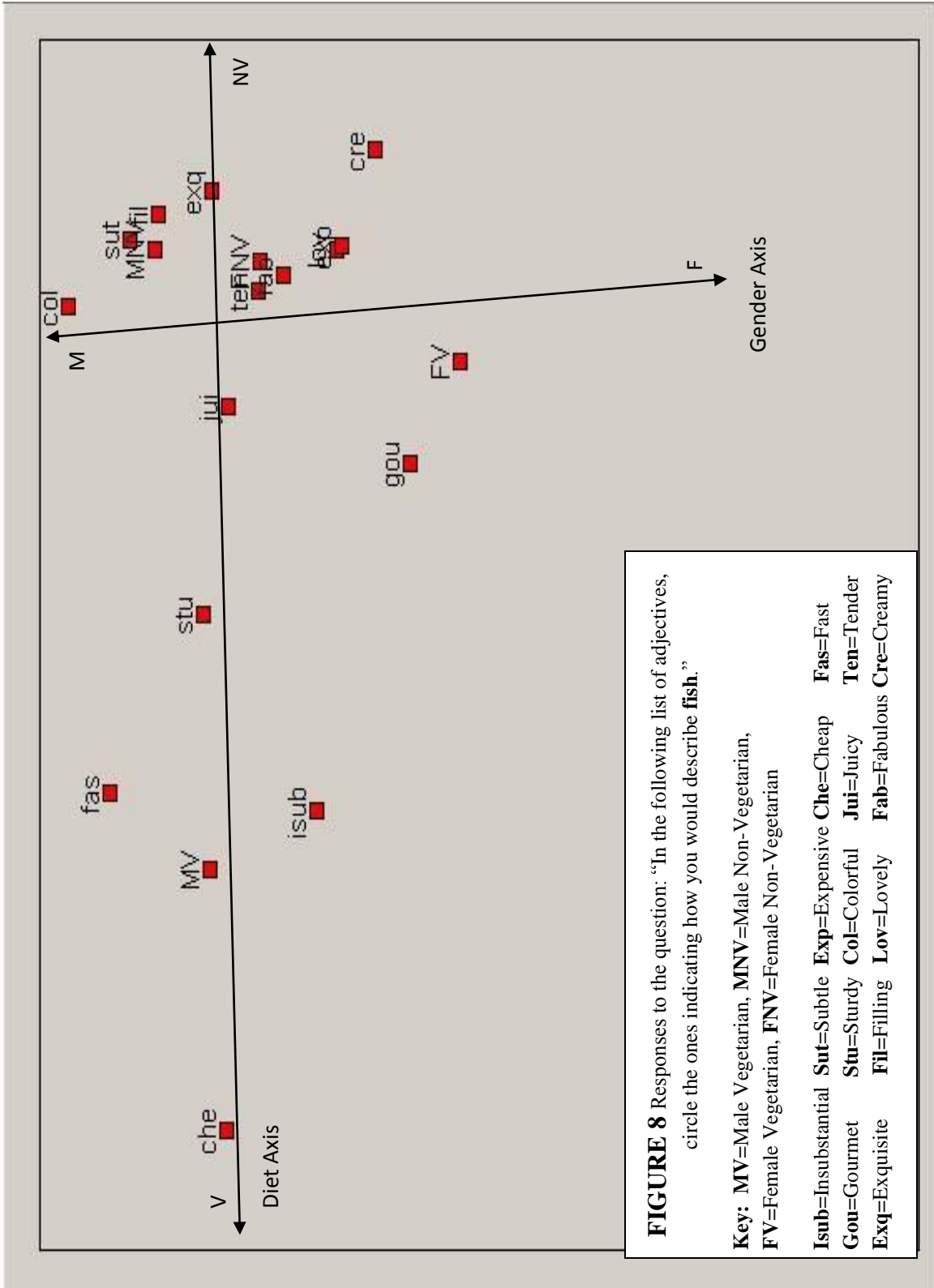


FIGURE 7 Responses to the question: “In the following list of adjectives, circle the ones indicating how you would describe a **Ribeye Steak**.”

Key: MV=Male Vegetarian, MNV=Male Non-Vegetarian, FV=Female Vegetarian, FNV=Female Non-Vegetarian
Isub=Insubstantial **Tou**=Tough **Exp**=Expensive **Che**=Cheap **Fas**=Fast
Gou=Gourmet **Stu**=Sturdy **Col**=Colorful **Jui**=Juicy **Ten**=Tender
Fil=Filling **Lov**=Lovely **Fab**=Fabulous **Exq**=Exquisite



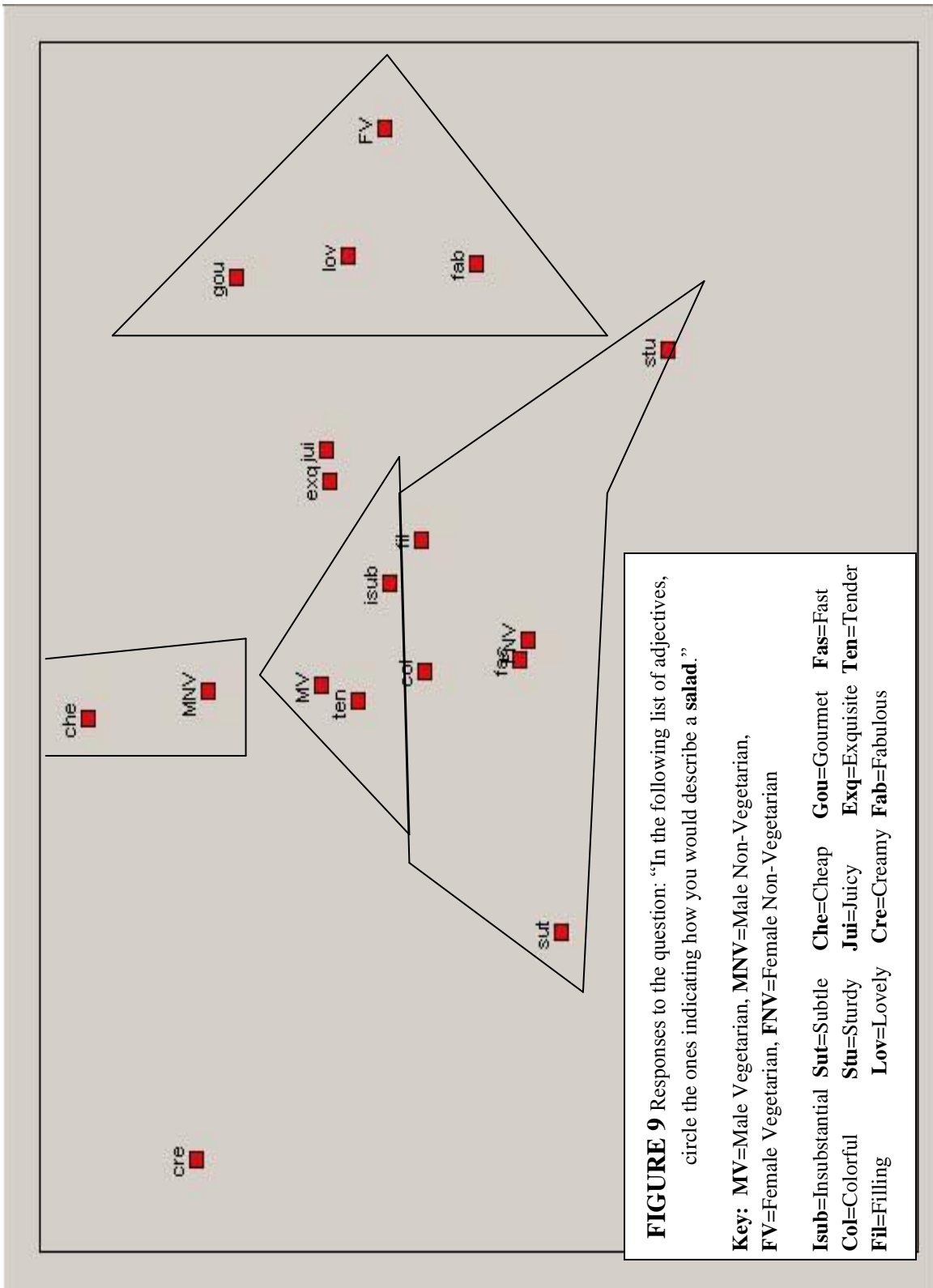
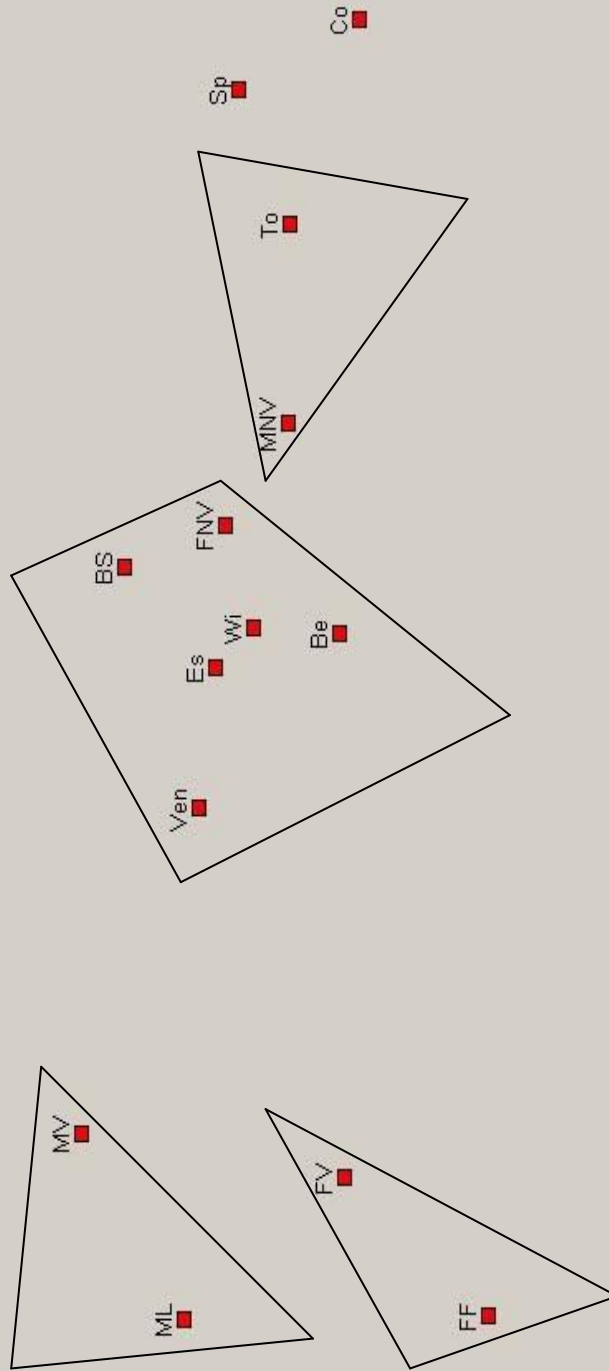


FIGURE 10 Responses to the question: "Which of these foods do you never eat?"

Key: **MV**=Male Vegetarian, **MNV**=Male Non-Vegetarian,
FV=Female Vegetarian, **FNV**=Female Non-Vegetarian

ML=Meat Loaf **FF**=French Fries **Ven**=Venison **Es**=Escargot **Wi**=Wine
Be=Beer **BS**=Brussel Sprouts **To**=Tofu **Sp**=Spinach **Co**=Corn



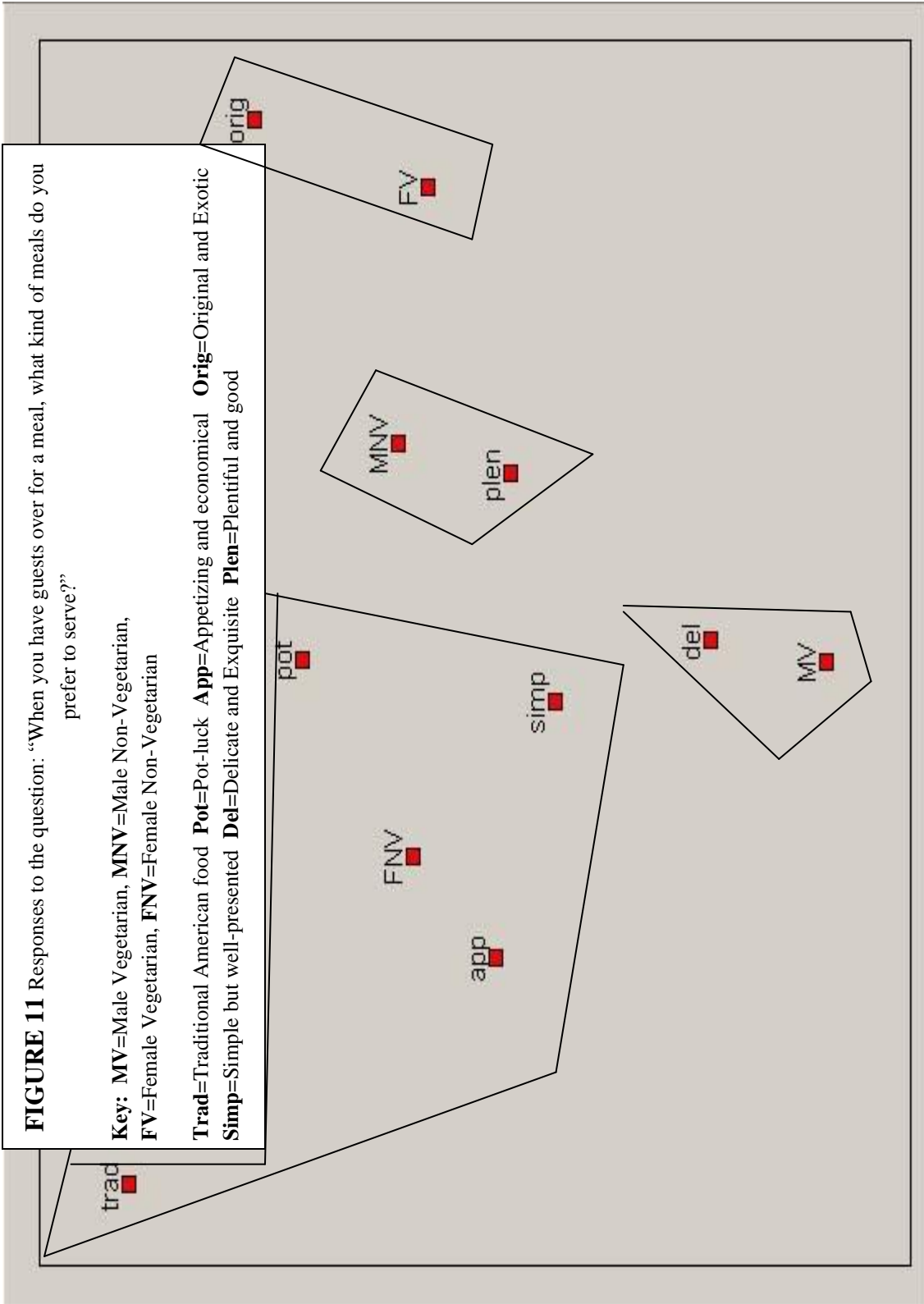
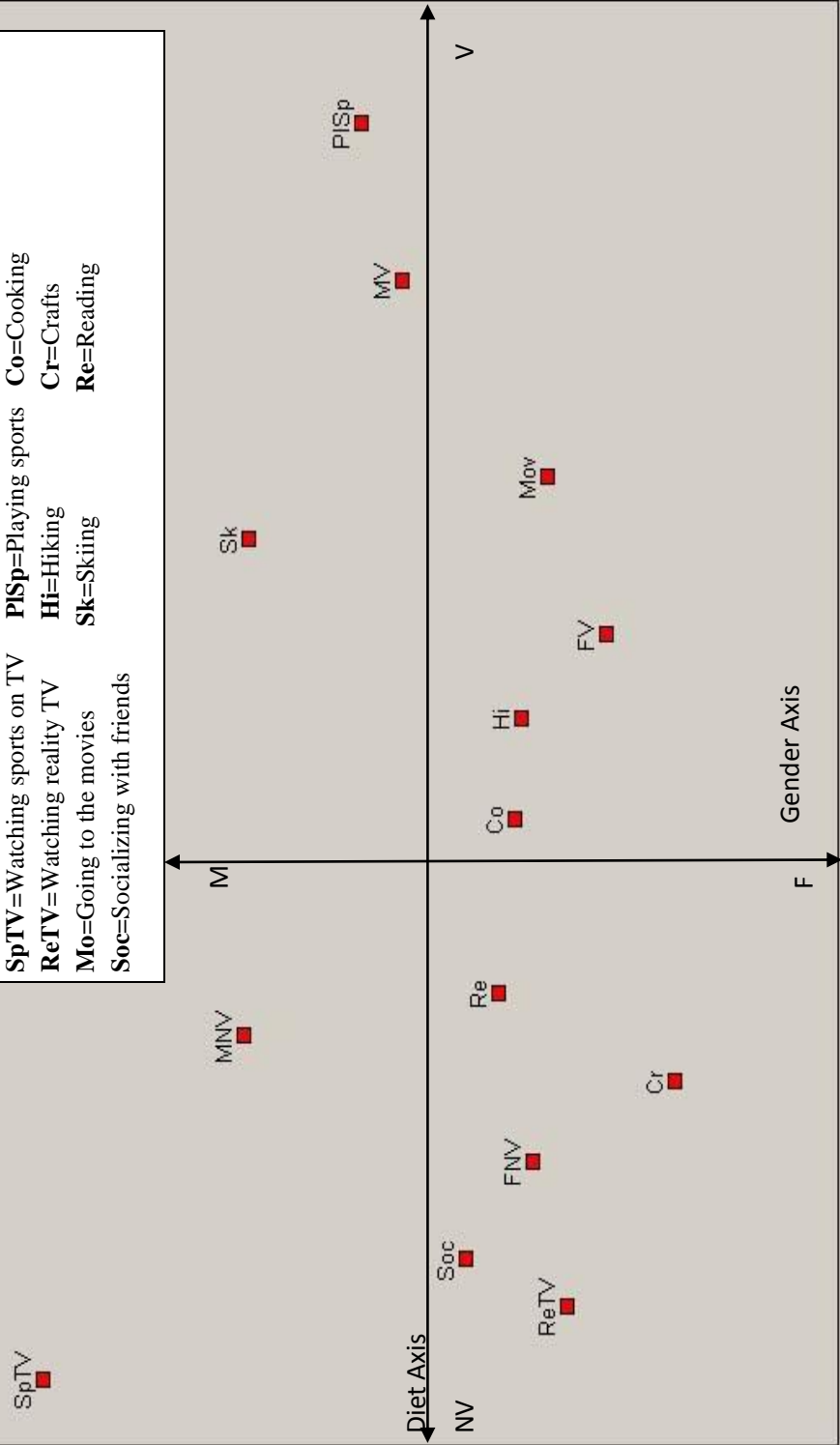
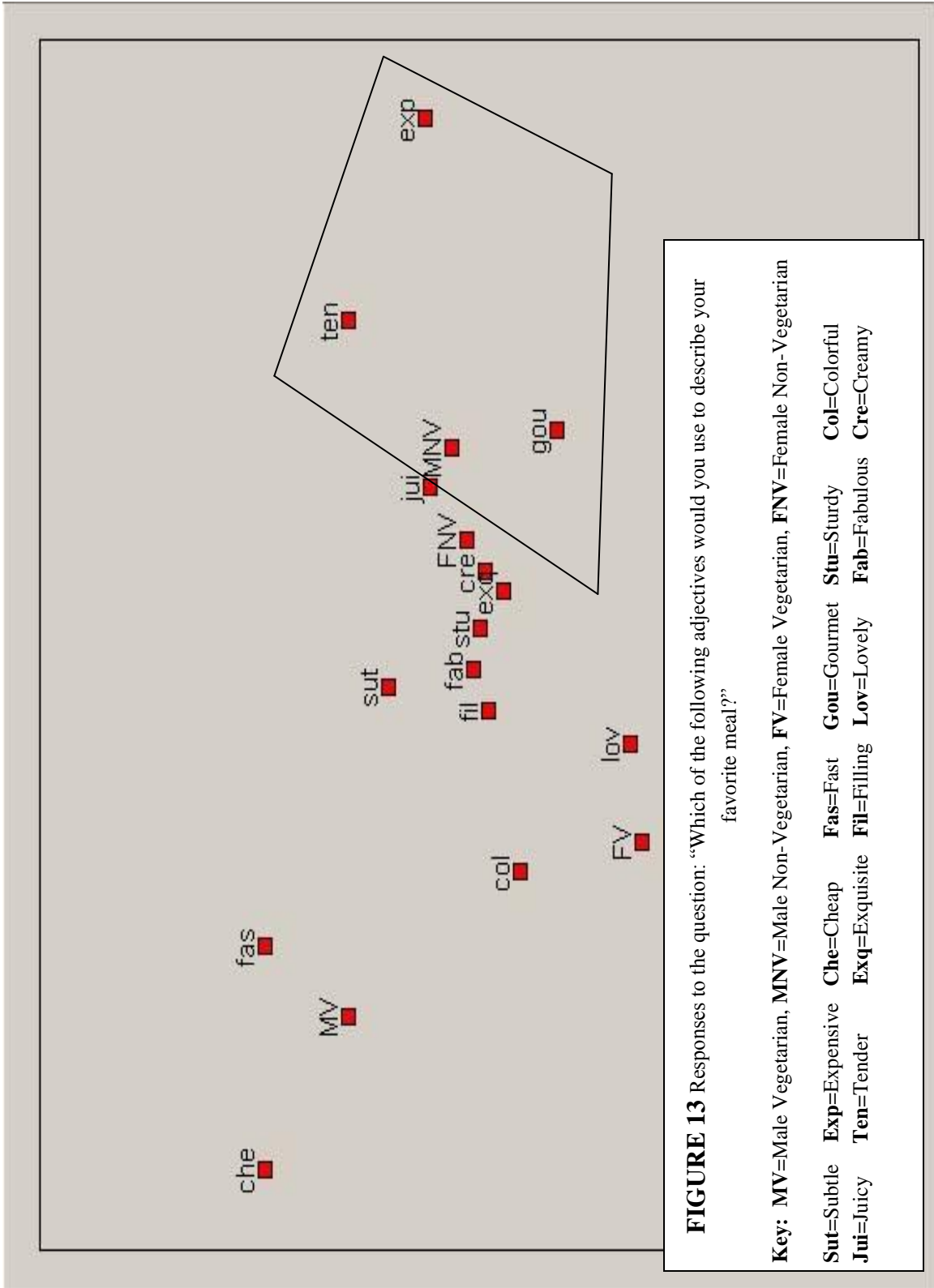


FIGURE 12 Responses to the question: “Which of these activities do you do often?”

Key: **MV**=Male Vegetarian, **MNV**=Male Non-Vegetarian,
FV=Female Vegetarian, **FNV**=Female Non-Vegetarian
SpTV=Watching sports on TV **PISp**=Playing sports **Co**=Cooking
ReTV=Watching reality TV **Hi**=Hiking **Cr**=Crafts
Mo=Going to the movies **Sk**=Skiing **Re**=Reading
Soc=Socializing with friends





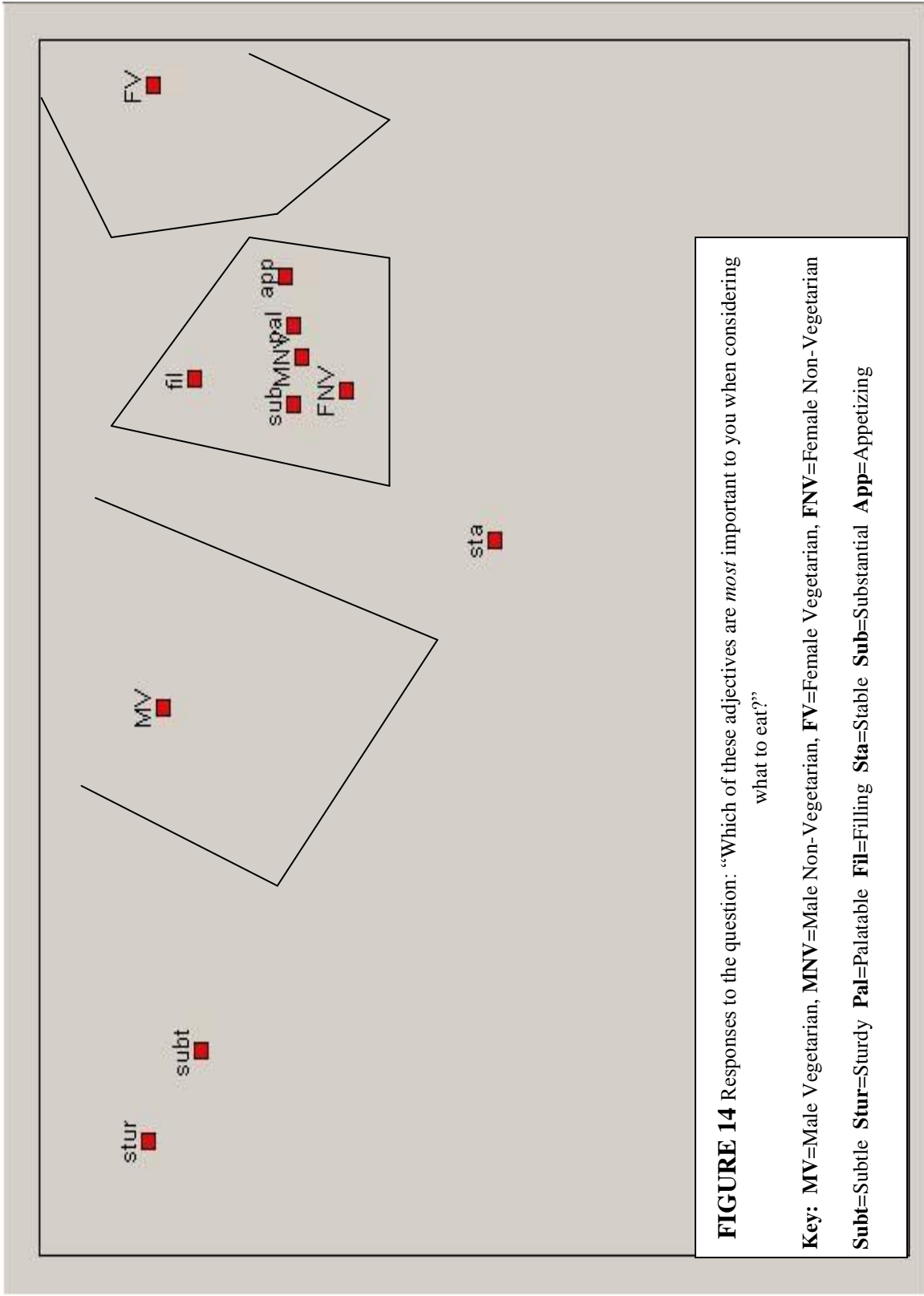


FIGURE 14 Responses to the question: “Which of these adjectives are *most* important to you when considering what to eat?”

Key: MV=Male Vegetarian, MNV=Male Non-Vegetarian, FV=Female Vegetarian, FNV=Female Non-Vegetarian
Subt=Subtle **Stur**=Sturdy **Pal**=Palatable **Fil**=Filling **Sta**=Stable **Sub**=Substantial **App**=Appetizing

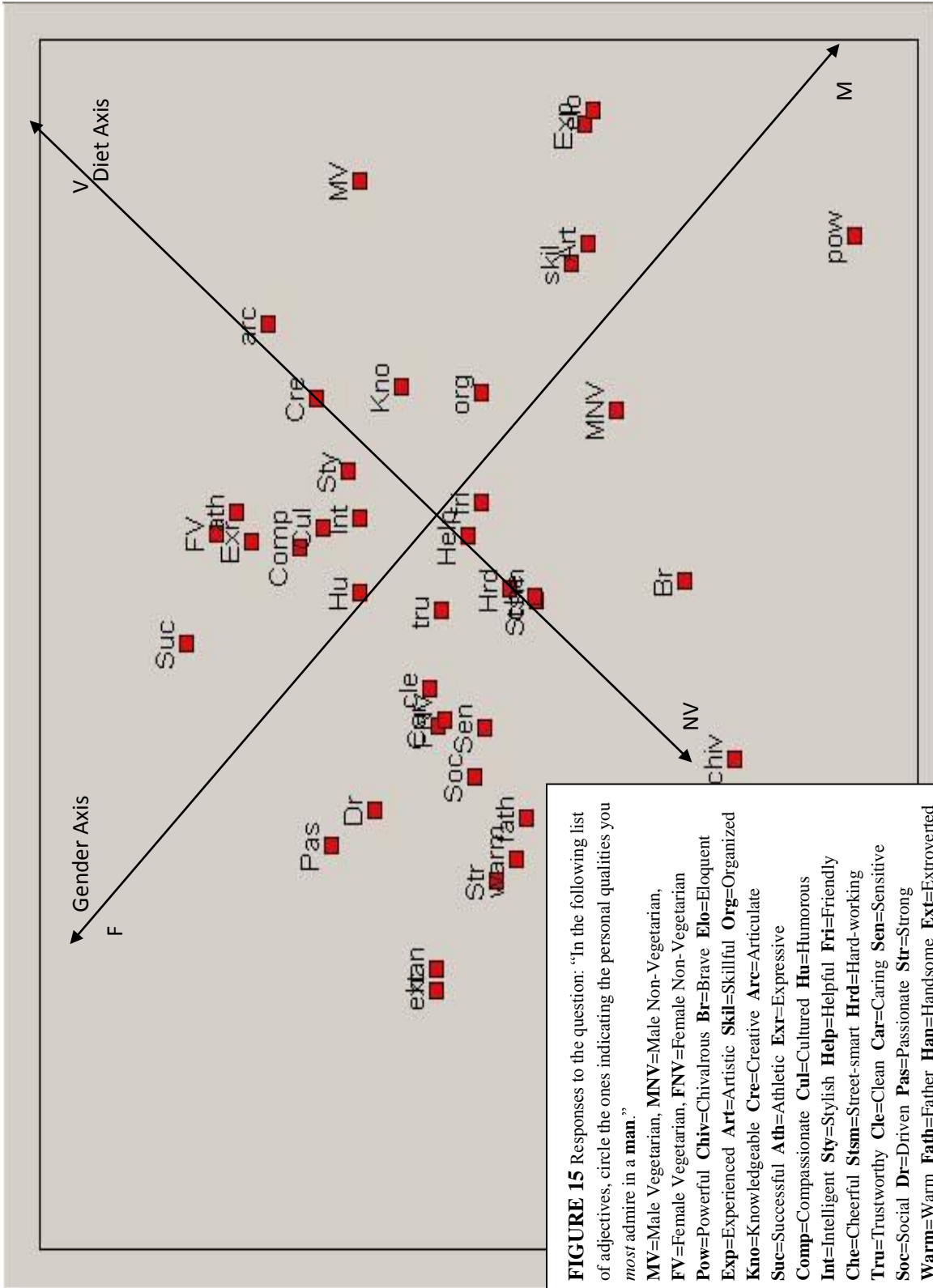


FIGURE 15 Responses to the question: "In the following list of adjectives, circle the ones indicating the personal qualities you most admire in a man."

MV=Male Vegetarian, MNV=Male Non-Vegetarian, FV=Female Vegetarian, FNV=Female Non-Vegetarian
 Pow=Powerful Chiv=Chivalrous Br=Brave Elo=Eloquent
 Exp=Experienced Art=Artistic Skil=Skillful Org=Organized
 Kno=Knowledgeable Cre=Creative Arc=Articulate
 Suc=Successful Ath=Athletic Ext=Expressive
 Comp=Compassionate Cul=Cultured Hu=Humorous
 Int=Intelligent Sty=Stylish Help=Helpful Fri=Friendly
 Che=Cheerful Sism=Street-smart Hrd=Hard-working
 Tru=Trustworthy Cle=Clean Car=Caring Sen=Sensitive
 Soc=Social Dr=Driven Pas=Passionate Str=Strong
 Warm=Warm Fath=Father Han=Handsome Ext=Extroverted

FIGURE 16 Responses to the question: "In the following list of adjectives, circle the ones indicating the personal qualities you *least* admire in a **man**."

MV=Male Vegetarian, MNV=Male Non-Vegetarian, FV=Female Vegetarian, FNV=Female Non-Vegetarian
 Pow=Powerful Chiv=Chivalrous Wea=Wealthy Exp=Experienced Art=Artistic Skil=Skillful
 Org=Organized Kno=Knowledgeable Cre=Creative Arc=Articulate Suc=Successful Ath=Athletic
 Extr=Expressive Comp=Compassionate Cul=Cultured Hu=Humorous Int=Intelligent Sty=Stylish
 Help=Helpful Hrd=Hard-working Che=Cheerful Sism=Street-smart Tru=Trustworthy Cle=Clean
 Car=Caring Sen=Sensitive Soc=Social Dr=Driven Pas=Passionate Str=Strong
 Warm=Warm Fath=Father Han=Handsome Ext=Extroverted Elo=Eloquent Fri=Friendly

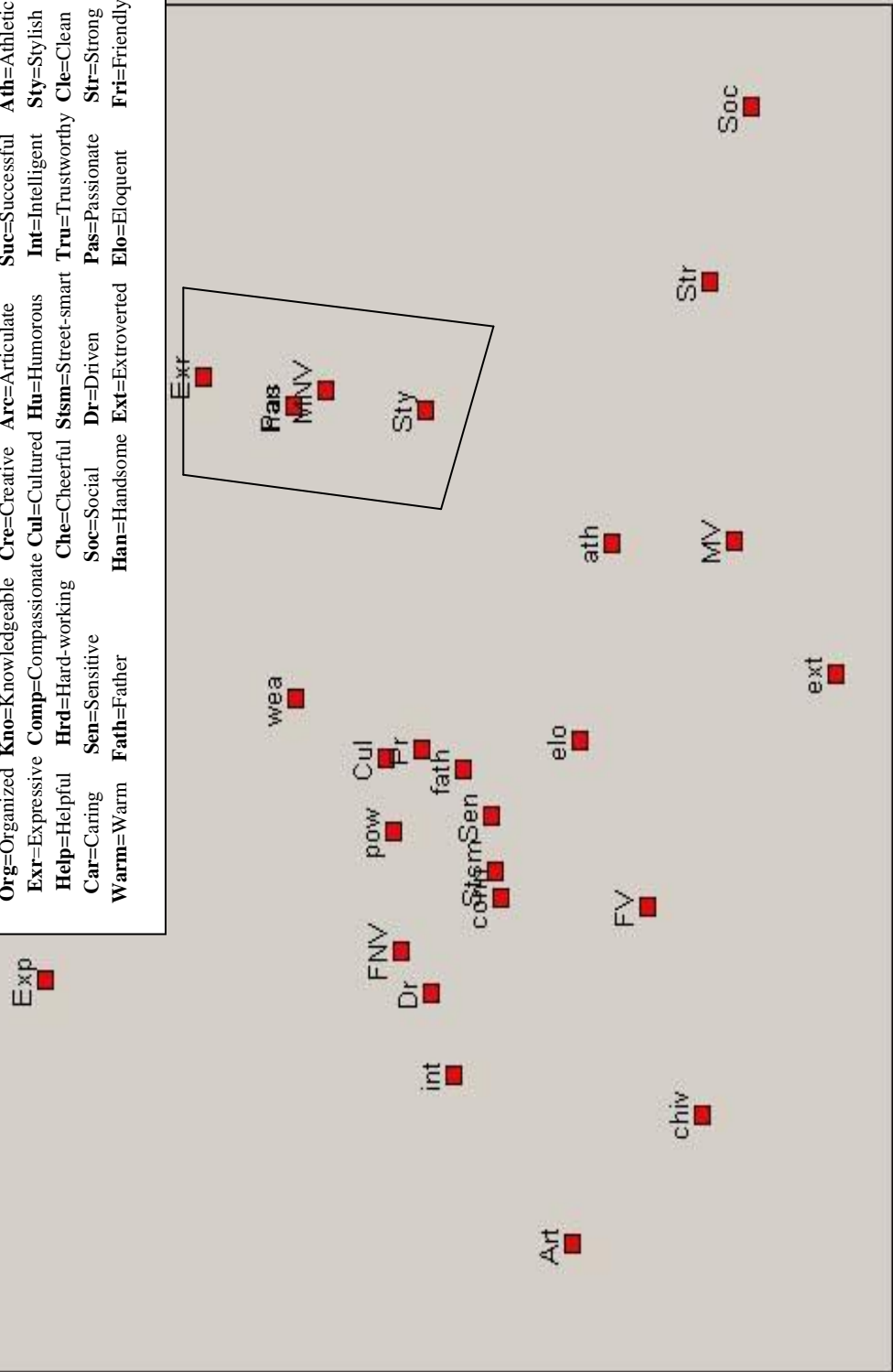
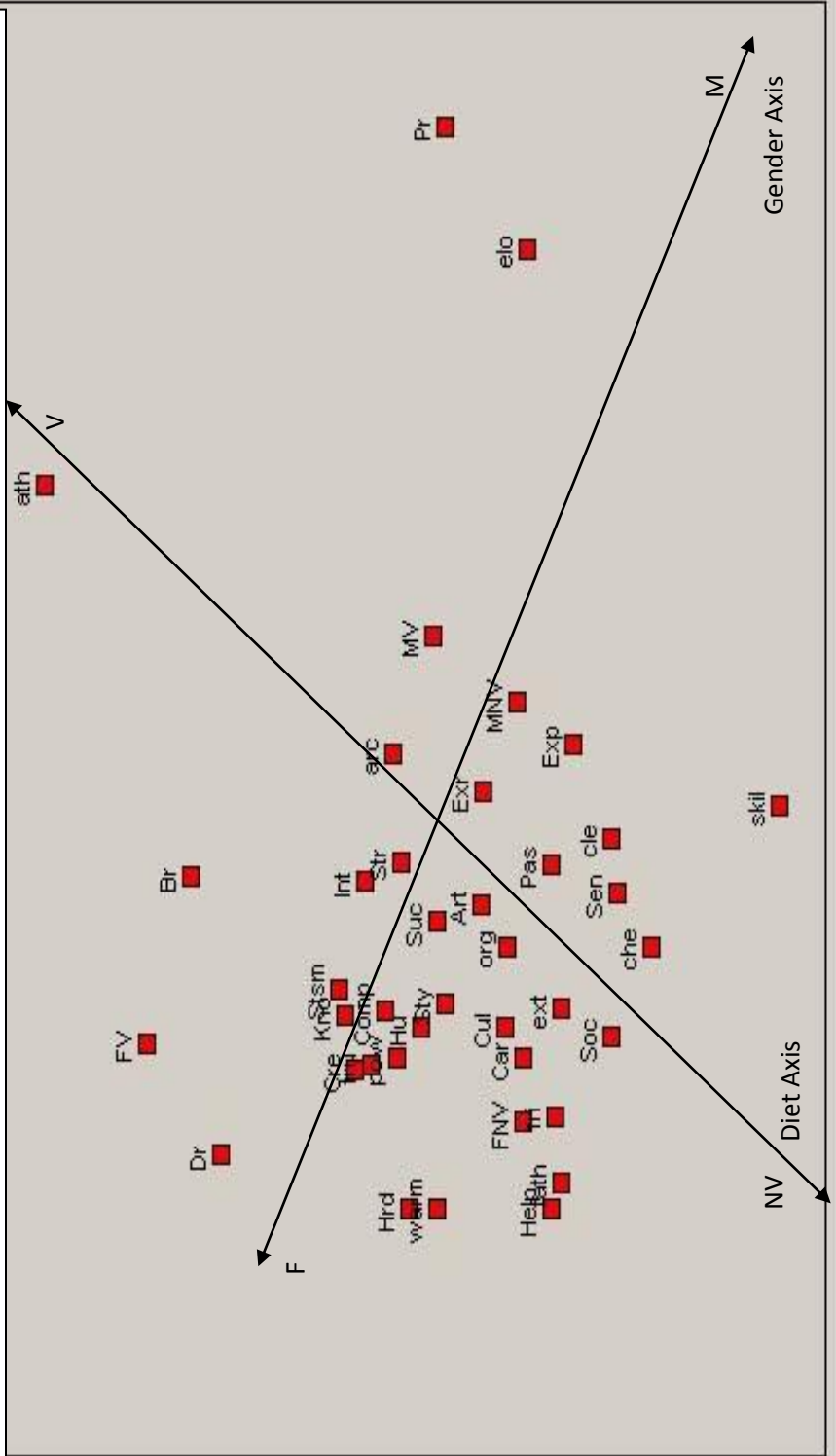
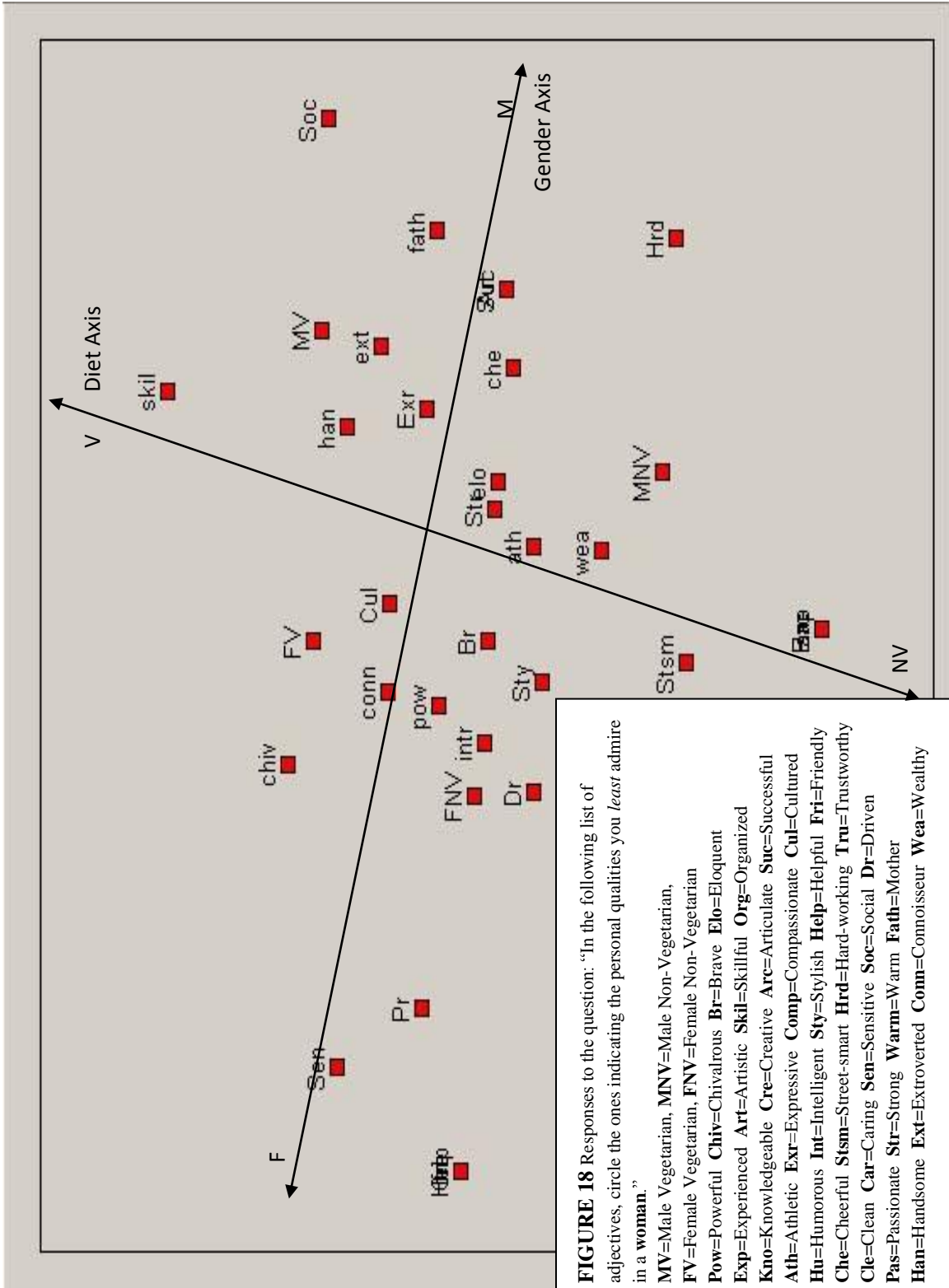


FIGURE 17 Responses to the question: "In the following list of adjectives, circle the ones indicating the personal qualities you *most* admire in a **woman**."

MV=Male Vegetarian, MNV=Male Non-Vegetarian, FV=Female Vegetarian, FNV=Female Non-Vegetarian

- | | | | | | | | |
|-------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------|----------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------|
| Pow =Powerful | Chiv =Chivalrous | Br =Brave | Exp =Experienced | Art =Artistic | Skil =Skillful | Org =Organized | Kno =Knowledgeable |
| Cre =Creative | Arc =Articulate | Suc =Successful | Ath =Athletic | Ext =Expressive | Comp =Compassionate | Cul =Cultured | Hu =Humorous |
| Int =Intelligent | Sty =Stylish | Help =Helpful | Hrd =Hard-working | Che =Cheerful | Stsm =Street-smart | Tru =Trustworthy | Cle =Clean |
| Car =Caring | Sen =Sensitive | Soc =Social | Dr =Driven | Pas =Passionate | Str =Strong | Warm =Warm | Fath =Mother |
| Han =Handsome | Ext =Extroverted | Elo =Eloquent | Fri =Friendly | | | | |





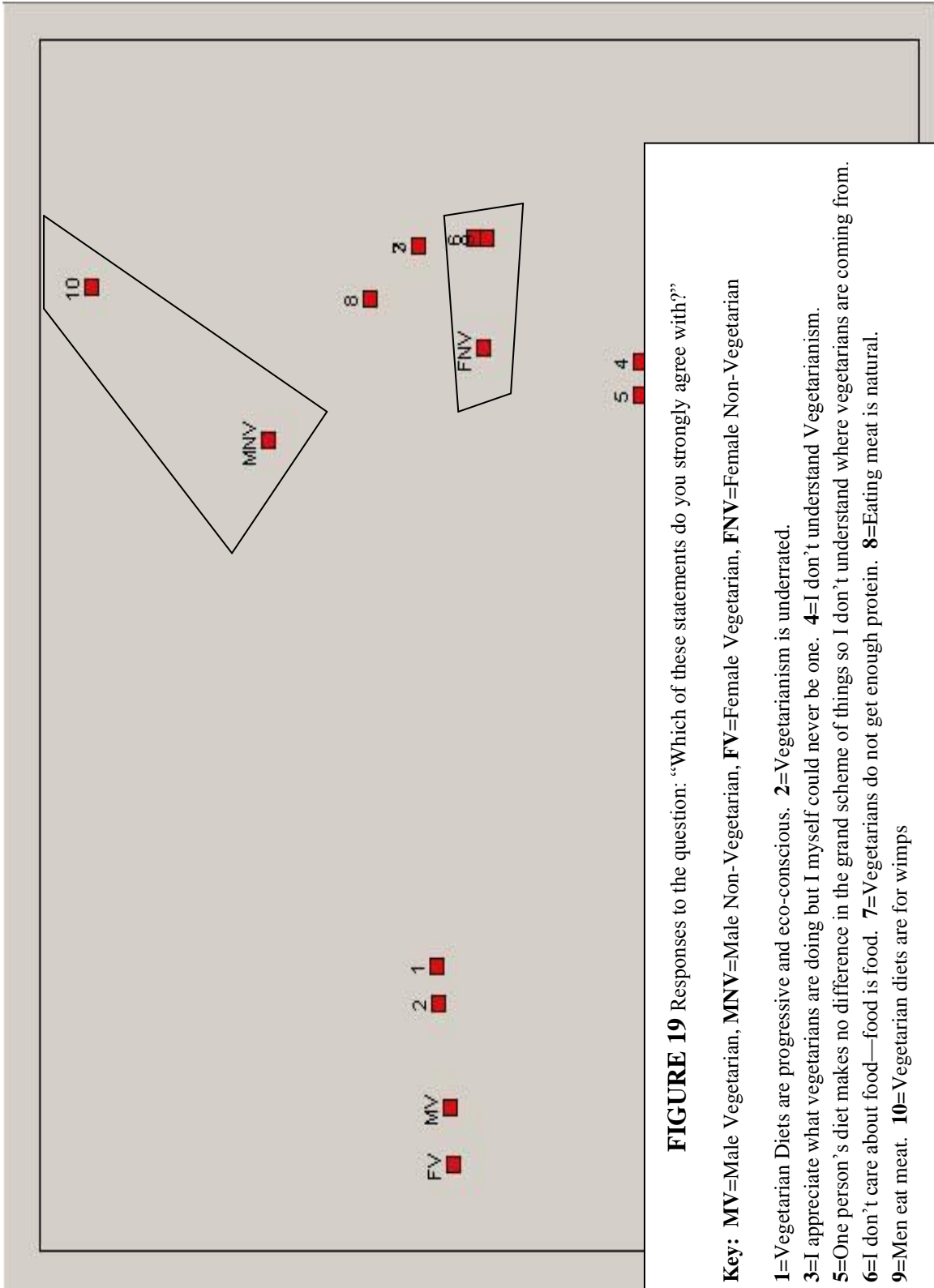


FIGURE 19 Responses to the question: “Which of these statements do you strongly agree with?”

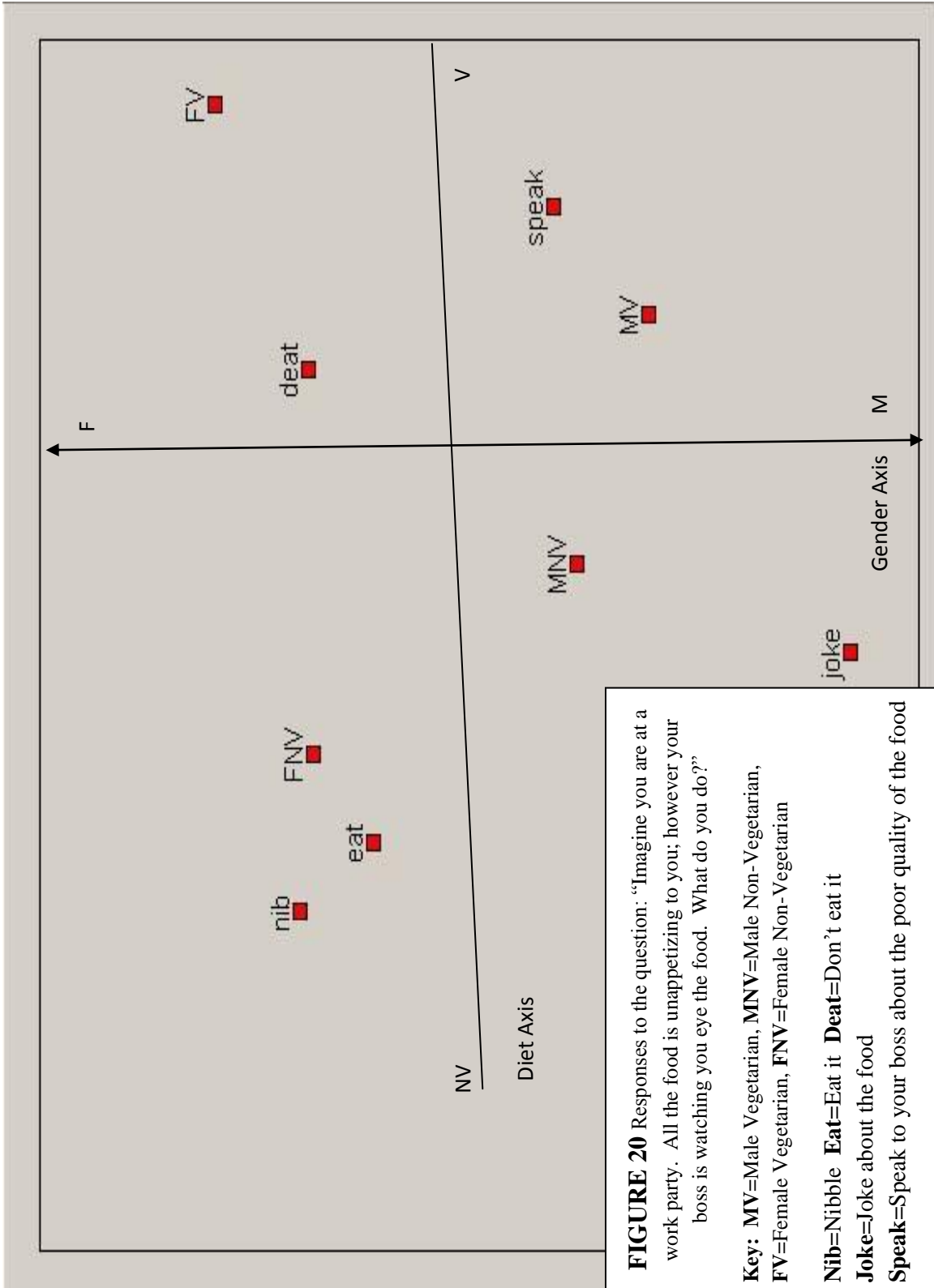


FIGURE 20 Responses to the question: "Imagine you are at a work party. All the food is unappetizing to you; however your boss is watching you eye the food. What do you do?"

Key: MV=Male Vegetarian, MNV=Male Non-Vegetarian, FV=Female Vegetarian, FNV=Female Non-Vegetarian

Nib=Nibble **Eat**=Eat it **Deat**=Don't eat it

Joke=Joke about the food

Speak=Speak to your boss about the poor quality of the food