6. Conclusions and discussion

As scientists from the Johns Hopkins Center for a Livable Future in the United States write:

> Demand-side food system solutions such as shifting diets and reducing wasted food have vast potential for helping to achieve the Paris Agreement goals and keep global warming within 1.5°C. Without recognizing this and taking action, there is virtually zero chance we as a global community can meet our climate goals. Without recognizing and implementing this critical solution, the global community will also miss out on opportunities for supporting health and environmental co-benefits.
> Johns Hopkins Center for a Livable Future (2018:7)

Part of the larger journey towards societal sustainability, the grand journey of transformation of the current meat system has arguably already started, even though meat consumption statistics still indicate otherwise. Increasingly, the production and consumption of meat are problematized, and simultaneously, new meatways are created. Discourses around these new meatways create potential leverage points for purposive change, as established practices and frames are questioned and reflected on within discursive consciousness, new meanings created, and value conflicts around meat acknowledged. These discourses link further to the larger sustainability questions, and the meat system could even function as a test case for our collective agencies and capacities to transform.

Apart from focusing on the issue of meat, I have explored social practice theories in this book, and specifically, drawn a bridge between social practices and discourses. Until recently, this connection has received less attention in the social practice theory literature of the new millennium. As I will discuss later, discourses are, however, rather essential for purposive change towards sustainability in the mesh of an infinite number of social practices that constitute our current societies.

In this last chapter, I will first revisit, in Section 6.1, my two research goals, the *research task* for Chapter 3 and the *research question* for Chapter 5, and the purpose of the work itself. Subsequently, I will present conclusions from both the conceptual work and the empirical analysis and make some further comments on those.

In Section 6.2, I will recapture my thoughts on what specifically to do with the problem of meat, in light of the explorations in this book. I will also briefly bring up some issues related to research on transforming the meat system. Section 6.3 will conclude the chapter by including a brief discussion on limitations as regards the empirical part, by discussing the contribution that this work could make, and finally, by reflecting on the work as a whole.

6.1 Conclusions from the analyses

The purpose of this book, and the work that it is based on, has been two-fold. My general research task from Chapter 1 was to explore social practice theories and the connections between discourses and social practices, in order to create a framework that could help enable purposive change in unsustainable social practices both at individual and societal levels. As regards my empirical focus, my more specific research question explored how the new meatways and, in particular, discourses around them could enable a purposive transformation in meat-eating related practices, an urgent issue, as discussed in Chapter 2. For both analyses, I have focused on discourses, and their connections — through cognitive frames (on the side of discourses) and general understandings (on the side of practices) — to values, emotions, and knowledge, as well as on strategic ignorance of knowledge and conflicts between values and emotions.

My foremost ambition in this work has been to obtain new insights into social practice theories, potentially useful for policymaking. As Shove et al. (2012) argue, the main benefit of social practice theories for policymaking processes is in that they redefine the policy focus, and in particular, emphasize the need to address all main elements of practices, rather than (only) consumer behaviour. An example from past policymaking is the Japanese Cool Biz/Warm Biz campaign which in effect reconfigured elements (meanings, technologies, competencies) of the practices of office clothing in Japan with a successful outcome. Taking a practice theory view on general healthy eating as another example, such policy could address comprehensively the obesogenic environment, the availability and pricing of foods in shops, schools and other public catering (e.g. through taxes, regulations, guidelines, etc.), offer free cooking classes, and work on the meaning of healthy/unhealthy foods, rather than merely produce nutrition guidelines for education, and place responsibility for following those on individuals.[1] To the above I would add,

1 The Cool Biz/Warm Biz campaign was not intentionally a policy project based on social practice theories. Further, as Shove et al. (2012) remind their readers, large-scale policy projects need a support network of non-policy actors, and "transition-style policy is not about deliv-

together with Mont and Power (2013), that policymakers need to take the issue of strategic ignorance seriously, as it tends to prevent action at different levels.

My objective for the empirical part in Chapter 5 has been to examine some of the conceptual structure developed in Chapter 3 through real-life discourse data. My ultimate ambition in this work has been to produce something that could, in a small way, contribute to helping societies move away from environmentally destructive ways, in particular including those related to intensive animal agriculture.

Among other things, qualitative research seeks to *generate* new hypotheses, rather than prove existing ones (Curry et al., 2009). My conclusions, as discussed in the following sections, can be seen as such hypotheses, some of them to be investigated further.

6.1.1 Theory on transforming social practices towards sustainability

In this section, I will explain, via a sketch in Figure 6.1, how a purposive transformation of social practices can take place via their connections to discourses.[2] These pathways would apply particularly to those unsustainable practices which are more complex and deeply embedded in societies, and people's lives, and therefore particularly challenging to transform. Change may be partly technological and material or involve challenging and transforming various powerful industries. However, it also involves changing value priorities and worldviews at individual and at societal levels, addressing emotions and strategic ignorance, along with tackling the habitualness of practices.

According to social practice theories, the world we live in largely consists of an innumerable and often interconnected social practices as a nexus, or rather, multiple nexuses. With the broad aim of sustainability, many of these practices need to transform in smaller or greater ways. Since practices are largely interconnected, to be effective, the transformative changes often need to apply to not just individual practices, but societies in general. The concept of distributed agentive power is significant, however. The different old, and importantly, *new* elements of practices, as well as the connected discourses, have such agentive power, and this means that practices can transform from within, rather than from the outside, especially since there is no true "outside" in a world of interconnected practices.

The process in Figure 6.1 originates from, for example, a sustainability-related societal problem *seen as new*, due to more societal focus on it, and especially due to *emerging new solutions* (such as new meatways), often involving changing elements of the social practice(s) in question. A previously common path towards ei-

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ering plans and advancing on ready-made goals, but about moving towards always-moving targets" (idem:162).

2 Some of the connections are from literature discussed in Chapter 3, others are original ideas.

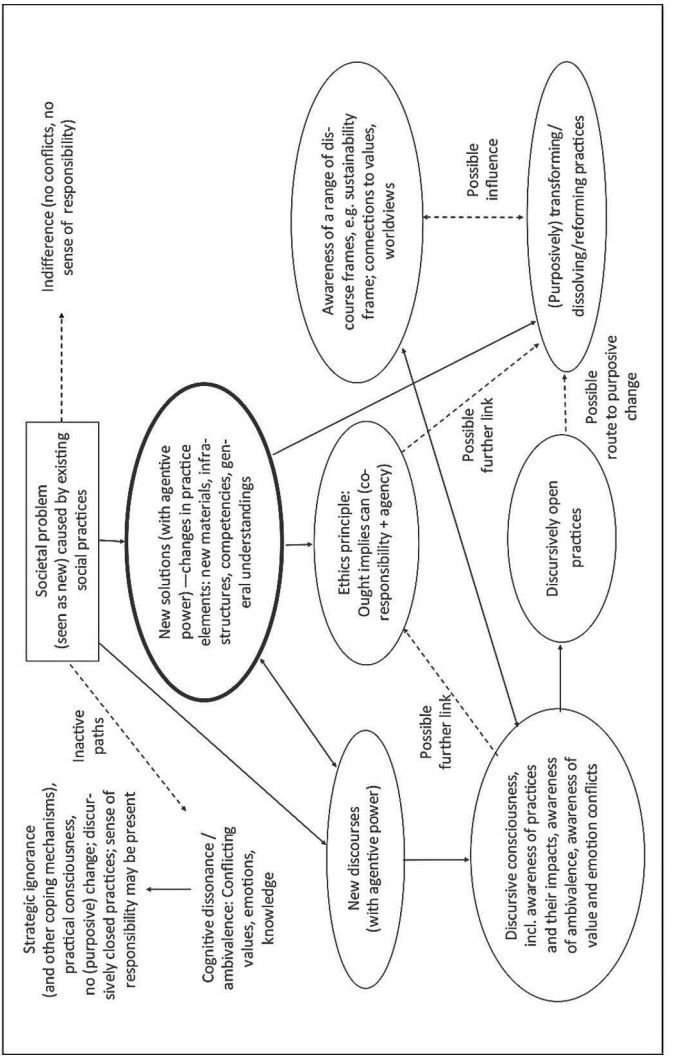
ther indifference or strategic ignorance becomes somewhat less universal in such a new situation. The issue of strategic ignorance — of knowledge, and conflicting values and emotions — is critical, and helps to keep practices discursively closed (something that is ignored, is not discussed), which in turn can benefit some of the societal vested interests that wish to maintain the status quo. Related unsustainable practices would tend to persist together. However, the difference between actual indifference — where no conflict between values, for example, exists — is that strategic ignorance includes a sense of responsibility (Onwezen & van der Weele, 2016).

Although practice theories maintain that the everyday lives of people are not spent in discursive consciousness, but rather in practical consciousness and routine, autonomous action, discourses do encompass the rare instances of deliberation about social practices. As I argued in Chapter 3, the particular link between discourses and social practices occurs through cognitive frames (on the side of discourses) and general understandings, an element of social practices, as depicted in the conceptual structure in Chapter 3, and in Figure 3.3. Discourses can, therefore, be seen as essentially connected to social practices. Moreover, the connections from both cognitive frames and general understandings to values, emotions, and knowledge, and the power of cognitive frames to produce, maintain or transform meanings, are all essential to the framework.

Importantly, conflicts between values, between emotions or between knowledges are common to both practices — partially determining what we *actually* do — and discourses — partially determining how we talk (or do not talk) about what we do, might do, or do not do. Where doing and talking about doing are not in line with each other, it is exactly these conflicts that cause the discrepancy. However, when there are no conflicts (e.g. with individual carnists), what we do and what we say may be more in line with each other. The critical point to note about this is that when necessary change is restricted at some levels of societies or individuals, these conflicts and their strategic ignorance need to be addressed first, and addressing them through discourse is a realistic way to do this.

Further on Figure 6.1, the related new discourses create new discursive consciousness of the practices, and possibly awareness of conflicting values and emotions as well. Strategic ignorance and discursive consciousness work in opposite directions. Although somewhat uncomfortably (due to emotional conflicts), strategic ignorance helps to maintain the status quo, while discursive consciousness may offer opportunities for change. Therefore, the more public discourses there are about, not only problematic practices, but the related values (or emotions), the better — and values facilitating or hindering sustainability are of particular relevance here. An important distinction is that between more stable *societal* value priorities and *individual* value systems which, on the one hand, include more stable value dispo-

Figure 6.1: How social practices can transform



Source: Figure by author.

sitions (adopted largely from both family and societal environments), and on the other hand, are formed and reformed by ever-changing value priorities.

Moreover, discursive consciousness connects to the discursive (cognitive) framing of the problematic practices, as well as to framing of potential solutions, to-

gether with the related values, worldviews, and paradigms. Awareness of these frames as not something inevitable, but challengeable, is also important.

Still further regarding Figure 6.1, discursive consciousness as such creates discursively open practices which, combined with the new potential solutions, can lead to purposive change. New practice elements (such as new material products) tend to steer towards changing practices in any case; however, such changes may not be compatible with a transformation towards sustainability. Therefore, discursive consciousness can be seen as important for change that has larger implications to more sustainable practices. Discursive consciousness and awareness of value and emotion conflicts can create agency, and if combined with a principle of co-responsibility (the *ought implies can* principle in Figure 6.1), it can further help create purposive change. However, it is important to keep in mind that *simply doing something new* can also change frames and values, in other words, these may change during or after a particular practice transforms itself. The positive feedback loop mentioned earlier in this chapter can apply here too.

Regarding responsibility and social practice theories, seeing social practices collectively as a mesh or a nexus of many interconnecting practices, and framing them (individually) as icebergs — whereby the invisible main part of the iceberg (see Figure 3.2) is the difficult-to-change practice as an entity, involving societal power imbalances — largely invalidate individual "consumer" responsibility for change. However, distributed agentive power — found in especially new practice elements, and in new discourses, but expanded to cover societal actors involved in the practices — makes co-responsibility for change more realisable.

Although the common social practice theory view on change is that purposive change should mainly be led by policy, and/or should be collective rather than individual based (e.g. Welch, 2016), and although the dominative power of interconnected practices often inhibits purposive change at the level of individuals, some practices are more susceptible than others to individual agency. In particular, changing how and whether we eat meat, as individuals and as collectives of individuals, in particular in connection with the new meatways, such as flexitarianism, is seen possible by many.[3] Individual action as such may be a prerequisite for political change, especially in the most challenging issues, and meat-eating related practices seem to belong to those. In return, political change can further change individual attitudes and values, enabling a positive feedback loop.

As mentioned in Chapter 3, Voget-Kleschin et al. (2015) see changing one's lifestyle, in order to contribute one's fair share, as a core duty for individuals as regards sustainability. Importantly, however, this assumes that changing lifestyle

3 See e.g. Goodland (2014), Raphaely & Marinova (2014), or the Guardian column by George Monbiot, https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2018/jun/08/save-planet-meat-dairy-livestock-food-free-range-steak, from 8 June 2018.

does not *overburden* individuals, in other words, "ought implies can". Some lifestyle changes may be considered overburdening individuals, and others not. Giving up, or radically reducing, conventional animal-based meat in one's diet could be seen as unlikely to overburden anyone, as long as other sufficient protein sources were available. It could in principle, therefore, be seen as an individual duty to do this. However, it seems that strategic ignorance, in addition to other challenges, can be a considerable issue for individuals. New discursive consciousness can, however, greatly aid in this regard.

As Shove et al. (2012) argue, a practice-oriented approach to public policy could eventually help transform the current dominant social paradigm. Changing worldviews and societal value priorities is, however, particularly challenging when the dominant social paradigm is largely invisible (as it is taken for granted), yet strongly connected to unsustainable social practices, and societal value priorities. Nonetheless, at the individual level, value conflicts are connected to emotional conflicts which cannot always be ignored due to the tensions and uncomfortableness they generate. Moreover, as noted above, more stable value dispositions can change also after the fact, in other words, after concrete action towards more sustainable practices, at either individual or societal levels, potentially creating a positive feedback loop for change.

One more immediate cause for optimism is likely to lie in widened discourses and increased discursive consciousness of unsustainable practices, and increased awareness of ambivalence and strategic ignorance of the value and emotion conflicts, and knowledge. Talking about and better appreciating the difference between more stable value *dispositions* at the individual level, and value *priorities* at individual and societal levels, and understanding that in *most* everyday situations some values are in conflict, could help us to better question, explore and challenge societal value priorities and certain unsustainable practices.[4] Understanding, for example, that it is not one's "fault" to want to eat meat, even if regularly, could be morally liberating. Nonetheless, that want may have to simply be sacrificed so that a future for human societies can better be realised.

A recent case of a purposive attempt to do many of the things discussed above can be seen in what Extinction Rebellion (XR) — a new movement for societal change — is doing.[5] By demanding that governments "tell the truth" about climate

4 To have more of an impact, such wide and open discussions could be carried out in schools, in the media, in communities, in public or other non-profit campaigns, in citizen committees, in public service, etc., and be initiated by local and national governments, as well as many other organisations.

5 In addition, there is of course the Fridays for Future movement that has resulted in numerous other For Future groups. Their strategies are somewhat different from the XR movement, however.

change XR groups are likely to increase discursive consciousness and possibly manage to challenge paradigms. By demanding citizens' assemblies on climate change they are in effect asking for discourses to be more inclusive of all of society, something that can enable otherwise difficult policy action.[6] By setting up so-called XR cafes, or various sharing circles, the movement is offering safe spaces for value and emotion expression and discussion. And finally, the way XR refers to the "right and duty to act" in terms of citizens pushing for policymakers to act implies agency and co-responsibility.[7]

Regarding changing practices from within, meat-eating related practices are a particularly good example of such potential, and the empirical analysis in Chapter 5 indicates that many potential elements of change can be found in discourses around the new meatways, as noted in the following section. Meat-eating related practices are linked in various ways to many other practices (within food provisioning, within economies, and within communal and individual lives), and the meat system is an essential part of the current dominant social paradigm and capitalist market system. Confronting this to the extent necessary will likely indeed be extremely challenging, yet arguably important and urgent for sustainability. Transforming the meat system could also, however, act as a test case for how humanity can transform other unsustainable, complex systems deeply tied into established ways; systems whereby such transformation is strongly resisted by various actors.

As I argued in Chapter 3, meat-eating related practices can have particularly strong distributed agentive power, in terms of the new meats themselves, in terms of the discourses around the new meatways changing meanings, lessening strategic ignorance of knowledge and of value and emotion conflicts (or lessening the need for other strategies for coping with cognitive dissonance) and increasing the acknowledgement of ambivalence. Further, both individual agency and collective emotional agency can be deployed by individuals or by communities for changing meat-eating related practices from within. The example of conscious flexitarians (Verain et al., 2015) acknowledging co-responsibility, and using their political

6 The work of a citizens' assembly on abortion rights enabled policy action and led to a successful referendum expanding abortion rights in Ireland in 2018. This is referred to by Extinction Rebellion as an example of how citizens' assemblies can bring about change. Citizens' assembly as such is a fairly established form of deliberation (relating to the concept of deliberative democracy) used in certain nationally important issues in a number of countries. In 2019-2020, a Citizens' Convention on Climate met in France (for results, see: https://www.democracy-international.org/final-propositions-french-citizens-convention-climate).

7 The primary way in which Extinction Rebellion tries to actively create change is with nonviolent civil disobedience. However, it can be argued that the means discussed in the text here may be equally important, and importantly less divisive. For more on Extinction Rebellion, see for example, their own website at https://rebellion.earth/.

agency (Halkier & Holm, 2008) indicates that there are possibilities reflecting and applying the *ought implies can* principle.

As social practice theories argue, change as such is constant in social practices. However, humans can "change the change" (O'Brien, 2012:590), although this requires both agency and responsibility, and addressing the "conscious and unconscious assumptions, beliefs, values, identities, and emotions of individuals and groups that influence perceptions, interpretations, and actions" (idem:589). Using social practice theories for analysing the challenges, as well as the solutions, may be valuable.[8] This may be especially so when the theory is adapted to include discourses, and strong connections to values and emotions, and when allowing for some emphasis on distributed agentive power.

6.1.2 Empirical data on discourses

In this section, I will recontextualize my findings from Chapter 5, taking into consideration the conceptual structure in Chapter 3. The data consists of four online articles on the new meatways from the Guardian newspaper (between 2015 and 2017) and discussions by posters following the articles. In short, my main claim is that discourses around the new meatways can help open meat-eating related practices up discursively, reveal somewhat hidden frames that have supported existing practices in the last decades, and subject these practices to *purposive* change. Two conceptual metaphors present in the data nail down well two main issues regarding transforming the meat system towards radically less, non-intensive production with radically lower negative impacts. I will discuss them first in the following paragraphs. After that, I will outline several other issues related to the new meatways that the data analysis has brought up.

The first metaphor, the *hungry beast*[9] addresses the still very present meat demand paradigm which needs critical reassessment. The issue of whether feeding the future world with conventional animal-based meat is more about demand (actual need among populations), or supply (further expansion of the meat industry and its dominative power), can be seen through the hungry beast metaphor in the data. The beast is a singular entity consisting of (various groups of) meat-hungry humans in the world. Alternatively, it is the (somewhat abstract) demand for meat itself, as suggested with certain expressions in the data. The beast metaphor is not

8 Until now, policymakers have on occasion used social practice theories for problem analysis, but have then usually gone back to older, individual behaviour change related policy methods in their search for solutions (Welch, 2017a).

9 To my knowledge, this is not an established conceptual metaphor, although similar expressions can be found in the Metaphorlist (Lakoff et al., 1991).

meant to depict actual humans as animal-like, nor to deny that there might be populations, especially in the Global South, for whom eating some more meat could significantly increase food security; it is simply a tool to reveal the metaphorical dimensions of seeing the global meat demand as a natural force and something that cannot be argued with.[10]

The new meats, i.e. cultivated meat, the new plant-based meats, and even insects to an extent, are partially functioning in the same Hungry beast (Meeting the demand) frame[11] with the underlining notion that these new food products are absolutely necessary to satisfy the starkly increasing demand for meat. One of the consequences of the dominance of the Meeting the demand frame in policy documents, research reports, and mainstream discourses regarding how to handle meeting the global food and/or protein demand by 2050 is that until recently, policies have not supported meat reduction, or a transformation towards plant-based proteins, anywhere in the world.[12]

The second metaphor of a *journey* illustrates how sustainable ways of eating protein, including some meat, *can* be realised. This metaphor is present in the data, and in literature (Jallinoja et al., 2016). When framing meat eating and its transformation using this metaphor, different meatways are seen as points on a continuum, where many possible journeys along that continuum can be made (see Figure

10 In fact, the hungry beast could even be seen as the big and powerful meat industry, hungry for growth and more profits.

11 Frames are often written with an initial capital letter.

12 One significant sign for change are at least the 2021 Danish and 2019 Canadian food guidelines that both seemingly encourage people to eat more plant-based proteins than meat. See https://altomkost.dk/raad-og-anbefalinger/de-officielle-kostraad-godt-for-sundhed-og-klima/spis-mindre-koed-vaelg-baelgfrugter-og-fisk/ (in Danish) and https://food-guide.canada.ca/en/.

6.2).[13,14] Seeing the different meatways as points along a continuum can facilitate even more radical changes.

There are three specific benefits to using a frame that employs this metaphor. Firstly, when all meatways (including veganism) are seen as stops on the same road, they are not as different from each other, and people at different points of their journey may have more understanding and tolerance towards each other. Coping strategies to deal with cognitive dissonance may be less present. Secondly, a benefit to thinking of reducing meat eating as a journey is that for many, a slower change in individual eating habits may be better — easier to work through, and more durable in the longer term — than a quicker switch (also argued by Zaraska, 2016a).[15] Thirdly, when moving from one meatway to another is seen as a journey, one can indeed go back and forth on this journey, and there is less need to identify oneself, for example, as a lapsed or failed vegetarian when currently eating some meat. Moving away from strict to more relaxed thinking can, in fact, help change (de Boer et al., 2014; Jallinoja et al., 2016). Important from the sustainability point of view would, of course, be to keep moving, at least collectively, as much as possible, towards less resource-intensive and destructive meatways.

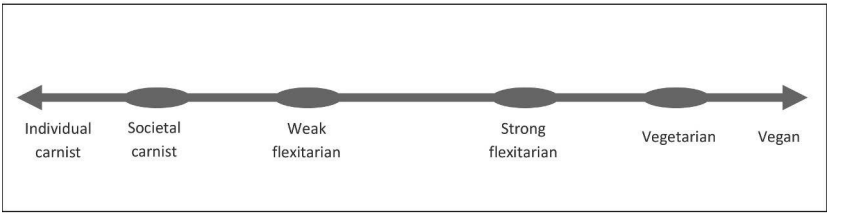
As regards the relationship between the new meatways and the above frames, as portrayed by the two metaphors, the new meats — cultivated and plant-based meat and insects — can in principle work in both frames. However, whether the new meats can be truly sustainable, if they simply replace animal-based meat (satisfying the hungry beast) without the principle of meat reduction, i.e. flexitarianism, is by no means clear. This depends on whether the scale of impact reduction would

13 Figures 3.8 and 6.2 are identical. Figure 6.2 is provided only for convenience.

14 Carnism (in Figure 6.2) is the ideological background to eating meat. The socially shared beliefs of this particular ideology would include meat being Normal, Natural, Necessary and Nice (Joy, 2010; Piazza et al., 2015). I argue in Chapter 3 that an *individual carnist* tends to express *carnistic dominance*, for example, supporting the killing of animals for meat, or being indifferent to the fate of animals (Monteiro et al., 2017), and a *societal carnist* tends to express *carnistic defence*, i.e. defending the practice of eating animals, while at the same time not wanting to harm animals (idem). As non-dominant meatways, vegetarianism and veganism may seem to have strong ideology behind them, but this is not necessarily so, or at least the ideology need not be stronger than that behind carnism. Generally in this book, I refer to vegetarianism and veganism to describe certain meatways. However, some people make a clear distinction between a vegetarian or vegan diet and the ideology itself. I do not see that the distinctions are clear and strong enough to necessarily differentiate between the two. Firstly, there is no single definition for vegetarianism or veganism as an ideology to separate it from a diet that is in no way ideological. Secondly, as meat eating is usually not seen as an ideology, although it can arguably often be such (as carnism), one can see vegetarianism and veganism in a similar light.

15 The discourse data also includes indications that this could be the case at least for some people.

Figure 6.2: The continuum and journey of different meatways revisited



Source: Figure by author. The idea of such a continuum is, however, present in literature (see Jallinoja et al., 2016).
Note: The vertical lines offer an estimate of the closeness of the meatways, also from an ideological point of view.

be large enough, and whether or not new, similarly problematic issues would be created with such new massive-scale industries. Such a replacement is, however, more or less the stated future aim of the emerging industries that are forming around the new meats, in particular the cultivated and plant-based meats. On the other hand, the new meats can work well when replacing conventional animal-based meat along the journey of meat reduction, within the principle of flexitarianism, especially its stronger forms. Whichever paths are explored and taken — or parallel paths may be taken simultaneously — the ultimate goal has to be about radical absolute reductions in negative impacts.

The empirical analysis also looked for specific values connected to frames, with the idea from literature that a stronger presence (or prioritization) of certain values, at individual and at societal or cultural levels, can facilitate sustainability, while a stronger presence of certain other values can hinder it. Seen through the Schwartz value theory (Schwartz, 2006b; 2012), the values potentially facilitating sustainability include values such as co-responsibility, concern for, and unity with nature, social justice and equality, while the values that can hinder sustainability include values especially related to power and achievement, seen as materialistic values at the cultural level (Schwartz, 2006b). The frames that tend to be fairly dominant in the discourse data about the new meatways — exploring new, seemingly better products for the market — may not have strong links to the sustainability-facilitating values. On the other hand, the still somewhat less dominant frames about the new meatways — particularly to do with *sufficiency* — may have stronger links to these values. Although value conflicts may prevent sustainability-facilitating values as such from influencing action (see e.g. Maio, 2011), all the new meatways have, in principle, a benefit for sustainability. This is because, compared to the old meatways (eating conventional animal-based meat daily or following a vegetarian

or vegan diet), the new meatways can better align values related to sustainability with values often being prioritized in daily food-related practices, such as providing for family, convenience, tradition, freedom, politeness, and pleasure. This is a clear benefit for the new meatways, as value conflicts, and strategic ignorance of them, are a significant issue hindering change.

Further, regarding frames, ideologies, and paradigms present in societies, and especially present in discourses around sustainability, the emergent frame related to flexitarianism, at least in the way it is constructed in my data, supports the concept of sufficiency, important for those seeing *strong sustainability* as a necessary societal goal.[16] On the other hand, the new meats are alternatives that can function well in the current dominant social paradigm, represented, for example, by capitalism and carnism. I will still return to this distinction later in this chapter.

Specific value related issues to do with meat-eating related practices include various coping strategies. The new meatways, and the discourses around them, can have an impact on these. Firstly, strategic ignorance of value and emotion conflicts, and related knowledge, is a less discussed, but rather present phenomenon that helps to keep certain problematic practices, such as those related to meat eating, from being purposively changed. It also prevents the sense of emotional agency, necessary for change (Weenink & Spaargaren, 2016). The wider, more varied and in-depth the discourses about problematic practices are, however, the less convenient strategic ignorance is to maintain, the more discursive consciousness there is likely to be, and the easier ambivalence — regarding the conflicting values or emotions — about the practices may be to acknowledge.

The new meatways, therefore, offer a way to expand the discourse, away from the conventional animal-based meat vs. no meat dichotomy. Although the data includes resistance to the new meatways, they might eventually be less threatening than strict vegetarianism or veganism, and they might lessen the negative, coping strategy inducing discourses around vegetarianism and veganism, and even help normalise these diets further by bringing them to the wider discourses, as in my data. However, for some posters, the new plant-based meats, in particular, seem to cause similar resentment as vegetarians and vegans often do. In this case, however, it is likely to be because the new plant-based meats are presented as just as good as meat (in taste, texture, and so on), and that being so, there would be no reason *not* to eat them instead of meat. This brings out the value conflict (in those employing coping strategies) and restricts freedom of choice (for the indifferent), and in fact, the new meats make it more obvious that meat eating is a choice, not a necessity.

Meat is also a moral question that the new meatways address in different ways. Firstly, by directing discourses away from all-or-nothing (black-and-white) dichotomous thinking, the new meatways can release some of the moral burden

16 For a brief discussion on weak and strong sustainability, see Chapter 2.

and guilt related to meat eating via the recognition that daily meat eating and vegetarianism or veganism are not the only choices. As seen in the data, flexitarianism, in particular, runs counter to the all-or-nothing approach: it is about less harm being better than more harm. This makes it, on the one hand, difficult for meat eaters to deny on moral grounds as a viable strategy, and makes the argument about vegetarian or vegan hypocrisy[17] equally lose ground. On the other hand, it may be easy for strict vegetarians or vegans to disapprove of flexitarianism on moral grounds. However, many of those identifying as vegetarians are in reality strong flexitarians, i.e. occasionally still eating meat (or fish). Given that vegetarians and vegans may cease to follow their diets due to the all-or-nothing principle being difficult and impractical, especially socially, strong flexitarianism may be an identity that would be easier to maintain in the longer term.

There are two more issues to be discussed here, as regards ways in which meat-eating related practices could open up discursively. The first of these relates to labels and the second to the issue of normalisation.

Although the data includes resistance to labels such as flexitarianism, it also contains support for them. Labels can assist change in several ways. Positive labels may help people overcome initial negative reactions, such as towards some of the new meats. Further, when flexitarianism is labelled as a movement, it can help more people reduce meat eating, as the collective agency of a movement tends to lead to more recruits, and perhaps because flexitarianism may be appealing to more people than vegetarianism or veganism. Moreover, once something is labelled, adopting it becomes easier, and labelling can help with behaviour that requires particular effort through creating identity which helps to keep the behaviour. Additionally, *social labelling* can eventually help shift motivations, e.g. a behaviour that is environmentally more sustainable may start from health or social reasons, but end up being about sustainability (Cornelissen et al., 2007). This shifting motivation further enables people to persist with the diet, as indicated by some of the data. The positivity of the label is important, however, as when the label is viewed negatively by others, motivation can be lost more easily. This is often the case for lapsed vegetarians who far outnumber current vegetarians, at least in the United States (Asher et al., 2016). Although the data includes criticism, the label of flexitarianism may have potential to be seen positively, and it may, therefore, have power over labels such as vegetarianism or veganism. Promoting strong flexitarianism as a more feasible meatway than total abstention from meat would indeed seem beneficial.

Lastly, my data consists of many attempts to normalise the new meatways, partly through personal experiences (in the case of insects), through playing with

17 This argument about hypocrisy is about vegetarians and vegans *supposedly* pretending to be morally clean. Making such claims can be seen as one of the coping strategies for meat eaters.

concepts (e.g. insects as land shrimp) and through attempts at extending the meaning of "normal" to cover cultivated meat or the new plant-based meats, or flexitarianism, and to present conventional animal-based meat as not normal. Such processes may also change the connotations towards plant-based foods, and vegetarianism and veganism in general, into more positive ones (Donaldson, 2016a). Discourses around the new meatways could help normalise vegetarianism and veganism as more realistic options for the future, by lessening the need for negative discourses around vegetarianism and veganism, and by bringing them to the wider discourses. Imagining positive futures around sustainability is necessary, as it can help these become reality (Stibbe, 2015). To some extent, my data does include narratives of the future involving the new meatways. Viewed together from all the data, these narratives can be seen to incorporate the three framing devices, factual (practical aspects), normative (how things ought to be) and emotive (how positive such new meatways could be), constructing discursive frames more generally (Strydom, 2000).[18] Incorporating all three elements into *single* narratives could be relevant to impactful, positive stories about the future, making further transformation seem more feasible.

6.2 Final words on transforming meat-eating related practices

Since my primary focus in Chapters 2 and 5, and partial focus in Chapter 3, has been on a transformation of meat-eating related practices, as opposed to more general sustainability transformation, I will still include in this last chapter a brief discussion on how specifically the conceptual structure in this book can contribute to such a transformation. I see this transformation of the meat system as an urgent task for societies, for many reasons, but especially for both the biodiversity and climate crises. The section will end with a brief word on the potential for more research on the issue.

Even at this moment, finishing this book in late 2020, the vast majority of policymakers still seemingly ignore the issue of meat,[19] while an increasing number of scientists point to it as a central issue, identified as such even because of COVID-19. The discrepancy is also clear between the IPCC reports, with the SR1.5 report (IPCC, 2018) and the land-use report (IPCC, 2019) both considering GHG mitigation through diet shift an important option,[20] and the climate conferences (COPs), such

18 See Chapter 3 for more on framing devices.

19 For the denial of the problem among policymakers, see, for example, a 2018 column https://euobserver.com/opinion/141344 by the EU Observer.

20 IPCC Special Report on Global Warming of 1.5° C states, for example, that "1.5°C pathways that include low energy demand […], low material consumption, and low GHG-intensive food

as in Katowice in 2018, which are more political and where the issue of meat has still mainly been dealt with in the side events.[21] The issue may be gradually moving closer to the centre, however, possibly indicated, for example, by the critical calls from some of the Katowice participants and presentations for policymakers to take it seriously.[22] The 2019 IPCC land-use report may be helping push the issue onto the agendas for future rounds of negotiations. Indeed, at least at the 2019 Madrid COP25 meeting, animal agriculture was somewhat more present as an issue,[23] and the next COP in Glasgow, postponed until 2021 because of the corona crisis, is supposed to give agriculture a more central role.[24]

Generally, one argument against radical changes in animal agriculture is that many economies in the world are dependent on it. However, changing the way protein foods are produced does not mean that they would cease to be produced. The world obviously needs protein food production, but it needs different kind of production systems in order for both the natural and human-created systems to cope in the future. Imagining the specifics of an actual animal-free agricultural future for the largest economy in the world, the United States, Emery and Almy (2018)[25] argue that such a system could be well functioning, while offering benefits that the current system lacks, for example, in terms of healthier diets, more biofuel production and areas for rewilding and improved habitats for endangered species.

6.2.1 Some suggestions

Chapter 2, and in particular Box 2.3 include recommendations from literature on how to transform meat-eating related practices towards radically lower meat consumption wherever consumption is currently high, or even medium high. In con-

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consumption have the most pronounced synergies and the lowest number of trade-offs with respect to sustainable development and the SDGs" (IPCC, 2018:21).

21 The meat and GHG -heavy menu of the COP24 Katowice meeting itself illustrates how difficult it is for policymakers to take the meat issue seriously, see e.g. https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2018-12-03/un-climate-conference-features-meat-and-emissions-heavy-menu.

22 Some reports produced for the Talanoa Dialogue, designed to help countries contribute to the UNFCCC dialogue between COP23 and COP24, also argue for the necessity of radically reducing meat consumption. See e.g. Johns Hopkins Center for a Livable Future (2018).

23 See e.g. https://brightergreen.org/cop25/.

24 See e.g. https://www.carbonbrief.org/cop25-key-outcomes-agreed-at-the-un-climate-talks-in-madrid.

25 This short report produced for the Good Food Institute is in reaction to a journal article by White and Hall (2017) whereby it is argued that such a transformation away from animal agriculture would leave the US economy and population worse off. Emery and Almy offer proof of a bias in favour of the livestock industry in the White and Hall article, while pointing out their flawed modelling and erroneous assumptions.

nection with this discussion, and based on relevant literature from Chapter 2 and my work in Chapters 3 and 5, I would emphasize the following, as regards the connections between practices and discourses supporting other (policy) action for change:

1 — There needs to be a further increase in discussions around the issue of meat, spreading to as many parts of society as possible, and encouraged by civil society organisations (CSOs) and policymakers. The main focus should be on the multiple benefits of eating less or no meat, so that most people could agree with some part of the message.[26] Further focus should be placed on positive narratives about a future with little or no intensive animal agriculture, on questioning assumptions such as the Meeting the demand frame (the conceptual metaphor of the hungry beast), and on talking about value priorities and value and emotion conflicts, strategic ignorance of the issue at different levels of society, and co-responsibility for solving the problem. Importantly, wide discourses may help gain support for new, transformative policies. Moreover, the wider, more varied and in-depth the discourses are, the less the issues may be ignored. The case of Extinction Rebellion discussed earlier in this chapter indicates that the pathways in Figure 6.1 may not be theoretical only.

2 — The main focus of the transformation needs to be on the radical reduction of environmental impacts.[27] Options having the largest positive impacts while still being pragmatic, flexible, and maintaining some cultural diversity should be promoted by policymakers, CSOs, change agents, and other societal actors, and enforced by regulation, while, to the extent necessary, working with especially farmers, and the rest of the relevant industries. Most likely such options would entail strong flexitarianism, i.e. consuming pulses, with some new meats and occasional conventional animal-based meat. While flexitarianism can be used as a concept within weak sustainability, implying smaller reductions in meat eating together with efficiency gains in meat production, when focusing on the idea of sufficiency, flexitarianism can also function as a way of possibly getting people used to the idea of strong sustainability in other areas of life and society as well.[28] The idea of the journey of meat eating along the continuum (the conceptual metaphor discussed earlier) can be very helpful in enabling change.

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26 Indeed, many recent reviews of the issue combine benefits from reduced meat consumption to both sustainability and human health. See, for example, IAP (2018).

27 For discussion regarding the critical relevance of a focus on impacts of sustainability transformations, see e.g. Geiger et al. (2018) and Gjerris et al. (2016).

28 Verain et al. (2015) argue that the contrast between weak flexitarianism and strong flexitarianism can indeed be seen in terms of an efficiency approach (or *product-related consumption*, consuming differently and more efficiently in terms of resources), and a sufficiency approach (or *act-related consumption*, consuming less).

3 — The good news regarding change is that meanings and value priorities (or individual value dispositions) can, and probably will change during and after such processes or journeys of transformation, if not already beforehand. This is a point that does not invalidate a focus on values, but gives some optimism, as regards the generally slower societal change in value priorities and cultural meanings.

6.2.2 Note on future research on transforming the meat system

Many mainstream recommendations call for research on making the production of meat more efficient and intensive (e.g. Gerber et al., 2013, a report by the FAO), in line with the demand paradigm. However, some recommendations are focusing more on transforming the system, and on reducing especially consumption and demand for meat. A consequence of the meat demand paradigm is, however, that research into behaviour change in meatways has still been lagging far behind research on technological emission reduction from meat production (Garnett, 2011). Among others, Wellesley et al. (2015), Hartmann and Siegrist (2017) and IAP (2018) all call for more research on how to encourage or motivate individual behaviour change in terms of eating less meat. More comprehensively, Garnett (2011) sees a need for more research on how to shift food consumption in the Global South so that the rich world problems with diet — for example, to do with overconsumption of meat — could be better avoided.[29]

Notably, there are few if any research recommendations, however, on how to tackle the perhaps most challenging issues: to decrease (from a sustainability point of view) negative industry influence on meat-related policy,[30] to decrease individual or societal strategic ignorance, and to widen the range of research being funded, so that research on changing the production of meat includes research on a fundamental transformation of the system.

On the theme of what to research, Elliott (2013:329) argues that *selective ignorance* (a kind of strategic ignorance as well) affects what is researched and what is not researched, for example, via "decisions about what questions to ask, what metrics or standards to employ, what concepts to use, what research strategies to

29 This in a similar way in which some locations in the Global South have managed to shift from having few, if any electricity supplies, to using renewable energy, without having to go through a phase of getting electricity from fossil fuels.

30 The meat industry power and influence are discussed in Chapter 2, and power is also discussed in Chapter 3. More generally, and as discussed earlier, a social practice theory approach, especially in the stronger versions of the theories, takes dominative power in society, often inhibiting change, to largely reside in practices themselves (practices as entities), i.e. in the invisible iceberg (see Figure 3.2), as well as in the interconnectedness of practices. I consider discourses to be connected but separate from social practices, and power in discourses is another issue discussed in Chapters 2 and 3.

pursue, what technological applications to develop, and what information to disseminate". Therefore, discussing, for example, the values behind certain research could be more important than trying to obtain as much knowledge as possible, as with the obtaining of that knowledge we have already made some choices (about what to obtain) based on values. However, these influential values are normally barely discussed, if at all (Sarewitz, 2004). Elliott (2013:342) sees this issue applying in particular to agriculture-related research, as the research choices in this area affect "society's awareness of the environmental and social problems associated with current agricultural practices" and "whether specific alternatives to current agriculture appear feasible and important".

6.3 Discussion

In this last section, I will first make some reflections on working on this project and go briefly over the limitations and alternative paths to the empirical part. Following this, I will discuss the potential contribution that this work could make, before concluding with a broader reflection on both the conceptual and empirical work.

6.3.1 Autobiographical reflections

During this project, I have dealt with my own strategic ignorance as regards meat to a considerable extent (as compared to before) and nowadays identify as being somewhere between a strong flexitarian and a vegetarian, eating a good amount of pulses, but being curious about the new meats, as well as experimenting with some old plant-based meat replacements. Similarly, I have ended up in some way dealing with my strategic ignorance as regards ecological threats such as climate change or biodiversity loss. In 2016, my emotions finally fully caught up with my long-time awareness of the issues, and after some discussions and self-reflection, I realised that the best way to deal with the related negative emotions was to acknowledge them. I felt that, in addition to being less stressful, this could lead to positive actions at a personal level, such as completing my doctoral dissertation that led to this book.

Further on the work itself, I have learned to find some balance in my writing, somewhere between detached and passive, and emotional and involved. As is often the case in qualitative research projects (Bazeley, 2013), putting together the work has been a question of going back and forth between the potential research questions, the (potential and final) data, and the conceptual structure. Each of these elements has been shaped and reshaped by the other elements several times during the process. This all has helped me build some more confidence in my abilities to develop and link ideas and express them in a more comprehensible manner.

One event particularly helped me forward in the conceptual part and is therefore worth mentioning. The research task I set for Chapter 3 was born at a workshop in Helsinki in 2017, from discussions regarding potential connections between social practices and discourses. Senior colleagues there suggested that making this link as strong as possible could be challenging, but it could also be a theoretical contribution in this work. In the end, this connection did turn out to be central to the conceptual structure.

While working on this project, I have read and learned a lot, and widened my understanding of human behaviour, as individuals, as collectives, and as carriers of social practices, implicitly or explicitly embracing or rejecting the linked paradigms, worldviews, and values. Peattie (2011) argues that sustainability researchers need to be paradigm breakers and paradigm makers, instead of paradigm takers. I believe that a paradigm shift lies ahead for humanity — by design or by disaster — and making sense of the kinds of futures that may be possible through a transformation is vital.

6.3.2 Limitations of the empirical analysis and alternative paths

Perhaps the most significant limitation of online data such as the data I used is its anonymity. Not only because of the negative issues that anonymity can bring about, as discussed in Chapter 4 (although anonymity has its positive sides too), but because there are usually few or no demographic data elements attached to such data. However, seeing the discussions as entities — rather than as a group of individual comments from posters the analyst would wish to know more about — and as reflections of particular discourses, makes the demographics somewhat less important. Nonetheless, seeing differences or similarities between locations (e.g. posters living in the United Kingdom or the United States) or gender, for example, would be interesting. Likewise, being able to identify comments that originate from organised attempts to influence the discourses would be useful in terms of discussion on power.[31]

Another limitation of the empirical study in this book may be that I restricted the data to one newspaper and four documents.[32] A larger amount of data at least could have allowed for some possibilities for comparisons. However, had I included significantly more data, the level of detail would have necessarily been less intensive, or the analysis itself would have had to be different, perhaps including some quantitative elements. The richness of the discourse did become evident already from this smaller amount of data.

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31 Assuming that such attempts at least occasionally might exist in this kind of data. See a brief discussion in Chapter 4.

32 A "document" refers to a newspaper article together with its reader comments.

The way that I used the discourse data in this book was intended firstly, to explore some of the concepts discussed in Chapter 3 (such as coping strategies in connection with the meat paradox), and secondly, to study the discourses with a more open mind. A smaller amount of data has seemed to fulfil these two purposes, although having the time to analyse a larger amount of data, in the same manner, would have been useful as well. In a way, the empirical part of this book can also be seen as a case study, being somewhat limited in scale.

Finally, it might have been interesting or useful to include a variety of different data, in addition to the particular discourse data; for example, expert interviews or focus groups, to test some of the elements in the conceptual structure, or to discuss the results of the analysis of the online data. Given that the conceptual work is at least as important for this book as the empirical analysis, and that completing the conceptual work was equally or more time-consuming than the empirical part, expanding to different kinds of data would not have been practicable. However, such research might be an avenue to pursue in the future.

6.3.3 Potential contribution of the work

As regards the conceptual structure in this book, scholars writing on social practice theories in this millennium, and especially in the last 5-10 years or so have developed the theories extensively, even if there still exists more of a multiplicity of theories, rather than one single social practice theory. However, they have mostly not engaged in examining in detail the relationship between discourses and social practices. This is likely to be so at least in part because scholars usually originate from either tradition and do not tend to cross over (Nicolini, personal communication, 26 February 2018). Examining this relationship is one of the main focuses in Chapter 3, and I believe this work to be an original contribution to theory on this issue.[33]

Analysing societal discourses may partly address the concern of Welch and Warde (2015) as regards the focus of social practice theoretical research largely staying at the micro-level of practice performances, and therefore it not being able to offer more persuasive conceptual answers to policymakers on how to make societal change. Focused on the links between discourses and social practices, my work aspires to offer some help in finding such answers.

Furthermore, in an interdisciplinary manner, the conceptual structure includes concepts from outside social practice theories to expand on the connections from

33 The critical discourse analysis in Chapter 5 can be seen theoretically compatible with social practice theories (Daniel Welch, personal communication, 18 December 2018), for example, through the work of Norman Fairclough. This link further sets the connections between discourses and social practices.

practice elements to values, emotions, and knowledge. Especially the connection to values has often had a minor, or near non-existent role, in social practice theoretical writings. However, as Bai et al. (2016) argue, a future in the Anthropocene requires an emphasis on underlying values. Since values, emotions, and knowledge are closely connected (as also discussed in Chapter 3), I see all of these connections as vital, especially when focusing on transforming unsustainable social practices towards something the natural and human world can sustainably cope with. On a more practical level, my work could contribute to ideas on how to purposively transform unsustainable social practices into more sustainable ones.

Meat-eating related practices are largely unsustainable and, therefore, in need of transforming. Together with the empirical work in Chapter 5, this book suggests different pathways that could be further explored. Findings from discourse analysis can provide new insights, deconstruct dominant assumptions and challenge practices (Georgaca & Avdi, 2011), such as those involved in producing animals for human use, as well as in eating such animals.

6.3.4 Reflections on both the conceptual and empirical work

In earlier sections in this chapter, I have covered in some detail conclusions from the conceptual and empirical work done in this book. However, in this last section, I will still reflect on working on these parts as a whole, especially as regards what has been unexpected, or particularly notable issues, viewing both parts together.

Firstly, getting into the detail of how value systems work, in individuals and at the societal level, has been a very informative experience. The value-action or knowledge-action gaps no longer seem to be the main issues inhibiting change, but indeed understanding the functioning of the value systems, and everything related to them (practices, worldviews and ideologies, emotions, and discursive framing) seems to offer more opportunity to make progress towards societal transformation.

Secondly, it has been useful to recognize that although social practice theories tend to traditionally omit the significance of the individual, and importantly, stand in opposition to behaviour-change based policymaking, there are ways to bring the individual back, so to speak, conceptually, and in actuality, in terms of collective change, and even in terms of empowerment of the individual. I appreciate the recent metaphors of seeing the social world as an infinite mesh of interlinked practices, and individual practices as icebergs where what lies underwater is the main, difficult-to-change part of the practices. I further appreciate the contradiction whereby behaviour change policies at the same time treat people in a way as objects to be changed, and as subjects capable of taking responsibility for change. It is easy to regard policymakers as necessarily first movers for change. At the same time, I see including the individual as a subject with agency, and co-responsibil-

ity, as essential for a sustainability transformation.[34] The positive feedback loop between individual and collective citizen action and policy action enabling and facilitating each other can work. However, it needs to start somewhere. The meat system is one area where action at the citizen level may have potential to break the cycle of inertia. And certainly, the case of Extinction Rebellion discussed earlier in this chapter shows that there can be ways to tackle inertia even on a worldwide scale.[35]

Thirdly, it has been a satisfying realisation to see how social practices and discourses indeed can conceptually connect through the corresponding notions of general understandings (as one of the main social practice elements) and cognitive frames (as part of discourses), both neatly connecting onto values, emotions, and knowledge. Additionally, the three framing devices from Strydom (2000)[36] correspond neatly to these connections. The connection between social practices and discourses also links to the above point about agency, as I believe that only through discursive consciousness of practices (rare, but still occurring condition) can agency be realised. Further, understanding how conflicts between values, emotions, or knowledges function as the glue between difficult-to-change practices and the way they are discussed, or often not discussed, has been enlightening.

Fourthly, and more specific to the empirical part, recognizing and distinguishing between the different frames linked to meat-eating related practices has been illuminating. Flexitarianism, as an acknowledged unique meatway and as an ideology, is something at least partly new to modern societies (while at the same time, without its label, being a very old and common meatway), while the new meats are innovative and have some considerable potential for change. However, how these new meats and meatways turn out to be employed is to be seen. Flexitarianism can be used as yet another food style whereby one sometimes skips conventional animal-based meat in a "flexitarian style". Moreover, the new meats can be mainly utilised for profits by various industries, possibly just added to conventional meat eating on the side of individual eaters, in a system which will aim to integrate only weak sustainability. Such a system would be susceptible to eventual collapse due to the related ecological crises.

Fifthly, while working on the dissertation that led to this book, it has been thought-provoking to see how closely the transformation called for in the meat system relates to the journey of a larger sustainability transformation, called by

34 See also O'Brien (2018) for a discussion on this.

35 However, what the Fridays for Future movement has done since 2018 has certainly increased discursive consciousness as well.

36 The three framing devices from are factual, normative and emotive.

some *the great transformation*.[37] More specifically, there are at least two ways that the new meatways discussed in this book are related to such a transformation, as explained below.

On the first of these connections eating radically less meat, in line with strong flexitarianism, connects to the idea of strong sustainability and sufficiency. In other words, "enough" meat is greatly preferable to "more" meat. Further, and perhaps more crucially the continuum of meatways links well with the concept of *consumption corridors* (Di Giulio & Fuchs, 2014) which aspires to be part of strong sustainable consumption governance (Fuchs, 2020; Fuchs & Lorek, 2005). To explain, a particular consumption corridor is defined by certain minimum and maximum standards, "allowing every individual to have a good life" while ensuring limits on the use of natural and social resources, so that access to a "sufficient level of resources […] for others in the present and in the future" can be guaranteed (Di Giulio & Fuchs, 2014:184). The similarity between the continuum of meatways – which also includes the idea of a minimum and maximum level of meat consumption for an individual, or for a society — and the policy-relevant concept of consumption corridors could well be worth paying attention to.

On the second of these connections, there are arguments in literature (e.g. Díaz & Merino, 2018; Twine, 2014) that it would be essential for those critical of the capitalistic market system, such as the *degrowth movement,* to reconsider human-animal relations and their connections to capitalism. Moreover, Nibert (2013) explores the link between capitalism and intensive animal agriculture and suggests that we can only transform away from intensive animal agriculture in a system that does not embrace capitalism. In Chapter 5, I also argued that, in my data reflecting the discourses around the new meats, the Capitalism and Demand frames seemingly connect to each other. Specifically on the connection between cultivated meat, capitalism and human-animal relations, Miller (2012) sees that cultivated meat succeeds in hiding the reality of both capitalism and animal exploitation, as its (future) existence maintains the importance of meat, while furthering the separation between meat and its animal origin. On the other hand, van der Weele and Driessen (2013) suggest that it would be important to approach cultivated meat openly, allowing it to have potential for different futures, including one where humans could continue with animal protein consumption while having meaningful relationships with domesticated animals.[38]

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37 The concept of a great transformation in terms of ecological, economic and social concerns is originally from Polanyi (1944). In this book, the main focus has been on ecological sustainability, with the argument that it is a prerequisite for social and economic sustainability. For discussion of the great transformation, see e.g. Beling et al. (2018) and Spangenberg (2016).

38 Cultivated meat could actually mean that the production of meat is once again brought out into the open (e.g. in a brewery-style production), instead of being increasingly hidden in

Finally, the link between the meat system crisis and the wider ecological and unsustainability crises relate to the two conceptual metaphors discussed above in connection with the conclusions from the empirical data. More specifically, the Hungry beast is the mainstream discursive frame justifying continuing increased, further intensified, and more efficient meat production, while being employed by the emerging alternative meat industry to justify replacing conventional animal-based meat with the new meats. On the other hand, seeing different meatways, and especially both individual and societal transformation towards less meat as a positive journey, offers an alternative frame for the future. Whether these frames could successfully coexist, or whether a discursive struggle would ensue, remains to be seen.

the huge closed intensive industrial production units with hundreds or thousands of actual animals.