Vaasan yliopisto
UNIVERSITY OF VAASA

OUTI LUNDAHL

From a moral consumption ethos to an apolitical consumption trend

The role of media and celebrities in structuring the rise of veganism

ACTA WASAENSIA 381

BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION

ACADEMIC DISSERTATION

To be presented, with the permission of the Board of the Faculty of Business Studies of the University of Vaasa, for public dissertation in Auditorium Kurtén (C203) on the 8th of September, 2017, at noon.

Reviewers

Professor Johanna Moisander
Aalto University
P.O. Box 21210
00076 AALTO

Docent Minna Autio
University of Helsinki
P.O. Box 27
00014 UNIVERSITY OF HELSINKI

Julkaisija	**Julkaisupäivämäärä**	
Vaasan yliopisto	Syyskuu 2017	
Tekijä(t) Outi Lundahl	**Julkaisun tyyppi** Esseeväitöskirja	
Orcid ID	**Julkaisusarjan nimi, osan numero** Acta Wasaensia, 381	
Yhteystiedot Vaasan yliopisto Kauppatieteellinen tiedekunta Markkinointi PL 700 FI-65101 VAASA	**ISBN** 978-952-476-760-6 (painettu) 978-952-476-761-3 (verkkoaineisto)	
	ISSN 0355-2667 (Acta Wasaensia 381, painettu) 2323-9123 (Acta Wasaensia 381, verkkoaineisto)	
	Sivumäärä 239	**Kieli** Englanti

Julkaisun nimike
Moraalisesta kulutuseetoksesta epäpoliittiseen kulutustrendiin: Median ja julkkisten rooli vegaanitrendin rakentajana

Tiivistelmä
Tämän väitöskirjan tutkimuskysymyksenä on, mikä rooli medialla ja julkkiksilla on aiemmin marginalisoidun kulutuskäytöksen muuttumisessa trendikkääksi. Tätä kysymystä tutkitaan vastuullisen kulutuksen ja erityisesti veganismin kautta eri teoreettisten linssien läpi strukturaalisesta näkökulmasta.

Ensimmäinen essee tuo julki mediainstituutioiden roolin vastuullisen kulutuksen statuksen selittäjänä. Toinen essee taas keskittyy veganismin destigmatisointiin Iso-Britanniassa. Se keskittyy median ja julkkisten symbioottiseen rooliin, ja liittää tämän kehityksen laajempiin ideologioihin. Näiden kahden esseen pohjalta väitöskirja rakentaa teoreettisen viitekehyksen, joka selittää, miksi media ja julkkikset ovat edistäneet tätä muutosta.

Kaksi viimeistä esseetä taas tutkivat prosessia, jolla tämä muutos on tapahtunut. Kolmas essee analysoi veganismin statuksen nousua, tai ns. co-optation-prosessia, brittiläisessä mediassa. Se kehittää uuden vaihemallin, joka tuo julki julkkisten kaksijakoisen roolin tässä prosessissa. Neljäs essee taas tutkii median ns. meta-pääoman roolia veganismin nousussa käyttäen Bourdieun kenttäteoriaa. Näiden kahden esseen pohjalta väitöskirja rakentaa bourdieulaisen viitekehyksen, joka selittää, miten media ja julkkikset ovat myötävaikuttaneet veganismin nousuun.

Asiasanat
Media, julkkikset, veganismi, vastuullinen kulutus, yhteiskunnallinen muutos

Publisher	**Date of publication**	
Vaasan yliopisto	September 2017	
Author(s) Outi Lundahl	**Type of publication** Doctoral thesis, essay-based	
Orcid ID	**Name and number of series** Acta Wasaensia, 381	
Contact information University of Vaasa Faculty of Business Studies Marketing P.O. Box 700 FI-65101 Vaasa Finland	**ISBN** 978-952-476-760-6 (print) 978-952-476-761-3 (online)	
	ISSN 0355-2667 (Acta Wasaensia 381, print) 2323-9123 (Acta Wasaensia 381, online)	
	Number of pages 239	**Language** English

Title of publication

From a moral consumption ethos to an apolitical consumption trend: The role of media and celebrities in structuring the rise of veganism

Abstract

The research question of this thesis is what is the role of media and celebrities in the rise of a marginalised form of consumption. This question is explored through the rise of sustainable consumption and particularly veganism through different theoretical lenses, from a structural point of view.

Through media analysis, the first essay uncovers the role of the media institution in explaining the status of sustainable consumption. The second essay focuses on the symbiotic role of media and celebrities in the destigmatisation of veganism in British media, and relates the development to wider ideologies. Based on these essays, the thesis builds a framework explaining why media and celebrities have contributed to this change.

Conversely, the last two essays explore the process by which this change has happened. The third essay analyses co-optation of veganism in British media. The paper develops a novel stage model of co-optation which highlights the two-fold role of celebrities in the process. Finally, the fourth essay explores the role of media meta-capital in the rise of veganism using Bourdieu's field theory. Based on these essays the thesis develops a Bourdieusian framework of how media and celebrities contribute to the rise of veganism.

Keywords

Media, celebrities, veganism, sustainable consumption, societal change

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In the words of the Doctor, “a straight line may be the shortest distance between two points, but it is by no means the most interesting.” Similarly, my thesis journey could have taken a straighter route. All in all, it has been written in the low lands of Ostrobothnia, in the graffiti ridden and bohemian Eastern Berlin, in sunny Melbourne, in tropical Queensland, in the alpine scenery of the South Island in New Zealand, the “paradise island” of Koh Tao in Thailand, back in jolly old Berlin and, after months and months of being “almost finished”, *finally* finished in Maastricht, of all places.

Academically, I have also taken many detours, exploring many different, often surprising ideas to my topic. I certainly did not think four years ago that I would spend such a major part of my thesis talking about Beyoncé. No doubt there would have been a straighter way to get to this point but it probably would not have been as interesting, rewarding or successful. Now, however, it is time to thank all of those who have helped me along the way.

Firstly, without research grants from Suomen kulttuurirahasto, Nissin säätiö and Vaasan yliopistosäätiö this thesis would not have been possible. The University of Vaasa, Pohjanmaan korkeakoulukeskus, Liikesivistysrahasto and Maastricht University have also enabled me to attend several high-level conferences and seminars, and I am very grateful for the financial assistance as the journey would have been completely different without them.

I want to also thank my supervisor, Professor Harri Luomala. Our ontological differences made the journey challenging but hopefully the end result justifies the choices made. Thank you for all your valuable input and for putting up with me. Similarly, a big thank you to a fellow CCTer and second supervisor, Dr. Henna Syrjälä, who provided valuable feedback especially in the last meters.

As for my co-author, Dr. Alex… what can I say. Over three years ago, a strange German man sat next to me at a doctoral seminar in Brussels. Never did I think he would end up becoming such a big influence in my life. And for all that, I still owe you a big bottle of gin.

As for my fellow sufferer, Petteri, thank you for letting off steam with me so often. It has been very cathartic. Thank you also for your peer reviews, coding help, trips to Berlin and Australia, as well as keeping me company in my little Micra on the road to Vaasa many, many moons ago.

Finally, Robert: thank you for the bootstraps, all the intertextuality and for, without a doubt, being the most infuriatingly frustrating person I have ever had the pleasure to meet.

I also must thank all the other people who have brightened up my day immensely along this journey. Irma – thank you for taking me in to your home and your life. Without you I would not have had the opportunity to spend a wonderful year in Australia and for that I will always be very grateful. Anton, well, what would the year in Australia have been without you! Thank you for amusing me, and for attempting to help me with this thesis. Similarly, thank you, Salla. Without you I probably never would have had the courage to leave.

A big thank you also to the long list of all the fellow scholars who I have had the pleasure of meeting in various seminars and conferences. Moreover, I want to thank all the people who took me in at Maastricht University. It took awhile for a CCTer with neo-Marxist affinities to find her place in a managerially and quantitatively driven business school but I think we got there in the end.

I would also like to thank all the people at the Finnish Association for Environmental Education for making me believe that we can indeed change the world for the better. I hope my thesis will be a small step in that direction despite all the skepticism.

And finally, I have to thank my parents who always encouraged me to read, learn, and write, and, ultimately, to do it my way. Isä ja äiti – kiitos.

And with these words, I now give you my Rita Hayworth.

On a rare sunny day in Maastricht on 11 April,

Outi Lundahl

Contents

Figures

Tables

XII

Essays

[1] Lundahl, O. 2014. Fashionalising sustainable consumption in lifestyle media. In J. Cotte, and S. Wood (Eds). *Advances in Consumer Research*, Vol. 42. Duluth, MN: Association for Consumer Research. 343–347.[1]

[2] Lundahl, O. Celebrities and the media in the rise of veganism: Destigmatisation of veganism in the *Daily Mail*, 2008-2014.[2]

[3] Lundahl, O. & Henkel, A. Celebrities in the co-optation of veganism.

[4] Lundahl, O. The Beyoncé Diet: Media meta-capital and celebrity in changing taste regimes.[3]

[1] Reprinted with permission of the Association for Consumer Research.
[2] Submitted to *Consumption Markets & Culture*.
[3] Submitted to *Journal of Marketing Management*.

1 INTRODUCTION

We are the angry mob

We read the papers everyday day

We like who we like

We hate who we hate

But we're also easily swayed

Kaiser Chiefs

Every day, we read the papers, we watch TV, and we browse our Facebook feeds. We then take the news with us to the water cooler or to our coffee breaks, and they set the age nda for our conversations. Lifestyle media, such as magazines, also tell us what to wear this season, what is the new celebrity endorsed diet for losing weight and which celebrities are in and which are out. Whether we actively seek out celebrity gossip, we probably also keep up with the Kardashians more than we would care to admit to ourselves or, particularly, to others.

Media, in other words, has a great deal of influence on our lives and can sway both our daily agendas, as well as what we think of people, issues and trends. Celebrities, through their constant media exposure, have also become reference points in our lives, as either our role models we aspire to be or as stereotypes from which we want to disassociate ourselves. The power of the celebrity is, in fact, well known, as is evinced by the myriad of celebrity led advertising and promotional campaigns. Celebrity sells – both news and brands. This is why media and celebrities are at the heart of this thesis.

However, I do not merely see the media as a neutral nexus of conversations or as means of an easy access to historical data. Instead, the media is also considered to be an actor in its own right, as a powerful institution which is driven also by its own motives, particularly by profit. One only has to think of media mogul Rupert Murdoch and his vast media empire to gain an understanding of how much power and money lies in the hands and the pockets of the few. In fact, in 2016 Murdoch was listed as the 35th most powerful person in the world by Forbes and reportedly had the net worth of $13.1 billion in 2017 (Forbes 2017). This raises the question, how much of our daily lives, the way we act, think and consume, is

guided by media institutions? More specifically, this thesis aims to answer the question how and why media and celebrities can contribute to the rise of a marginalised form of consumption.

The thesis explores this issue through four different theoretical lenses. Specifically, the thesis focuses on the rise of sustainable consumption and, particularly, of veganism. Veganism as a moral ethos and a lifestyle is thus seen as a form of sustainable consumption. However, as will become apparent during the thesis, as the meanings related to veganism have changed in the media, it has also been distanced from sustainable and ethical consumption. Thus, the aim of the thesis is to understand how and why celebrities and the media have given rise to a change where the image of veganism has been transformed from a moral (sustainable) consumption ethos to an apolitical consumption trend.

Indeed, these phenomena are ideal for such a study as the images of both have undergone a major change in the public imagination. Thus, traditionally, both sustainable consumption and veganism have been marginalised. Vegans, for instance, have been the target of much ridicule and hostility. Veganism has had an image of "fanaticism" which "sucks out the joy" in life (Fury 2013). Now, however, the media is touting veganism, or perhaps more accurately the plant-based diet, as the next big trend. In the *Independent*, Fury (2013), for instance, poses himself the question: "Why is a fashion editor writing about veganism? Because it's fashionable … Vegan is in." Similarly, the concept of "eco-chic" has been popularised to refer to the idea that the age of frumpy sustainability has come to an end and that some products can, in fact, be both eco-friendly and trendy. In this way consumers would not have to give up their sense of style to aim for sustainability (Elliott 2013).

It seems that this change can at least partly be attributed to celebrities. In his article, Fury (2013), for instance, refers to celebrity adherents such as Beyoncé and Gwyneth Paltrow as the source of this new-found coolness of veganism. This is only part of a more general trend. Indeed, Hollywood A-listers seem to have become major promoters of both sustainability and veganism (e.g. Boykoff, Goodman, & Littler 2010).

How and why have media and celebrities then contributed to the rise of sustainable consumption and of veganism, in particular? In order to start answering this question, it is first necessary to outline the history of veganism and of sustainable consumption in more detail.

1.1 The phenomena under study

Veganism is defined as "a way of living which seeks to exclude, as far as is possible and practicable, all forms of exploitation of, and cruelty to, animals for food, clothing or any other purpose" (Vegan Society 2016). Therefore, veganism, according to this official definition, is more than a plant-based diet. It is a moral ethos and a lifestyle which is structured around a philosophy of animal rights. Hence, it encompasses all walks of life where animals might be exploited. In fact, veganism can be seen to oppose the ideology of speciesism – a form of prejudice against nonhuman animals, which is analogous to sexism and racism (Cole & Morgan 2011, Ryder 1983).

Unsurprisingly, then, animal rights has been noted as one of the main motivations for vegans according to extant literature (Greenebaum 2012). Conversely, the other two main motivations as reported by vegans are health reasons as well as environmental preservation (Greenebaum 2012) as a plant-based diet is said to be better for the environment compared to an omnivorous diet (e.g. UNEP 2010). Thus, ethically motivated veganism can be subsumed under the wider concept of sustainable consumption.

The concept of sustainable consumption is also multifaceted. It can encompass ecological, ethical and political consumption and, therefore, sustainable consumption is a wider concept than merely ecologically motivated consumption (Haanpää 2009). Nevertheless, the distinction between these three aspects is not always clear cut. Veganism, for instance, can be argued to combine all three with its emphasis on ecologically sustainable food, ethical treatment of animals and the implied aim of overthrowing the ideology of speciesism.

In addition, in practice, the question of what is sustainable is a difficult one like all ethical questions (see e.g. Laczniak 1983). Whilst on the face of it various eco-products may seem, and have been promoted, as sustainable, such products also have their critics. They argue that the only true form of sustainable consumption would, in fact, be curbing consumption, rather than switching consumption to ostensibly more sustainable forms (e.g. Kilbourne & Pickett 2008, Brown & Kasser 2005, Alexander & Ussher 2012, see also Geels et al. 2015). The Jevons paradox, for instance, shows that the purported sustainability of an eco-product can in fact increase the ecological strain of that consumption activity by seeming efficient and, thus, more desirable (Owen 2012, Polimeni et al. 2008).

Therefore, in this thesis, what I regard as sustainable consumption are consumption behaviours which are defined as sustainable by the users, marketers or, particularly, the media. Furthermore, veganism as a moral ethos

and a lifestyle is seen as a form of sustainable consumption. Nevertheless, while ethical and environmental considerations have traditionally been some of the key motivations for vegans, the rise of veganism has also seen the meanings related to it change in the media. Hence, while veganism as a movement shows clear affinities with sustainable, ethical and environmental consumption, and is thus in this thesis subsumed under this broader umbrella term, it is important appreciate that veganism as an apolitical consumption trend has different motivations at heart. Keeping this in mind, it is then time to briefly outline the history of sustainable consumption and of veganism.

1.1.1 A brief history of sustainable consumption

To trace the history of sustainable consumption, one must start in the 1960s and 1970s. This is when consumer interest in "environmentally friendly" products first emerged in the United States (Elliott 2013). The interest increased alongside growing environmental awareness and was fuelled in part by the wider "back-to-nature" movement of the 1970s (Elliott 2013). By the end of 1980s, sustainability had also launched itself onto the public policy agenda. In 1987, for instance, the United Nations World Commission on Environment and Development published *Our Common Future* (also known as "the Brundtland Report"), which formally introduced the concept of sustainability as a principle of development (Elliott 2013).

Conversely, the term "sustainable consumption" entered the international policy arena at the 1992 Rio Earth Summit (Seyfang 2013, Soron 2010). This was the first time in international environmental discourse that over-consumption in the developed world was implicated as a direct cause of unsustainability. By making the excessive demands of affluent consumers a central object of political concern, Rio's Agenda 21 (UNCED 1992) lent new legitimacy to the idea that reigning in the consumption of affluent regions was required to achieve environmental sustainability (Soron 2010). The proposed solutions included promoting eco-efficiency as well as promoting of "changed lifestyles" which are "less dependent on the Earth's finite resources and more in harmony with the Earth's carrying capacity" (UNCED 1992, section 4.11, see also Geels et al. 2015).

Marketers were quick to jump on the bandwagon regarding the former (see Seyfang 2013 for a critique of this approach). As Maniates (2002: 47) notes, "'Living lightly on the planet' and 'reducing your environmental impact', paradoxically, became a consumer product growth industry". Thus, at the end of the 1980s, the markets for new so-called green products exploded, among others, in the UK and the US.

However, the market for eco-products has also had its ups and downs: this brief exuberance was followed by a cooling down of the market. In the US, the 1990s were marked by a slow but steady growth but so-called green products remained largely a niche phenomenon (Elliott 2013). In the UK, a similar trend was also present: green consumerism was a trend during the early 1990s but died down during the 1990s, and the number of green products on offer fell (Seyfang 2013).

This brings attention to the three different issues. Firstly, despite the brief exuberance, sustainable consumption has still largely remained a marginal phenomenon until lately (e.g. World Economic Forum 2013). Secondly, the topsy-turvy ride sustainable consumption has had raises the question what drives these fluctuations. Finally, one must also ask the question, what are the barriers still in the way of true sustainability.

These are important issues as warming of the climate system is unequivocal. The atmosphere and oceans have warmed, the amounts of snow and ice have diminished, and sea level has risen, and these climate changes have already had widespread impacts on human and natural systems (IPCC 2014). The human influence on the climate system is clear and, yet, recent anthropogenic emissions of greenhouse gases are the highest in history (IPCC 2014) meaning that the issue remains unsolved. This is a critical issue as the population growth will undoubtedly further increase the strain on Earth's finite resources. Therefore, changes will have to be made to slow down this process, even if its reversal is not feasible. While there are many different strategies to combat these changes, one of the key areas in which an individual consumer can try to make an impact is food consumption, particularly through more plant-based diets (Carus 2010, UNEP 2010). One such diet is veganism which I will turn to next.

1.1.2 A brief history of veganism

In contrast with the wider trend of sustainable consumption, the journey of veganism has been a great deal more moderate in that historically it has not enjoyed as many highs and lows. The term "vegan" was first coined in 1944 by Donald Watson who also founded the Vegan Society in England in the same year (Davis 2012). This point can be seen as the beginning of modern day veganism as here a clear distinction was drawn between "mere vegetarianism" and veganism, and vegans organised themselves under a distinct movement. Nevertheless, Simonson (2001), for instance, argues that the modern animal rights movement, of which veganism is obviously a major part, was not born until 1975 when Peter Singer published his influential book *Animal Liberation*.

While less strict forms of vegetarianism had become more mainstream already in the 1970s (Inness 2006), it was not until the 2000s, when veganism gained more popularity (Potts & Parry 2010). Thus, for a long time, veganism remained marginalised in the society, and vegans were the target of much ridicule and hostility. Cole and Morgan (2011), for instance, found that 74.3% of all articles related to veganism in the UK press in 2007 included anti-vegan discourses. These discourses, according to their research, include ridiculing veganism; characterising veganism as asceticism; describing veganism as difficult or impossible to sustain; describing veganism as a fad; characterising vegans as oversensitive; or characterising vegans as hostile.

But over the recent years, as Potts and Parry (2010) note, the portrayal of veganism has shifted substantially in popular culture. From its previous stereotypical representation as hippyish and boring, the image of veganism has been changing into something appealing and chic. A flurry of new vegan cookery books, for instance, depict vegan food as colourful, hip, healthy, compassionate and ethical (Inness 2006: 157). In short, whilst stereotypical views of veganism still persist (e.g. Potts & Parry 2010), "[v]egan is in" and "fashionable" (Fury 2013), particularly as many A-list celebrities such as Beyoncé have associated themselves with veganism, or perhaps more accurately, with plant-based diets (e.g. Fury 2013).

As veganism has been seen as such a niche phenomenon, obtaining accurate historical data for the number of vegans across different countries is difficult. In Finland, for instance, there is no accurate information on the number of vegans but it is estimated that this figure is approximately 1% of the population (Ziemann 2016). Similarly, it is estimated that in 2012 less than 1% of the UK population were vegan (Public Health England 2014). Furthermore, in studies vegans are often subsumed under the more general rubric of vegetarianism (Cole & Morgan 2011), which in contrast with strict veganism, allows the use of animal-based products such as dairy and eggs. However, in the UK, for instance, it has been estimated that the number of individuals opting for a plant-based diet has seen a rise from 150,000 in 2006 to 542,000 in 2016 which makes this a 350% increase in 10 years (Marsh 2016). This means that the rise of veganism has indeed been a recent one, and this thesis aims to uncover what happened during these formative years.

The issue is important because a more plant-based diet would be highly beneficial for the society. The United Nations, for instance, has argued that a more plant-based diet would be highly beneficial for the environment (Carus 2010). The reason for this is that meat production accounts for nearly a fifth of

global greenhouse gas emissions (Jowit 2008). Some of these are generated during the production of animal feeds, while particularly cows emit methane, which is 23 times more effective as a global warming agent than carbon dioxide (Jowit 2008). Furthermore, a UNEP (2010: 82) report states that impacts from agriculture are only expected to increase further due to population growth and increasing consumption of animal products, and hence ”[a] substantial reduction of impacts would only be possible with a substantial worldwide diet change, away from animal products.”

Veganism also has other benefits. Vegans, for instance, tend to have a lower body mass index (Spencer et al. 2003) so one could speculate that a more plant-based diet would help in the current obesity crisis in the Western world. According to the World Health Organisation (WHO 2016), for instance, worldwide obesity has more than doubled since 1980 so that in 2014 39% of adults aged 18 years and over were overweight, and 13% were obese. In fact, the organisation notes that most of the world's population lives in countries where overweight and obesity kills more people than underweight.

Furthermore, one must also take into account the ethical considerations of refraining from animal based products. Francione (2010), for instance, argues that all sentient beings should have the right not to be treated as property, and that adopting veganism must be the baseline for anyone who believes that non-humans have intrinsic moral value. Regan (2004), also drawing on rights based philosophy, argues that animals possess value as "subjects-of-a-life", because they have beliefs, desires, memory and the ability to initiate action in pursuit of goals. Regan (2004) notes that the right of subjects-of-a-life not to be harmed can be overridden by other moral principles, but that pleasure, convenience or financial motivations are not good enough reasons to do so. Conversely, Singer (1975) adopts a utilitarian stance, but argues that there is no moral or logical justification for not including the consideration of animal suffering when making decisions. Furthermore, he argues that killing animals should be rejected unless necessary for survival.

However, while the phenomena under study in this thesis are sustainable consumption and particularly veganism, it can be argued that it is not about green consumption, *per se*. Instead, it can best be aligned with research regarding market formation processes and the institutionalisation of consumption practices (e.g. Humphreys 2010a, b, Giesler 2012, 2008, Sandicki & Ger 2010, see also Giesler & Thompson 2016) as these studies attempt to investigate how marginalised consumption phenomena can become legitimised and mainstream. As these studies show, such insights can be applied to a myriad

of context from casino gambling (Humphreys 2010a, b), Botox injections (Giesler 2012), music downloading (Giesler 2008) and the Muslim tradition of veiling (Sandicki & Ger 2010).

Nevertheless, despite this connection, I refrain from conceptualising this thesis in terms of market formation processes. The reason for this is that the thesis draws heavily on neo-Marxist research, particularly radical structuralism (Tadajewski et al. 2014). As will be explained in more detail in Chapter 2, this tradition is very critical of market institutions such as marketers and the media, which are seen to serve the interests of the dominant classes. Thus, while the thesis explores similar societal structures and processes as the aforementioned studies in market formation processes, this thesis takes a more critical stance towards these institutions and argues that they, in fact, tend to inhibit true change for a more just and equitable society. Furthermore, in essence, the thesis is more aimed at facilitating societal change for environmental and ethical reasons, rather than at exploring how the markets for sustainable or for vegan products can or should be formed, or how interest in such issues can be exploited by marketers for financial gain.

I will next turn to outlining how extant literature has explored sustainable consumption, and how it has conceptualised the mainstreaming of previously marginalised forms of consumption. In addition, I will outline how this thesis differs from these approaches and, finally, what is the intended contribution of the individual essays and the overall thesis.

1.2 Positioning of the thesis: media and celebrities in societal transformation

Since the 1970s, scholarship on pro-environmental consumption behaviour has largely been based on the theory of reasoned action (Ajzen & Fishbein 1974) and, thus, has mainly come out of psychology and behavioural economics (Elliott 2013). This literature (e.g. Vermeir & Verbeke 2006, Stern 2000, Bamberg & Moser 2006, Akehurst et al. 2012, Straughan & Roberts 1999, Tanner & Kast 2003, Mainieri et al. 1997, Ebreo, Hershey, & Vining 1999, Roberts 1996, Hines, Hungerford, & Tomera 1986/87, Maloney & Ward 1973, Van Liere & Dunlap 1981, Shaw et al. 2005, Kilbourne & Pickett 2008, Alwitt & Pitts 1996, Kinnear et al. 1974) has tried to solve the problem of the so-called attitude-behaviour gap. In other words, it has tried to understand why consumers do not consume in a more sustainable fashion despite their largely positive attitudes towards sustainability issues. This literature has attempted to identify the determinants of

environmentally friendly consumer behaviour in order to promote such behaviour. The interventions suggested by this work have been largely focused on fostering environmentalist values and helping consumers to make better choices (Elliott 2013).

From this perspective, then, green consumption is largely considered something that is negotiated at the individual level, based on reasonably well-informed perceptions of costs and benefits, and independently of how others consume (Elliott 2013). However, as such magical formula for the determinants of sustainable consumption behaviours is yet to be found (e.g. Starr 2009), it seems unlikely that the rise of veganism and sustainable consumption could be explained in such terms. In addition, such research tends to ignore the social and structural factors which drive consumer behaviour (Elliott 2013) which, in the spirit of Askegaard and Linnet (2011), I argue to be a serious flaw.

This thesis then departs from this tradition by, first, aligning itself with the so-called Consumer Culture Theory (CCT, see Arnould and Thompson 2005) which places a heavy emphasis on sociocultural, experiential, symbolic, and ideological aspects of consumption. Secondly, the thesis departs from traditional sustainable consumption research in that the aim is to understand this change on a societal and macro level, instead of the individual, micro level (see also Kilbourne & Beckmann 1998). Of course, there are studies arising from the CCT tradition, which have, for instance, explored sustainable consumption, anti-consumption and green consumer identities from a more sociocultural angle (see e.g. Cherrier 2007, Mittelstaedt et al. 2014, Huttunen & Autio 2010, Rokka & Moisander 2009, de Burgh-Woodman & King 2012, Moisander & Pesonen 2012, Chatzidakis et al. 2012). However, this thesis departs from these studies by taking a dynamic point of view in that it aims to understand the process by which sustainable consumption and veganism in particular have been transformed into consumption trends.

As noted in Chapter 1.1.2, within CCT literature there are also a host of studies which have explored market formation processes or, more generally, the sociocultural factors which pattern and drive consumer behaviour on the macro level. Three theoretical concepts and theories are of particular relevance here, namely, the concept of destigmatisation, and the theories of co-optation and institutionalisation. Of these, destigmatisation literature and institutional theory focus on uncovering how a previously marginalised, or stigmatised, consumption practices become normal and mainstream. These concepts then tend to assume a binary between the deviant and the normal. Conversely, co-optation theory goes a step further. It argues that a previously marginalised consumption practices

can be transformed into "trendy commodities and depoliticized fashion styles" (Thompson and Coskuner-Balli 2007: 136) by marketers and the market system. In this way, consumption practices which are perceived as threatening by the mainstream can be cut off from the radical roots and the status quo can be defended.

All three concepts or theories would arguably fit very well to the current phenomenon. Nevertheless, a gap within this body of literature exists: it has thus far paid limited attention to the role of media and celebrities in the process. For instance, whilst investigating how a previously stigmatised consumption practice, veiling, has become fashionable, Sandikci and Ger (2010) refer to media but do not investigate its role in the process in detail. Similarly, Humphreys (2010b: 502) investigates the rise of casino gambling from the point of view of institutional theory. She refers to Hollywood films as a source for the "coolness" of casino gambling but the exploration of this facet in the rise of gambling is marginal. Co-optation literature (e.g. Frank 1997, Heath & Potter 2004, Thompson & Coskuner-Balli 2007) has also paid limited attention to the role of media in the co-optation process, apart from media being the site for advertising.

In fact, a similar tendency can also be seen in the wider consumer research community as it has focused its attentions on marketers. This is curious as Arnould and Thompson (2005: 875) argue that one of the strands of research for CCT is to read popular culture texts as "lifestyle and identity instructions that convey unadulterated marketplace ideologies (i.e., look like this, act like this, want these things, aspire to this kind of lifestyle) and idealized consumer types". These popular culture texts can include a wide array of texts from advertisements to television programmes and films — and yet most of this effort has focused solely on advertisements (Humphreys 2010b).

Therefore, I agree with Humphreys (2010b) in that consumer research needs to divert its attentions from advertising to other popular cultural texts, as well. Media has an important role in shaping cultural meanings of consumption, and thus it should be included in the consumer research agenda in a much more serious fashion (Humphreys 2010b). In fact, Castells (2009) argues that the battle for and against social change is fought in the public sphere of which the media is a key part (Habermas 1962). Therefore, in this thesis, I argue that this is a major gap in the literature which needs addressing, and discovering the role of media in the rise of a marginalised consumption practice is at the heart of this thesis.

Focusing on media data soon also led me to the second important actor in this development – celebrities. Celebrity culture has become increasingly prevalent in

many fields of life (Reeves, Baker & Truluck 2012, Turner 2010). In fact, as noted at the beginning of the thesis, celebrities are all around and consumers are bombarded with messages about their lifestyle and consumption choices. They have also become primary role models for many people (e.g. Brown, Basil & Bocarnea 2003, Fraser & Brown 2002). In particular, celebrities have become major spokespeople for global issues (e.g. Meyer & Gamson 1995) such as climate change (Boykoff et al. 2010). Similarly, my data revealed that in the media, they are also used as key role models to hype up the trend of sustainable consumption and of veganism.

Again, however, extant literature is found wanting in understanding the role of celebrities in societal change. Instead, marketing thought on celebrity has focused on the effectiveness of celebrity endorsement (Kerrigan et al. 2011, Keel & Nataraajan 2012, for a review see e.g. Erdogan 1999). This is problematic as I argue that it is questionable whether the models developed for the advertising context are also applicable to all the different ways in which indirect celebrity endorsement takes place. More importantly, these models, such as McCracken's (1989) seminal model of celebrity endorsement, neglects the structural forces which guide consumers (see Holt 1997b). Following Askegaard and Linnet (2011), I argue this to be problematic. Hence, exploring the role of celebrities in the process soon became the second major theme of the thesis. Next it is then time to specify the contributions the individual essays as well as the overall thesis aim to make.

1.3 The aims and intended contributions of the thesis

The aim of this thesis is to analyse the role of media and celebrities in the rise of a marginalised form of consumption, specifically in the rise of sustainable consumption or veganism. In particular, the aim is to look at the issue from a structural and a dynamic point of view, and understand both how and why celebrities and the media have structured the rise of veganism and sustainable consumption. As is shown in Figure 1, the question of *why* this change has taken place is explored in the first two essays. In contrast, the question *how* this change has occurred, is addressed in the last two essays. In addition, as the figure illustrates, I utilise four different theoretical lenses so that the last essay is conceptual and reliant on so-called field theory, whilst the first three articles are empirical and informed by radical structuralism (Tadajewski et al. 2014).

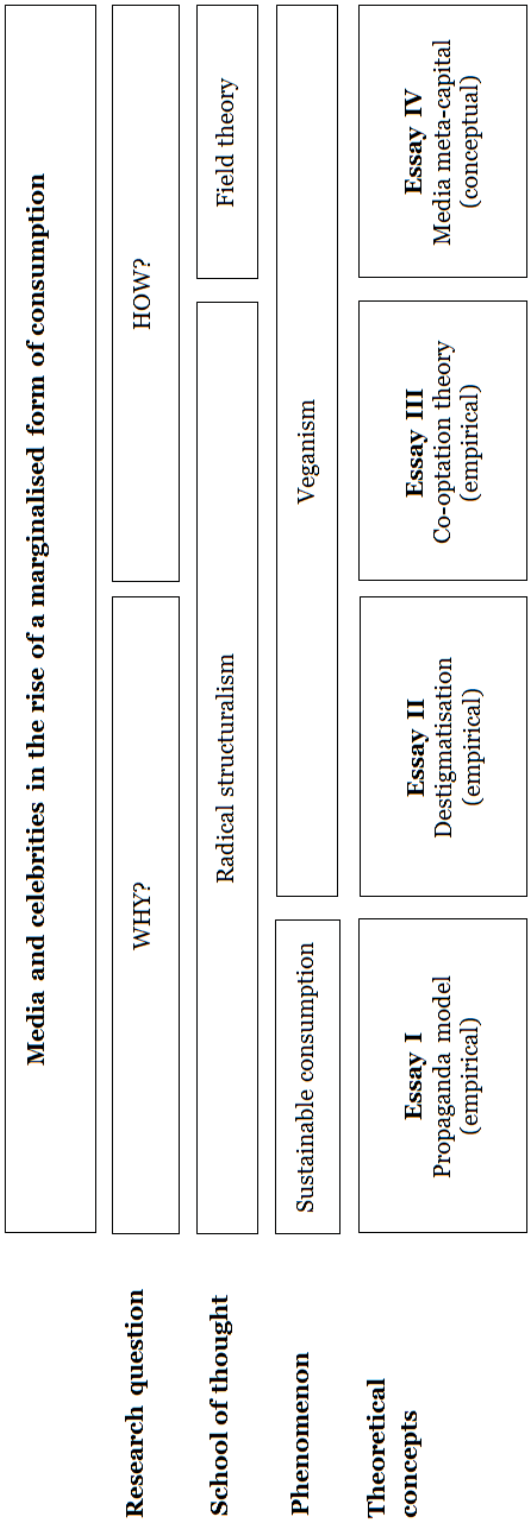

Figure 1. Review of the essays

What makes radical structuralism (Tadajewski et al. 2014) different from mainstream, positivistic consumer research is that, instead of merely aiming to understand or explain reality, it encourages research which seeks social change. In this way it aims to improve life and seeks to free people from constraining structures. Thus, the school of thought starts with the premise that the society is unjust.

This basic assumption is very well aligned with the premise of the first essay which explores the reasons for the new-found status of sustainable consumption. Through media analysis of three woman's magazines in Finland, the essay uncovers the role of the media institution in this process. Thus, whilst traditionally, sustainable consumption research has mainly focused on the level of the individual (Elliott 2013), this essay directs the focus away from the micro level towards the macro level forces which both drive and constrain societal change.

The contribution of this essay is to bring the profit-making aims of media institutions into the conversation about sustainable consumption, and it shows why the media has a vested interest in both hyping up and destroying the trend of sustainable consumption. In the essay, I trace the origins of the sustainable consumption frames to the profit-making logic of lifestyle media with the help of Herman and Chomsky's (1988) classic study of media institutions. In it they argue that there are certain forces or filters which affect media content. Of these, I found the filters of ownership and profit orientation of media corporations, advertising (funding), sourcing and "otherness" to be the most important in shaping the sustainable consumption trend in the lifestyle media.

However, whilst the main contribution of the first essay is to highlight media's role in the normalisation of a marginalised form of consumption, the analysis pays fairly limited attention to the context of the analysis. Therefore, a more nuanced, multilevel investigation into the ideological, organisational as well as the national context is developed in the second essay. Thus, the second essay focuses on the destigmatisation of veganism in a large British newspaper and it outlines the different forces which have made the ground so fertile for the rise of veganism at this particular moment. In addition, it hones in on the role of celebrities, which will become even more pronounced in the last two essays. In particular, the essay contributes to destigmatisation literature by highlighting the role of the symbiotic relationship between celebrities and the media in destigmatisation. However, a clear link to the first essay can also be seen here, as in it I argue that celebrities have become elite sources for the media as they are used to promote the latest fashions and, thus, to drive media sales.

After establishing why veganism has become normalised and fashionable, the thesis then proceeds to explore how exactly this change has happened. The third essay thus analyses the rise of veganism from the point of view of co-optation theory. In this paper, I, along with my co-author, uncover the dual role celebrities, with the help of media institutions, have played in the rise of veganism in the UK. We show that the co-optation of veganism has taken place via the celebritisation of a parallel movement – environmentalism. Whilst the scientific and political discourse of the environmental movement then legitimised veganism in the media, it was the celebrity involvement which diluted down the message. Later, the persistent celebrity involvement associated veganism – or more accurately, the plant-based diet – with health and weight-loss aligning it with the ideology of healthism. Through this new framing and new vocabulary veganism severed its ties with both the animal rights and environmental movement thus finally co-opting veganism. We illustrate this through a novel stage model of co-optation which highlights the consecutive processes of celebritisation and co-optation in the vegan movement. In this way, co-optation theory is further developed in the light of celebrity involvement.

The previous essays then establish that celebrities have become important actors in the rise of veganism and sustainable consumption. However, the process by which celebrities actually impact the consumption practices of the wider public has not received a great deal of attention. Goodman (2010), for instance, argues that by purchasing celebrity endorsed ethical brands we hope to become more like the celebrity. This line of argument is derived from the seminal meaning transfer model of paid celebrity endorsement proposed by McCracken (1989).

While this model has been very influential in the literature regarding advertising effectiveness, it is questionable whether it can be applied to the myriad of ways in which celebrities, directly or indirectly endorse various brands, causes and trends. Moreover, it neglects the structural forces which guide consumers (for critique see Holt 1997b) which, in the spirit of Askegaard and Linnet (2011), I argue to be a serious flaw. As Holt (1997b) argues, one problem with models such as the one proposed by McCracken (1989) is that it does not allow for the possibility that consumers may vary in terms of how they understand and use consumption objects. Therefore, it is implied that there is a one-to-one correspondence between consumption objects and social meanings. Furthermore, a nuanced understanding of how these potential meanings circulate in the society is missing. Thus, I propose that Bourdieusian theory is more appropriate in explaining societal changes in consumption behaviour.

Therefore, the fourth essay, which is a conceptual paper, explores the role of media and celebrities by using the so-called field theory developed by French philosopher and sociologist Pierre Bourdieu. In contrast with the first essays which take a strictly structural perspective, and in contrast with traditional models of celebrity endorsement or sustainable consumption which take the perspective of an individual, I then attempt to find a more balanced point between structure and the agency of individual consumers. The essay contributes to the traditional celebrity endorsement literature by suggesting an alternative framework which is more apt at explaining celebrity influence on the macro level and outside the advertising context. It also accounts for the active role of media in the process by suggesting Couldry's (2003) notion of media meta-capital as the missing link between celebrities and the consumers.

Overall, the thesis argues that despite the apparent rise in the status of veganism in particular, a gap has formed between marginalised, political veganism and the new fashionable trend of the plant-based diet in the media. This way the media, whilst promoting one type of veganism, has cut veganism from its previously radical roots. This works as a way to hinder real change, the ultimate goal of which would be the end of exploitation of animals, in other words, the end of speciesism as an ideology. In this way it is possible to protect the status quo of consumerism and neoliberalism, and to use plant-based diet to support the ideology of healthism. In this process, celebrities have been powerful allies as through them connotations of health and beauty can be associated with the consumption practice. Whilst no downward trend can yet be detected in the data, it is also probable that, as in the case of sustainable consumption, the trend of the plant-based diet will also wither. This is due to the profit-making aims of the media institutions which necessitates new trends.

The contributions of the individual essays thus relate to the processes of destigmatisation and co-optation as well as the role of media and celebrities in societal change and in changing taste regimes. Conversely, the first contribution of the overall thesis is the development of a multilevel, theoretical framework of the forces which have made the ground fertile for veganism. In particular, the framework highlights why media and celebrities have contributed to the process by actively propelling the rise of veganism. The framework is based on the first two essays and is thus more comprehensive than either study on their own. It overcomes the limitation of the first essay in that it explores the wider context of media production. It also overcomes the limitation of the second essay in that it also accounts for the institutional mechanics of media content production which were explored in more detail in the first essay.

The second contribution of the overall thesis is the development of a theoretical process model which shows how this has happened via the media and through celebrities. This process model is based on the last two essays. It is particularly based on the theoretical framework developed in the fourth essay. However, in focusing on the case of the so-called Beyoncé Diet, it paid lesser attention to the number of other actors which first made veganism rise on the media agenda, as revealed by the third essay. This issue is taken into account in the final framework. In addition, the new framework also attempts to overcome the limitation of the third essay in that, whilst the essay provides a very detailed description of process by which the media portrayal of veganism changed, it does not explain how these meanings seep into the consumption patterns of the consumers. Therefore, the process model presented here is again more comprehensive than those offered by either of the individual essays.

First, however, I will turn to a more in-depth literature review regarding structural research and societal transformation in Chapter 2. After that, in Chapter 3, I will present the methodology, whilst the summaries of the four essays are presented in Chapter 4. Discussion and conclusions follow in Chapter 5.

2 STRUCTURAL RESEARCH AND SOCIETAL TRANSFORMATION

As was outlined in the introduction, the first three essays of this thesis arise from radical structuralism, whereas the final essay utilises Bourdieusian analysis. As the name implies, particularly radical structuralism emphasizes societal structures over the agentic power of the individual consumers. This can, however, lead to a one-sided perspective of the issue, particularly as radical structuralism also tends to be quite pessimistic about the possibilities for societal transformation due to the unchanging nature of the structures. This is why Bourdieusian theory was utilised in the fourth and final essay. Firstly, Bourdieu attempts to find a more balanced point on the structure-agency continuum. Secondly, his field theory also allows for a more detailed analysis of how structures are not only reproduced but for an analysis of how change may be possible. Nonetheless, as Tadajewski et al. (2014) note, Bourdieu shares many affinities with the liberatory aims of radical structuralism as is perhaps the most vividly seen through his later critique of free-market politics (Bourdieu 1998, 2003).

However, neither of these approaches is generally considered to focus on change, *per se*. In fact, the opposite is true: both have been considered to emphasise how the structures reinforce the status quo. To understand this contradiction - analysing societal transformation through theories which ostensibly seem to highlight the unchanging nature of the society - there is a need to delve further into detail regarding these two schools of thought before exploring the individual concepts utilised. In addition, it is necessary to distinguish radical structuralism from critical theory, and to explore the linkages between radical structuralism and another bourgeoning stream of research, that of Transformative Consumer Research (TCR, e.g. Mick 2006, Tadajewski et al. 2014).

2.1 Conceptualising change in radical structuralism and Bourdieusian analysis

While mainstream consumer research tends to be positivistic in nature in that it assumes that a single, objective reality exists independently of what individuals perceive, much of the research within CCT is interpretative. This means that reality is seen as socially constructed (see Hudson & Ozanne 1988, Burrell & Morgan 1979). Leading from this, the aim of positivistic research is explanation of the phenomena as it is seen as being subsumed under general laws which allow

for prediction of cause-effect relationships. By contrast, interpretive research aims for understanding of the phenomena via its interpretation (Murray & Ozanne 1991, Hudson & Ozanne 1988). While the fourth and final article can be classified as interpretive research, the first three essays diverge from the main body of CCT research. Instead, the stance taken here is that of radical structuralism, which instead of mere explanation or understanding, ultimately aims for emancipation.

Like critical theory, radical structuralism traces its origins to the writings of Karl Marx. In particular, as Tadajewski et al. (2014) explain, radical structuralism reflects the later work of Karl Marx in his emphasis on the material, economic base of society. Thus, radical structuralists are interested in studying the "patterns and regularities" (Burrell & Morgan 1979), or structures, which are the products of history, power relations and ideology. These structures reflect the values and ideals of a dominant class. Thus, they serve to uphold the status quo so that the dominant class continues to benefit from extant economic relations by taking advantage of resource control and the distribution of property ownership.

As radical structuralism traces its origins to Marx, it also has close affinities with critical theory, or what Tadajewski et al. (2014) call radical humanism. Following from this, the two streams of literature have many similarities. In particular, both focus on the critique of the society by aiming to expose the dominating and constraining structures in order to achieve change for a more equitable and just society (e.g. Burrell & Morgan 1979, Hetrick & Lozada 1994, Murray & Ozanne 1991, Tadajewski et al. 2014).

However, there are some important differences in the assumptions the two schools of thought make, as explained by Tadajewski et al. (2014). Particularly, while critical theorists see the reality as socially constructed, radical structuralists make the ontological assumption that the world has a real existence outside of human consciousness. Therefore, it is more committed to realism and positivism, and thus the research is also more guided by attempts to explain rather than to understand phenomena. In a similar vein, while critical theorists devote attention to the lived experience of human beings and the idea that people recreate the world through their everyday practices, radical structuralists displace human agency from their analyses. Furthermore, when human agency is discussed, it is viewed in deterministic terms. Instead, precedence is given to the historically emergent institutions and the economic and cultural systems. Thus, the focus for radical structuralists is on the structures but also on their critique.

Here, it is also prudent to note that, due to these strong affinities, critical theory is often used as a more well-known, umbrella term for neo-Marxist research (see

e.g. Murray & Ozanne 1991, Arnold & Fischer 1994, see also Hetrick & Lozada 1994). Indeed, in the first essay, I also use the term critical theory (see Essay I). However, the first article in fact follows the basic ontological assumptions of radical structuralism, instead of radical humanism. Thus, despite this term in the published article, the essay is an example of the radical structuralist tradition.

If it is the critique of the society which often confuses critical theory with radical structuralism, it is also a clear link to what has become known as Transformative Consumer Research (TCR). While interest in issues such as social marketing had increased, it was Mick (2006) who can be seen as laying the foundation for TCR literature. Within this stream of research, the aim is to conduct research which "strive[s] to respect, uphold, and improve life in relation to the myriad conditions, demands, potentialities, and effects of consumption exploring topics such as vulnerable consumer groups..., tobacco, alcohol, and drug consumption, gambling, obesity, and environmentally protective behaviors" (Mick 2006: 2). These aims fit in very well with the purpose of this thesis, which ultimately aims to legitimise veganism as both a diet as well as a moral ethos which affects all walks of life.

Similarly, as Tadajewski et al. (2014) argue, the TCR ethos also links very well with radical structuralism. In fact, in their review of the history and current state of TCR research, they promote "Critical Tranformative Marketing Research", which emphasises the role of both critical theory and radical structuralism in TCR in order to explore how consumers are often manipulated by dominant interests and structures. Nevertheless, they also note that particularly the radical structuralism perspective emphasises that social change is a very difficult task (see also Hetrick & Lozada 1994). The reason for this is that true emancipation and change would involve contesting the existing organisation of society and the interests of the powerful groups. These are, however, difficult to detect due to the fact that their status has become accepted and natural. Hence, whilst radical structuralism emphasises that there are certain structures which tend to uphold status quo and inhibit true change, the aim is to analyse these structures to enable change for the good of the commons.

Exploring these social structures and processes, which inhibit true social change whilst turning sustainable consumption and veganism from a moral ethos into apolitical fashion trend, is thus the aim of the first three articles which all are informed by radical structuralism. However, it is prudent to note here that the term "apolitical" refers to the implied motivations of the new vegans in that the motivations are guided by obligation to self instead of others (Johnston 2008), rather than some inherently apolitical nature of this form of consumption.

Indeed, radical structuralists are the first to emphasise the ideological underpinnings of all consumption activities as this is where the societal power inequalities manifest themselves. Indeed, these ideological forces are explored in more detail particularly in the second essay. Furthermore, it is worth distinguishing between moral ethos and ideology. Thus, what I perceive as a moral ethos is the personal moral code of conduct which guides the ethically and environmentally informed vegans, whereas ideological forces are the macro level system of ideas which are mainly controlled by the dominant classes and which guide and structure how the society operates. Again, however, as the research is guided by radical structuralism rather than radical humanism, the focus of attention in this thesis is on the structural and ideological forces, rather than how the consumption phenomenon is experienced by the vegans. Nevertheless, I use these terms to highlight the changing nature of how veganism, and sustainable consumption all in all, are perceived and promoted by the mainstream media.

Conversely, in the fourth and final essay, I utilise Bourdieu's field theory. As noted above, as radical structuralism emphasises the macro level structures which protect status quo, this leads to a very deterministic perspective and a pessimistic view on the possibilities for societal transformation. Instead, Bourdieu attempts to find a more balanced point between structure and the agency of the individual consumers (cf. Lewin's [1951] field theory which arises from positivistic, psychological research) and, thereby, allows for a more nuanced understanding of how societal change could be possible.

Bourdieusian literature thus argues that while the consumer perceives his or her actions, desires and intentions as arising from themselves, the drivers of consumption originate to a large extent in cultural, societal, economic and political conditions (Askegaard & Linnet 2011). Consumers are, therefore, seen as possessing an embodied, pre-reflective competence in how to behave within the surrounding social structures. These competences arise from being socialised within these structures (Askegaard & Linnet 2011). However, these principles or dispositions are not rules through which the social structure strictly determines behaviour (Trigg 2001). Structure influences human behaviour, but humans are capable of changing the social structures they inhabit. Change, however, is difficult as individuals are unconscious of the structures which guide them (Askegaard & Linnet 2011).

Particularly in his early writing Bourdieu would then, for instance, highlight the concept of habitus. Here, habitus can be seen as a system of dispositions of which we are largely unconscious, which develop through socialisation, education and upbringing and which are seen as relating to a class position (Bourdieu 1984).

Thus, the preferences of the working-class (e.g. utility) differ from those of the bourgeois (e.g. luxury; see also Holt 1998). As these competences and dispositions in consumption arise from social structures within which consumers are socialised, and as individuals are unconscious of the structures which guide them (Askegaard & Linnet 2011), these structures tend to inhibit change.

Indeed, Bourdieu subsequently became the target of criticism that his theorisations explain how social structures and social stratifications are reproduced but seemed unable to explain change (Grenfell 2014). This problem is also noticeable in studies which have aimed to utilise traditional Bourdieusian analysis to understand the rise of sustainable consumption. For instance, whilst Carfagna et al. (2014) show that the consumption patterns have changed over time so that they are now more favourable for ethical consumption, they fail to explain how and why this change has taken place. I argue that the reason for this lies in their reliance on Bourdieu's earlier writing and in their failure to approach the issue from a dynamic point of view. Instead, in the fourth and final essay, I utilise Bourdieu's so-called field theory. This allows for a more nuanced and dynamic analysis of the consumption patterns within a society.

Thus, neither approach has traditionally been associated with societal change, *per se*, as they emphasise the structures which tend to inhibit change. Nevertheless, both schools of thought contain seeds of change within them. Next, it is then necessary to dig deeper into the theoretical concepts and theories utilised in the four essays.

2.2 "Propaganda model"

The first article focuses on how the institutional operations of media organisations affect media content. In particular, the classic study of Herman and Chomsky (1988, for a critical review see Klaehn 2002), *Manufacturing Consent*, is used to tie the media content to the institutional processes of media organisations. The so-called Propaganda model, proposed by Herman and Chomsky (1988), then is "an institutional critique of mass media" (Klaehn 2002: 170) which demonstrates the media's dependence on sources of funds and power. The model argues that instead of mass media being a "watchdog" or a neutral conduit of news regarding common issues, mass media is a tool in the hands of economic and political elites (Poberezhskaya 2016). However, instead of direct, coercive censorship, the power is subtle and routinised so that it makes it natural for the reporters to cover a story in a particular way (Herman & Chomsky 1988).

These premises underlining the Propaganda model align it very well with radical structuralism (see Poberezhskaya 2016).

Previously this model has been applied to various contexts, for instance, from US foreign policy (Herring & Robinson 2003) to Hollywood (Alford 2009), and from European economic crisis (Mercille 2015) to the news media in People's Republic of China (Hearns-Branaman 2009). However, out of this body of literature, perhaps the most relevant for this study is that of Poberezhskaya (2016). In her study, she uses the Propaganda model to highlight the state's influence on how climate change is covered in Russian media. In fact, she goes as far as to refer to the coverage as state propaganda.

In contrast, the contribution of this essay is to bring the profit-making aims of media institutions into the conversation about sustainable consumption. The essay then shows why media has a vested interest in both hyping up and destroying the trend of sustainable consumption. Thus, again, the so-called Propaganda model has not been designed to understand change in media framing – on the contrary, it highlights the fact that social structures inhibit change in order to protect status quo. Nevertheless, I use the model here to explain why some moderate, superficial concessions are first given by the media but why the media framing will ultimately revert back to the status quo.

In their model, Herman and Chomsky (1988) then argue that there are five filters which affect the media content. The first one of these, the profit-making filter (Herman & Chomsky 1988), argues that the media content is biased as to protect the interests of the corporation. Media organisations are, for instance, often a part of larger corporations. Therefore, it is unlikely to release negative reports on other companies owned by the same mother corporation. Secondly, the funding filter (Herman & Chomsky 1988) argues that media relies on advertisers for their funding but, in order to attract advertisers, they need a sizeable audience of the right kind. This, in fact, makes the audience the commodity sold instead of the media content itself. Hence, the content will take any form necessary to attract the audience, thus questioning the notion of media being a neutral conduit of news.

Thirdly, the filter "anti-communism", which I, following Chomsky (1998), call "otherness" (see Klaehn 2002), argues that the media promotes the idea that enemies (e.g. here, the anti-consumption movement) are attacking the society. In this way, the audiences are encouraged to protect the dominant ideology of free capitalist markets. Fourthly, the filter "sourcing" means that media forms a symbiotic relationship with its trusted sources out of economic necessity and reciprocity of interest (Herman & Chomsky 1988). Good sources, for instance,

provide a steady stream of news which are guaranteed to interest the audience. In this article, I argue that, especially for lifestyle media, celebrities are such sources. Media rely on celebrities to sell the magazines whilst celebrities rely on lifestyle media to build their brands thus forming a symbiotic relationship. This relationship is also highlighted particularly in the second essay.

Finally, "flak" means that dominant social institutions, particularly the state, possess the power to pressure media to play a propagandistic role in society (Herman & Chomsky 1988). Thus, flak refers to negative responses to a media statement or programme. Flak was not considered the most relevant for the current study (for the role of flak in climate change reporting, see Poberezhskaya 2016), as it is likely that this kind of a state pressure would be a stronger force for news organisations, rather than light-hearted lifestyle magazines. Nonetheless, it would be naïve to assume that ideological issues would not play their part, and they are touched upon in the first essay, and then elaborated on more thoroughly particularly in the second essay. Hence, as these two essays are brought together in the final framework in Chapter 5.1.1., the role of flak is accounted for but in a more nuanced fashion. Thus, it is now time to turn to the second essay.

2.3 Media and celebrities in destigmatisation

The second essay continues to explore why has a marginalised form of consumption, particularly veganism, become mainstream and even fashionable. In contrast with the first essay, however, the theoretical concept utilised here is that of destigmatisation. The essay contributes to destigmatisation literature by highlighting the role of the symbiotic relationship between celebrities and the media in destigmatisation. This builds on the first essay in that here I also explore the wider media context. This reveals that it is particularly in conjunction with the wider macro level ideologies, and national and organisational contexts which makes the celebrity trend so potent at this particular time. In this way, the paper also aims to respond to the call by Link and Phelan (2001) who argue that stigma research should be multilevel as well as multifaceted to address the many mechanisms of stigmatisation. In particular, as per the recommendations of Scrambler (2006), this essay builds sociological theory on destigmatisation which emphasises the causal importance of social structures for grasping stigma relations. Furthermore, the essay builds theory which goes beyond the simple dichotomy of deviance/normalcy.

The approach taken to destigmatisation in the second essay is also well aligned with radical structuralism. Thus, whilst the main body of stigma research has

tended to be cognitive or constructionist in nature (D'Angelo 2002), I mainly follow Link and Phelan's (2001) conceptualisation of stigma. The reason for this is that their definition emphasises the ways in which power shapes the distribution of stigma (see also Scrambler 2006). According to Link and Phelan (2001), then, a stigma is a mark that links a person to undesirable characteristics or stereotypes, it divides groups of people into Us and Them, and leads to discrimination. Furthermore, this process is entirely contingent on access to social, economic, and political power. This power allows the identification of difference, the construction of stereotypes, the separation of labelled persons into distinct categories, and the full execution of disapproval, rejection, exclusion, and discrimination. This is consistent with radical structuralism because, as explained earlier, the school of thought argues that the more powerful sectors may reproduce society in a way that solidifies their dominance and protects the status quo in their own favour (Tadajewski et al. 2014).

Conversely, destigmatisation is taken to mean the normalisation and acceptance of previously stigmatised groups by lessening or neutralising the negative stereotypes related to the Other, and decreasing the degree of separation between Us and Them. This assumption is so ingrained that destigmatisation is generally not even defined in destigmatisation literature but is made explicit by using binaries which equate stigma with deviancy and destigmatisation with normality (e.g. Goffman 1963, Warren 1980). Stigma therefore need not be permanent but the changes in it do reflect the interests of the powerful.

However, most research on stigma has thus far focused on the coping strategies used to deal with the negative effects of stigma (e.g. Adkins & Ozanne 2005, Argo & Main 2008, Henry & Caldwell 2006, Tepper 1994), instead of the destigmatisation process. When destigmatisation has been addressed, the focus has often been on the role of education and the promotion of contact (e.g. Corrigan & Penn 1999). These are thought to improve knowledge of and attitudes towards the stigmatised groups in order to negate the stigma. Importantly, Heijnders and Van Der Meij (2006), for instance, suggest that this contact can also be indirect, such as through the media. Furthermore, as Dalal (2006) argues, attitudes are social and learnt, and as there are pressures towards uniformity, attitude change would then be rooted in the process of communication, for instance, through mass media.

Media has thus been assumed to have an important role in the (de)stigmatisation of a phenomenon (Stout et al. 2004, Wahl 1992). The reason for this is that it has extensive power in promoting and creating stereotypes. Furthermore, through evocative language, metaphors and framing, it can attach deep felt emotions to

issues. To be more specific, Humphreys (2010), for instance, argues that newspaper journalism shapes consumer perceptions by selecting the information, examples and sources to be included in the narrative, and by representing the object as (in)congruent with the prevalent cultural norms. Media thus has the power to represent it either as stigmatised or destigmatised, and media is shown to have an effect on public attitudes (e.g. Gamson & Modigliani 1989, Humphreys & LaTour 2013, Humphreys & Thompson 2014).

I argue that celebrities also work as important allies in this process. Indeed, their symbiotic relationship is built in to the very definition of celebrities. Boorstin (1961: 57), for instance, simply defines celebrities by their "well-knownness", which arises from their visibility in the media (see also celebrity capital in Driessens 2013a). Thus, celebrities are to a large extent created by the media and the messages from and about celebrities are delivered to the public via the media (e.g. Boorstin 1961: 61, Cocker et al. 2015, Fraser & Brown 2002, Kerrigan et al. 2011). In fact, to a large extent, celebrities rely on media to increase not only their visibility, but also their status and earning power. As Kerrigan et al. (2011: 1505) argue, celebrities carefully construct "celebrity activity and stage celebrity spectacle, which makes for media product." Thus, they state that "Celebrity, spectacle, and media interests live in entangled relation, feeding off and energising one another symbiotically. Celebrity culture makes news." Indeed, it may well be that, a celebrity retains his or her status only as far as he or she is able to maintain an interesting, novel and exciting narrative as judged by the media, and ultimately, the audiences (Cashmore 2010). Thus, this relationship is mutually beneficial: while celebrities rely on media to build their brands, the media, in turn, uses celebrities to increase the interest of the readers and, thus, higher sales, as was also argued through the sourcing filter in the first essay. It is this celebrity—media formation upon which I focus on in the second essay as the understanding of it seems lacking in extant destigmatisation literature.

This is rather curious given that celebrities often do become involved in stigma relations. One of the most overt ways in which this can occur is if a celebrity becomes the spokesperson or the face of a stigmatised group. One recent example of this is Caitlyn Jenner's transition. Lovelock (2016) notes that the Anglo-American media's treatment of transgender women used to consist of a rhetoric of deviance and perversion, in other words, stigmatising discourse. However, in 2015, transgender women gained a new spokesperson. This is when the Olympic athlete and reality television star formerly known as Bruce Jenner officially confirmed, in a highly public manner, that she identified as a transgender woman (Lovelock 2016). While the visibility of transgender people in mainstream media had been steadily increasing and had become more positive since the mid-2000s

(Lovelock 2016), Jenner arguably raised the profile and garnered a great deal more sympathy and understanding for transgender women from the general public.

The Jenner case is thus an instance where a celebrity has helped to increase the acceptability of a stigmatised group. In the case of veganism, however, the role of celebrities is not limited to attempts to neutralise the group or practice previously seen as deviant. Instead, the essay shows that the celebrity involvement in stigma relations can be more indirect and involve the creation of a celebrity trend through the appropriation of an aspect of veganism, the plant-based diet. This celebrity trend is then subsequently transformed into a consumption trend for the masses. The process by which this transformation takes place is explored in more detail in the last two essays.

2.4 Co-optation theory and celebritisation

The third essay focuses on the process by which the image of veganism has been transformed by utilising the concept of co-optation. In the process, co-optation theory is further developed in the light of celebritisation and more general celebrity involvement.

The term co-optation can be seen to have been coined by Herbert Marcuse (1969), a philosopher and sociologist associated with the Frankfurt School, and therefore its origins also have close ties with the neo-Marxist tradition of radical structuralism (Tadajewski et al. 2014). In its current usage, co-optation is based on the premise that countercultures represent "symbolic challenges to a [dominant] symbolic order" (Hebdige 1979: 92) which threaten the status quo. In order to neutralise this threat, the dominant culture responds by converting these expressions of countercultural opposition into commodified forms which can be cut off from their radical roots (Thompson & Coskuner-Balli 2007). Therefore, co-optation can be defined as the process by which a more powerful group subsumes a weaker or a challenging group by attempting to replicate the aspects that they find appealing without adopting the full programme or ideals thus protecting the status quo. In the field of consumer research, co-optation theory (Frank 1997, Heath & Potter 2004, Thompson & Coskuner-Balli 2007) then argues that market forces will eventually internalise and commodify radical and marginal consumption phenomena whereby they are transformed into "a constellation of trendy commodities and depoliticized fashion styles" (Thompson & Coskuner-Balli 2007: 136).

However, co-optation research tends to focus more on understanding how a subcultural group resists and negotiates mainstreaming (Sandikci & Ger 2010, e.g. Bengtsson et al. 2005, Kozinets 2001, Thompson & Coskuner-Balli 2007, Schiele & Venkatesh 2016, Cronin et al. 2014) rather than how co-optation actually happens. Nevertheless, there are some exceptions to this rule. Hebdige (1979), for instance, links youth subcultures with class divisions within the British society. Similarly, Frank (1997) argues that the quest for authenticity was created by the marketing industry (cf. Binkley 2003). However, as these studies focus on the role of the marketers, they lose sight of an important intermediary – the news media. Particularly in Frank's (1997) conceptualization, the role of media is limited to it being the site of advertising. In addition, interest in the role of celebrities in the co-optation process has been rather cursory. In her recent book, Zeisler (2016) does account for the role of celebrities, such as Emma Watson and Beyoncé in her exploration of the rise of feminism. However, she also essentially concludes that market feminism has become yet another marketing gimmick created by advertisers, and fails to analyse the role of celebrities in detail. Conversely, the role of celebrities is the focus of this essay.

While not touching upon the role of media or celebrities, an important addition to extant literature is nonetheless Coy and Hedeen's (2005) study. It explores co-optation in the context of community mediation in the United States. The strength of their study arises from the fact that they present a detailed four-stage model of how legitimisation attempts end in co-optation. In contrast with, for instance, Frank's (1997) or Zeisler's (2016) analyses, which try to tackle large ideological movements, such as the quest for authenticity or feminism, they take a more focused viewpoint. Thus, by focusing on a fairly contained and recent phenomenon, they are able to provide greater understanding of the specific events, particular processes, and the individual decisions which have led to the co-optation of community mediation.

In their model, Stage 1 then involves inception of the countermovement which demands change and which may establish alternative institutions. Due to this pressure, the vested interests perceive a need for reform. This perceived need for change then leads to Stage 2, which involves the appropriation of the language and technique of the challenging movement by the vested interests. In the process, the values of the countermovement are, however, dismissed and the vested interests redefine the countermovement's terms, some of which are also applied to antithetical practices.

In particular, Coy and Hedeen (2005) show that there are three major tactics which are used by the co-opting agents in this stage. These are channeling,

inclusion or participation, and salience control. By channeling Coy and Hedeen (2005) mean efforts to undermine and redirect the challenging movement toward more modest reforms by formalising communications and negotiations into channels that are controlled by the vested interests. The countermovement's representatives may also be included in the process of design and implementation of new policies, while the substantive power still continues to be withheld. Finally, salience control, Coy and Hedeen (2005) argue, is usually achieved as a result of the previous two tactics. It refers to the appeasement of the countermovement over critical issues by making it appear that such concerns are being adequately addressed and, hence, no longer need to be a top priority for the movement. These concerns then decrease in priority, even though they have not, in fact, been resolved.

Furthermore, in Stage 3, there is an assimilation of challenging movement's leaders and participants as the vested interests start to develop parallel operations on their own terms and draw some of the leaders from the countermovement to support the new operations. However, this leads to a transformation of the programme goals as the vested interests are able to set the priorities and goals. Countermovement then restructures to meet the goals of the vested interests. Finally, Stage 4 involves regulation of the newly legitimised processes and the countermovement's response to these changes. The vested interests routinise, standardise and regulate the new practices, and the newly institutionalised practice becomes the norm. In response to this co-optation, however, Coy and Hedeen (2005) note that the remaining countermovement then develops institutions to support, maintain and protect its own goals.

The focused and detailed approach adopted by Coy and Hedeen (2005) is laudable, and in this essay the aim is similar. The context of Coy and Hedeen's (2005) study, however, is very different in that what they describe is a highly regulated and codified context: the justice system. Conversely, the context of consumer culture and veganism as a movement is very fluid. There are no all governing vested interests, for instance, which would dictate, regulate and codify the meanings related to veganism. Neither are there codified channels through which negotiations would take place, even though media does act as a kind of nexus for these conversations, and as a platform on which the battle for and against social change is fought (Castells 2009). Instead, these meanings arise from a conversation between different movements, actors and interests, albeit that some of them have more power to define the terms. From this arises another important caveat of Coy and Hedeen's (2005) model when applied to a consumption context: they consider the co-optation process as a simple dichotomy between two opposing views without considering the involvement of

other actors. Thus, the model requires modification in order to apply to the consumption context.

Therefore, one important way in which I, along with my co-author, extend Coy and Hedeen's (2005) stage model is that we account for the role of different actors in the process. In this context, the political discourse surrounding climate change as well as celebrities appear as the key actors driving the changes in the framing of veganism. In particular, the novel stage model which we develop in this essay explores the concurrent processes of celebritisation of a parallel movement (environmentalism) and the co-optation of veganism.

What we mean by celebritisation here is a mediatised (Driessens 2013b), cultural process whereby the boundaries of different spheres of life begin to blur. As Lewis (2010) explains, traditionally, scientific experts and politicians, on the one hand, and celebrities, on the other, have been thought of as existing in markedly different spheres of public life and have been linked to very different sets of values and logics. Experts are associated with high culture and rational knowledge, whereas celebrities tend to be linked with popular and consumer culture. In this public sphere, entertainment is privileged over information and affect over meaning. Yet, due to celebritisation, the line between the state and commercial/popular culture has become increasingly difficult to draw as the popular media sphere becomes the pre-eminent site for questions of politics and citizenship (Lewis 2010). Traditional figures of authority and expertise have then found themselves competing for media airtime with a range of other figures who have as much or more authority within the media sphere (Lewis 2010). This also means that qualitatively politics becomes increasingly personified and emotionalised (cf. Driessens 2013b) instead of "hard facts".

Therefore, not only are celebrities influential in the realm of consumption culture, they have also become increasingly influential from a political point of view (e.g. Lewis 2010, Driessens 2013b, Boykoff & Goodman 2009) often contributing to the merging of these two worlds so that sustainability, for instance, becomes commodified through the purchase decisions of the individual (see Boykoff et al. 2010, Meyer & Gamson 1995). In terms of Johnston (2008), we then understand celebritisation as moving away from political discourse aimed at obligation to commons to promoting the "citizen-consumer" hybrid. This hybrid, Johnston (2008) argues, implies a social practice – "voting with your dollar" – that can satisfy competing ideologies of consumerism (an idea rooted in individual self-interest) and citizenship (an idea rooted in collective responsibility to a social and ecological commons).

However, whilst celebritisation refers to active involvement by the celebrities in a societal cause, celebrities can also become involved in a more indirect way, as has already been acknowledged in the previous essays. We call this celebrity involvement to separate it from celebritisation, which has clear political motivations. This celebrity involvement takes place through their role as experts in health (Hoffman & Tan 2013), lifestyle (Lewis 2007, 2010) and consumption (Hackley & Hackley 2015). This role is assigned to them by the media (Hackley & Hackley 2015) and is leveraged, for instance, in celebrity endorsement in advertising (see Erdogan [1999] for a review) which will be elaborated on in the final essay.

In contrast with the citizen-consumer hybrid, then, the focus here moves even more markedly away from any remnants of motivations towards the good of the commons. Instead, the emphasis here is on the obligation to oneself (Johnston 2008). Hence, we argue that while celebritisation is a step in this direction and leaves the movement open for co-optation, the move to obligation to oneself is the point where co-optation has been completed.

2.5 Bourdieu's field theory and celebrity endorsement

In the fourth and final essay, I approach the phenomenon from a different angle. As was noted above, the reason for this is that radical structuralism tends to be quite deterministic and affords limited agency to consumers. Instead, the fourth essay utilises Bourdieusian analysis which allows for a more balanced understanding of how societal change could be possible. More specifically, I construct a theoretical, Bourdieusian framework for the role of media meta-capital and celebrity influence in the rise of veganism. I contrast this framework with traditional celebrity endorsement models (see Erdogan [1999] for a review) which have been created in order to enhance advertising effectiveness. Before elaborating on Bourdieu's field theory, it is therefore prudent to outline the tradition of celebrity endorsement.

Within this body of literature, one of the most influential models is McCracken's (1989) meaning transfer model of celebrity endorsement which is based on the idea that celebrities have a shared cultural significance in the eyes of consumers. The meanings attached to the celebrities are formed in the roles they become known for, for instance, through typecasting. This meaning is transferred onto the product when the celebrity endorses it in an advertisement. In the final stage, as the consumer consumes the product, the meaning moves from the product onto the consumer's own construction of the self. McCracken (1989) thus

proposed that the effectiveness of a celebrity is determined by the cultural meanings with which they are endowed.

Another strand of research focuses on the identification with the celebrity, which Basil (1996) also argues to be linked with McCracken's (1989) model in that the greater the identification, the more likely it is that the viewer will see important attributes in the celebrity. Strong levels of identification are the result of an ongoing relationship with that celebrity, and high levels of identification, in turn, are more likely to result in the adoption of thoughts, feelings, and behaviours advocated by that celebrity (Basil 1996).

However, there are problems with applying both of these strands of research into the current context. Firstly, it is questionable whether models developed for the context of advertising effectiveness are enough to capture the myriad of ways in which celebrities directly and indirectly endorse products, brands, consumption practices and causes (see also Davies & Slater 2015). Secondly, focusing on identification with the celebrity seems to divert attention to fandom and to the micro level. However, celebrity influence also extends beyond those individuals who identify themselves as fans or identify themselves with the celebrity in a meaningful way.

Furthermore, Holt (1997b) argues that the problem with object signification models such as the one proposed by McCracken (1989), is that it does not allow for the possibility that consumers may vary in terms of how they understand and use consumption objects. Therefore, they imply that there is a one-to-one correspondence between consumption objects and social meanings. Recognising this problem with McCracken's (1989) conceptualisation, Banister and Cocker (2014) in fact then extend the original meaning transfer model by trying to understand consumers as co-creators of meaning. However, this kind of an approach again focuses the attention on the micro level and ignores the structures which guide consumers (for critique see Holt 1997b). Similarly to Askegaard and Linnet (2011), I argue this to be highly problematic.

Departing from this tradition, in this essay, I suggest a Bourdieusian framework. In fact, Bourdieusian analysis has already been harnessed in an attempted to explain celebrity emulation, though mainly in passing. Hackley and Hackley (2015), for instance, argue that celebrities shape and control mass consumer tastes as, in the media, celebrities are portrayed as experts in consumption and, hence, act as sources of cultural capital for consumers who are able to mimic their consumption styles.

However, this interpretation is reminiscent of a Veblenian "trickle down" models of status consumption (see also Trigg 2001, Üstüner & Holt 2010). Veblen (1899/1970) famously theorised about conspicuous consumption and showed how the wealthy use expensive goods and services as pecuniary symbols. Simmel (1904/1957) further argued that the desire for these status symbols then trickles down the class hierarchy as each class seeks to emulate the class above. However, there are many problems with such simplistic explanations. Firstly, these kinds of accounts seem to imply that all audiences are equally susceptible to celebrity emulation. In practice, for instance, Üstüner and Holt (2010) argue that, at least in the context of less industrialised countries, it is the consumers of low cultural capital who are more susceptible to celebrity emulation. Conversely, Tudor (1974) argues that it is particularly the young who practice celebrity imitation. Therefore, a more nuanced account of this process seems necessary. More importantly, as Holt (1997a) argues, to reduce Bourdieu's writings to a simple Veblenian emulation is to misunderstand his theory.

Similarly, Cocker et al. (2015) investigate how celebrity myths are produced and consumed. They draw attention to the role of social class in celebrity myths. However, while they refer to Bourdieu's (1984) work, their understanding of what drives consumers and the role of structures is more conscious and active than what Bourdieu's theory suggests (see Askegaard & Linnet 2011). Instead, they place more emphasis on active working of the identity, and class, by the consumers through the celebrity myths. In this way, they grant the consumers a great deal of agency and, again, draw attention to the micro level.

In addition, in the extant literature, the role of media as an intermediary is to a large extent forgotten. This seems to be a big omission given that celebrities are to a large extent created by the media and it mediates the messages from celebrities to the public (e.g. Boorstin 1961: 61, Fraser & Brown 2002, Kerrigan et al. 2011). For instance, even though Cocker et al. (2015) acknowledge that media has an important role of circulating the meanings related to a celebrity, they focus more on how the celebrity responds to the media portrayal and how the celebrity actively creates his or her identity in and through the media. Hence, their study draws attention to the celebrity identity or brand creation, and places less emphasis on how exactly the meanings circulate in different news outlets and, thus, across different classes.

The framework developed in this final essay then departs from these streams of literature in several ways. Firstly, the poststructuralist approach allows for the same consumption object or practice to take on different meanings for different people but also that these meanings are directed, though not dictated, by

structures. In other words, consumption patterns are expressed through regularities in consumption practices rather than in consumer objects. This allows veganism to be practiced in different ways by different groups of people or, to be more exact, within different taste regimes. These taste regimes, as defined by Arsel and Bean (2013), are discursively constructed normative systems which are perpetuated by marketplace institutions such as magazines and websites. Secondly, in contrast with extant literature, media is also at the core of this essay. Thus, this paper explores how celebrities, via the media, contribute to a change in taste regimes. Therefore, it is now necessary to delve deeper into Bourdieu's theories.

To start with, one key concept for Bourdieu (1984) is capital, which according to him consists of endowments which are accumulated through upbringing and over the course of one's lifetime, and it creates and upholds inequalities in the social structure. Bourdieu divides this capital into four main categories: economic capital (financial resources), social capital (social networks), symbolic capital (legitimate recognition by other agents in a social field), and, finally, cultural capital (Driessens 2013a, Shilling 1991). Cultural capital can be thought of as a stock of dispositions, skills, sensibilities and embodied knowledge which is fostered systematically through upbringing (Holt 1997a). In addition, taste is intrinsically linked to the concept of cultural capital. According to Bourdieu (1984), taste is a mechanism through which individuals judge, classify and relate to consumption objects. Taste is then a set of preferences that hinges on cultural capital (Arsel & Bean 2013).

These structural forces structure consumption so that the consumption patterns of consumers with high levels of cultural capital (HCC) differ from those of consumers with low levels of cultural capital (LCC, Holt 1997a). Extant literature, such as Carfagna et al. (2014), also shows that consumption patterns do change over time. Crucially, however, Carfagna et al. (2014), for instance, fail to explain how and why this change has taken place. Similarly, Elliott (2013) establishes a link between an emerging taste for green products and HCC consumers. However, while she notes that these symbolic meanings are historically emergent and that it takes time for the meanings to emerge and settle, she does not delve deeper into how this happens. Although a partial explanation, I argue that celebrities and the media have had a major impact in these new meanings regarding veganism to develop.

In addition, in focusing on a dichotomy of consumers with high or low cultural capital, the studies seem to classify consumers as either "have's or have-not's". In doing so, particularly Carfagna et al. (2014) and Elliott (2013) seem to ignore a

major part of Bourdieu's later writing, in which he, for instance, highlights the concept of the field. A field, for Bourdieu, is a historical social arena in which agents compete for position and for various types of capital. In order to be successful at a field, one must have a sense for the "game" in this particular field (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992). Thus, the concept of field highlights the different resources required to be successful in a particular section of the society (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992). The concept of the field allows for a more dynamic analysis of the emergence of new meanings and consumption patterns in contrast with Bourdieu's earlier writing which highlights more stable social stratification (Grenfell 2014).

In this essay, I focus particularly on the field of consumption which I see as consisting of subfields with their own distinctive value systems, normative discourses, modes of practice, and status systems (Arsel & Thompson 2011). This also means that cultural capital needs to be understood in a more contextualised fashion. Thus, while a generalised Bourdieusian capital determines one's status in the broader societal hierarchy, field-dependent capital is at play within specific fields of consumption (Arsel & Thompson 2011).

Furthermore, if capital is field-specific, and if taste hinges on cultural capital, this means that taste is field-specific as well. It is, in fact, in taste communities or taste regimes that consumers learn to calibrate their tastes to a field, community, or group with which they identify (McQuarrie et al. 2013). As noted above, taste regimes, as defined by Arsel and Bean (2013), then are discursively constructed normative systems which are perpetuated by marketplace institutions such as magazines and websites. While Arsel and Bean's (2013) analysis highlights how media have practical implications for the practices of the consumers within a particular taste regime, what Couldry's (2003) concept of media meta-capital emphasises is how media power extends across different fields and, hence, can lead to societal level change. Thus, in this essay, I propose the concept of media meta-capital as the missing link between celebrities and changes in consumption patterns.

This essay is conceptual in nature but these propositions, along with a more detailed exploration of the concept of media meta-capital, are discussed through the case of the so-called Beyoncé Diet. The resulting conceptual framework is elaborated on in more detail in Chapter 4, along with the summaries of the three empirical essays. Before proceeding with the discussion of the four essays, however, it is first is necessary to explore the methodology of the three empirical essays.

3 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This thesis consists of four essays. The last one of these is a theoretical, conceptual essay, whereas the other three studies are based on frame analysis informed by radical structuralism. In this chapter, I will therefore focus on the methodologies of the first three essays. First, however, it is necessary to reiterate the view this thesis takes towards media, as it is such a central theme and actor in all essays.

Thus, particularly in the empirical essays informed by radical structuralism, I do not merely use media analysis as a means of an easy access to macro level, historical data (cf. e.g. Humphreys 2010a, b). Instead, media is also considered to be an actor in its own right, and is not considered to be a neutral nexus of conversations. Instead, as Murray and Ozanne (1997) note, societal power tends to gather at the hands of those who have control over knowledge production and distribution. This brings attention to media's role as an actor in both enabling and constraining societal change. It is then seen as a powerful actor which is guided to a large extent by its profit-making logic, as was argued particularly in Chapter 2.2 in relation to the so-called Propaganda model. In addition, it is seen as a structural force which tends to support the status quo. This view of the media is also very much aligned with frame analysis informed by radical structuralism, which forms the methodology for the first three essays.

However, when following down the path of radical structuralism, there is also a danger of viewing the world as overly deterministic. Furthermore, there is a danger of tautology: the choice to focus on media can lead to the conclusion that media is indeed the driver of the change. Thus, it may be prudent to start the methodology section with an outline of my personal research process in order to illuminate the reasons for the methodological choices made along the way. I will then turn into a more detailed description of frame analysis, and the data. At the end of this chapter, I will also evaluate the quality of the findings.

3.1 Outline of the research process

The dissertation is the continuation of my Master's thesis (Lundahl 2012), where I explored the notion of organic food as status-enhancing and trendy form of consumption. My interest in the topic then led me to my employment at the Finnish Association for Environmental Education in 2011, where I became increasingly sensitised to both the environmental and ethical aspects of food

consumption. Along the way, I also became a vegetarian myself. Thus, when I started on this dissertation journey, I wanted to conduct research that had the potential to make the world a better place in some way, instead of serving managerial interests as such. The link to Transformative Consumer Research was thus easy to make. Continuing to follow down the path of "eco-chic" also seemed natural as both the mainstream media and the academic community showed interest in the issue.

However, I had also become increasingly skeptical of research which focused on the micro level and on the individual drivers of sustainable consumption. As was outlined before, despite decades of research, a magic formula which would make consumers consume more ethically is yet to be found. I also found the suggestion of turning sustainable consumption into a high-status trend troublesome from an ecological point of view, as was noted in Chapter 1.1 and is elaborated more in the first essay (see also Essay I).

In order to gain alternative perspectives on the issue, I then turned to media for new insights. The timing of this choice was fortuitous as this also happened to be the period when the media interest in both eco-chic and the celebrity green zeal was at a high, as will become more apparent during the discussion of the findings. The original aim of the first essay was then to understand the reason for the new-found status of sustainable consumption. Extant literature had already noted that lifestyle media has become littered with messages about sustainability (Lewis 2008, 2012). Furthermore, the battle for and against social change is fought in the public sphere, in other words, the media (Castells 2009, Habermas 1962). Therefore, I deemed it important to understand how sustainable consumption is currently being portrayed in lifestyle magazines.

However, the data of the first essay left me with a conundrum. As will be elaborated on in Chapter 3.3.1., the preliminary findings of the study led to surprising findings: while sustainable consumption did indeed enjoy high status early on, the media then turned against sustainability issues. In contrast with the extant literature on the high status of sustainable consumption, the data suggested that the interest in sustainability was short-lived. This led to the realisation that instead of there being something inherently status-enhancing in sustainable consumption, the data seemed to point to a fluctuating trend. In order to reconcile these insights, I then turned to media research informed by radical structuralism. Thus, this choice was again the result of both serendipity of timing as well as following a hermeneutic cycle between observations and theory, rather than driven by predetermined choice for radical structuralism and media critique. This finding also led me to explore the phenomenon in a more dynamic

fashion. Therefore, in the subsequent studies I aimed to conduct more longitudinal research.

Nevertheless, after the first essay, I was still wondering how to proceed with my research. Again, however, serendipity raised its head as, at the end of 2013, something which I never invisaged happened: Beyoncé went vegan. It was subsequent the media attention, which then drew my attention to the phenomenon. Thus, it was Beyoncé who made me switch focus from the overall trend of sustainable consumption to veganism. In addition, it drew my focus in ever more detail on celebrities, who by this time had flocked to join the movement of the plant-based diet. Following from this, I then focused on exploring both how and why celebrities had contributed to the rise of veganism and continued to utilise the insights from radical structuralism.

However, while radical structuralism has the power to highlight the societal structures which are often taken as given, it can lead to an overly deterministic and pessimistic view of the possibilities for change as was elaborated on in Chapter 2. In order to alleviate these concerns, I then decided to take a more nuanced approach for the fourth and final essay by following Bourdieusian analysis. In particular, as individual's choices in radical structuralism are generally deemed as determined by structures, it also tends to view the consumers or readers of media messages as homogeneous and passive dupes. In contrast, while the Bourdieusian viewpoint also confirms that structures influence consumers, it also highlights that consumers are heterogeneous and, to an extent, attach different meanings to the media messages. This provides a more balanced view of the phenomenon, and also allows for more managerial implications of the research.

It may be considered somewhat irreverent to conclude a doctoral dissertation on a conceptual paper. However, exploring the spread of messages through media meta-capital empirically would in itself no doubt be a research project of some years. While I aimed to base my conceptualisation on extant literature and a thorough theorisation, this nonetheless underlines the fact that there is still a great deal of research to be conducted to gain a more indepth understanding celebrities play in the society. Leaving the fourth essay aside for now, however, it is time to turn to a more detailed look at the methodologies in the first three essays which utilise frame analysis informed by radical structuralism.

3.2 Frame analysis informed by radical structuralism

As Vliegenthart and van Zoonen (2011) note, "framing" has become one of the buzz-words in mass communication research despite it not being ubiquitous in the field of consumer research. Frame analysis is also often associated with Goffman (1974), and much of frame analysis is either cognitive or, following Goffman, constructionist (D'Angelo 2002). However, frame analysis informed by radical structuralism departs from these traditions because, as Tuchman (1978) argues, Goffman does not adequately explain the ideological functions or institutional mechanisms of media. Therefore, for the first three essays, frame analysis informed by radical structuralism was used in an effort to bring the study of power back into frame analysis (see Vliegenthart & van Zoonen 2011).

I take the view, following Vliegenthart and van Zoonen (2011), that news frames are outcomes of social interactions between political and media actors and environments, and that these interactions are for the greater part routinised. The aim of frame analysis is then to analyse how news content promotes particular problem definitions but also to tie such problem definitions to an analysis of power. This kind of analysis requires a multilevel, sociological investigation into the organizational processes of news production, ideological leanings of the news organization, market constraints, differential power of social and political actors, and national and international cultures and structures (Vliegenthart & van Zoonen 2011). This conceptualisation of framing is in line with radical structuralism, and in practice requires the contextualisation of the frames using extant literature.

The reason for choosing frame analysis over, for instance, discourse analysis is then that frame analysis also investigates the processes of the news production and hence assumes a more active involvement on the part of the news organisation in the coverage of the issue (e.g. Tucker 1998). Thus, this kind of frame analysis also assumes that the representatives of the institution select some information and omit other points of view to support the status quo (D'Angelo 2002) and, overall, to provide maximum benefit to the organisation (Herman & Chomsky 1988).

In practice, frame analysis involves two steps. Firstly, it involves identifying clusters of messages which deploy similar rhetorical strategies (e.g. problem or issue definition, key words and images, sources and themes) which highlight and promote specific facts and interpretations (Entman 1993, Tucker 1998), for instance, of sustainable consumption or veganism. In other words, they select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a

communicating text, in order to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation or moral evaluation, and to offer specific solutions to a particular issue whilst directing attention away from other aspects (Entman 1993).

Conversely, the second step of frame analysis is the contextualisation of the frames using extant literature (e.g. Watkins 2001). This contextualisation of frames and the changes therein was conducted using historical analysis as described by Smith and Lux (1993, see also Giesler & Thompson 2016), though it must be noted that their conceptualisation for causal, historical analysis does not arise from radical structuralism. Thus, the analyses here must take a more critical approach which investigates the deep power structures within a society. I will describe the methodologies of the individual essays in more detail next.

3.3 Data and coding

3.3.1 Essay I

As was noted in Chapter 3.1, the original aim of the first study was to find reasons for the high status of sustainable consumption. Lewis (2008, 2012), for instance, had noted that lifestyle media has become littered with messages about sustainability. Therefore, it was deemed important to understand what exactly were the meanings attached to sustainable consumption.

However, the aim was not to conduct longitudinal research *per se*, which is why the study has a relatively limited time span of 5 years (2009–2013). Thus, the aim here was not to track the changes which had led to the rise of sustainable consumption. In order to do so there would have been a need to go further back in time as at least internationally it seems that 2007 was the pinnacle of green zeal for celebrities, in particular, as will be explored in more detail in the third essay. Instead, the aim was to understand the current meanings related to sustainable consumption after this turn had taken place and, particularly, what was the reason for the new-found status.

For this study, women's lifestyle magazines were chosen as, for instance, Elliott (2013) shows that being female increases the odds of finding green consumption desirable. As domestic consumers, women are also targeted to buy greener, particularly in their role as caregivers (MacGregor 2006). The aim was also to gain data from a broad spectrum of women's magazines. Consequently, three Finnish women's lifestyle magazines with differing target audiences were chosen.

Firstly, *Kaksplus* is a specialist lifestyle magazine as it is aimed at mothers of young children. Hence, the magazine focuses on issues young families face in their daily life. Due to its niche focus, its readership is also the smallest of the three, 113 000 all in all (Otavamedia 2013b). Of the other two lifestyle magazines, *Eeva* is aimed at a more mature, wealthier woman (45+ years of age). With a readership of 357 000, it is three times the size of Kaksplus (A-lehdet 2013). Conversely, *Anna* is aimed at slightly younger women (35+ years of age) with a more modest budget, with a similar readership of 324 000 (Otavamedia 2013a). All in all, the three magazines have a wide circulation given that Finland has approximately 5.5 million inhabitants.

Of the three, *Anna* is a weekly magazine and, thus, has 48 issues a year. Conversely, *Kaksplus* and *Eeva* are monthly magazines with 12 issues a year. The sample then consisted of 360 magazines. The magazines were manually searched for articles, images, readers' letters and advertisements which I deemed to be related to sustainability and sustainable consumption. This data collection method was chosen because it was not possible to gain access to electronic data of these magazines. Thus, in order to collect data of Finnish women's magazines, the only way to do so was to go through each individual issue by hand. All in all, the data then consisted of 4445 pages of scanned pages (806 pages for *Kaksplus*, 937 for *Eeva* and 2702 for *Anna*).

This data collection method has both advantages and disadvantages. Firstly, by collecting the data from the actual magazines rather than, say, databases such as ProQuest Central, as I do in the third essay (see Chapter 3.3.3.), the analysis is able to capture the media content as experienced by the reader. This includes the placing and layout of the individual articles within the magazine. It also draws attention, for instance, to the pictures and fonts used in connection to the text. These aspects are missing when using an electronic database such as ProQuest. On the other hand, manual data analysis also means that the inclusion or exclusion of media content becomes more reliant on the researcher's subjective interpretation of the media text, as it becomes more difficult to set predetermined criteria for it. In other words, instead of searching a database for all articles (within certain parameters) which, for instance, include the keyword "sustainability" or "eco" within the text, the decision whether to include the text in the data is more reliant on the researcher's interpretation as to the subject matter of the text.

In this study, I then interpreted sustainability in its widest, most holistic definition. This included environmental, social or political, cultural and economic sustainability (McGee et al. 2013). However, as environmental sustainability

emerged as the most frequently promoted facet, the analysis focused on this. In addition to consumption stories, the data was also scanned for, for instance, political discourses, factual information and messages emanating from the environmental movement. However, these instances were rare. Instead, the majority of the data coded included products or consumption behaviours which were promoted as environmentally sustainable choices or had some reference to sustainability (e.g. the use of the prefix "eco", words such as organic or natural) and, to a lesser degree, voices arguing against sustainable consumption.

As was noted above, the original aim of the study was to understand the current high status of sustainable consumption. I initially approached the data inductively meaning that I started with a question without particular theoretical concepts in mind. However, the initial data analysis revealed that, while sustainable consumption had indeed first enjoyed a great deal of positive attention, the framing began to grow increasingly negative towards the later years of the data. Words such as organic and natural were also increasingly applied to products such as so-called superfoods. These products were framed in a similar fashion compared to so-called eco-products in that denotations of healthiness and quality, which ostensibly derived from their natural properties, were emphasised but references to sustainability *per se* were dropped. Understanding this rather surprising change in the framing then became the revised aim of the study. This finding subsequently led me to seek explanations in extant theories, and finally led me to ground the contextualisation of the framing using media theory. The findings will be explored in more detail in Chapter 4.1.

3.3.2 Essay II

The aim of the second study is to understand why veganism became increasingly destigmatised in the UK media and, therefore, a longitudinal analysis of the representation of veganism was conducted. The timespan of the study was 7 years, from 1 January 2008 to 31 December 2014. The reason for this choice was that as Cole and Morgan's (2011) study highlighted, veganism was still very much stigmatised in 2007 but, as noted above, by the beginning of 2014 mainstream media was making clear statements about the new-found status of veganism, for instance, declaring 2014 the year of the vegan. Therefore, I set out to investigate what had happened for the portrayal to be transformed in such a dramatic fashion during this time period. In this study, I focus particularly on a British tabloid newspaper, the *Daily Mail*.

However, the British print media is known for the fact that each national newspaper has a fairly stable political leaning which affects the way news are

covered. Of the broadsheets, for instance, the *Daily Telegraph* takes a conservative stance, whilst the *Guardian* is known for its left-leaning liberal views (BBC 2009). Conversely, in this study, I focus on the tabloid *Daily Mail*, or the *Mail* for short which professes to represent the middle class (Baggini 2013). In fact, the term "Middle England" has become synonymous with it (e.g. Burrell 2010). The term is a widely used, though often vaguely defined (e.g. Adams 2005, Maconie 2010, Easton 2010), socio-political term. Stereotypically it refers to the middle or lower-middle class English people, presumably the deep majority, holding conservative or right-wing views and standing for respectability, the suburban nuclear family, conservatism, whiteness, middle age and the status quo (Reeves 2007). Similarly, the *Mail* has been described as conservative, patriotic and Christian, emphasising the hard-working ordinary tax-paying families and it is said to be opposed to the "liberal intelligentsia" and the left-wing influence (Baggini 2013: 20–21, Cole 2007). While the term Middle England also has clear pejorative connotations (e.g. Burrell 2010, Reeves 2007), it has, for instance, been hailed as the place "where contemporary British elections are won and lost" (Reeves 2007, see also Adams 2005, Burrell 2010, Maconie 2010), making it a powerful segment of the society. The first reason the *Mail* was then chosen for this study as the aim of the study was to understand the mainstreaming or normalisation of veganism, and the *Mail* professes to represent the middle of the market.

The second reason the *Mail* was chosen is that it has a wide circulation. The circulation is 1 679 000 to be precise which makes it the second largest daily newspaper in the UK (Guardian 2014). A media outlet with such a wide circulation thus has the ability to affect the framing of issues for a large proportion of the society making it an important focus of analysis, particularly as this "Middle England" segment represents a formidable force both politically and in terms of spending power. On the other hand, the *Daily Mail* was deemed to be a more suitable newspaper for the present study compared to the biggest seller, the *Sun*, because the *Sun*'s readership is skewed towards the lower end of the socio-economic scale. Thus, according to the National Readership Survey (cited in Boykoff 2008), the readership of the *Daily Mail* can best be described as consisting of 31% of consumers belonging to social grade A/B (upper [middle] class and middle class), 55% of consumers belonging to social grade C1/C2 (lower middle class and skilled working class), and 13% of consumers of social grade D/E (working class and underclass). It is also worth noting that according to Cole (2007), 40% of its readers are over 55, and 60% over 45, and that it has the highest proportion of women readers of any national paper.

In fact, in this study, the data was gathered using the online version of the newspaper, *MailOnline* (www.dailymail.co.uk/), and on this front the *Mail* arises as the largest news outlet in the UK. Indeed, during the time period under study, the *Mail* became the most visited online newspaper in the whole world attracting 45.3 million unique visitors a month (Greenslade 2012, Wheeler 2012). The emphasis was placed on the online version of the newspaper as in the recent years there has been an ever-increasing tendency for the readership to veer away from traditional print media towards online publications (Newman et al. 2016). In addition, the online version was chosen for ease of access and for a more detailed search (see also Cole & Morgan [2011] for a discussion on the drawbacks of using databases such as LexisNexis).

Moreover, in Cole and Morgan's (2011) study, the *Daily Mail* had a higher than average frequency of using negative discourses related to veganism (89.1% versus the average of 74.3% of all 19 publications), and a lower than average proportion of neutral discourses (4.3% versus the average of 20.2%). These figures as well as the aforementioned, purported core values of the stereotypical "*Mail* reader" are another reason why the *Daily Mail* was chosen: on the face of it, it seems like an unlikely proponent of veganism. Thus, for the *Mail* to promote veganism later on, this represents a clear turn-around and is an indication that a change in the wider mediascape has also taken place.

The final sample consisted all in all of approximately 9750 pages of A4 sheets and of 1275 individual articles. These included all the articles found in the *Daily Mail* within this time period using keywords "vegan", "vegans" and "veganism" appearing anywhere in the article.

The operationalisation of the first frame, "Veganism as a sign of extremism and moral decay", largely followed Cole and Morgan's (2011) study in that framing was coded as stigmatising if it included anti-vegan discourses such as ridiculing veganism, characterising it as asceticism, as difficult and/or impossible to sustain, and characterising vegans as oversensitive or as hostile. However, veganism as a fad, which Cole and Morgan (2011) identify as a stigmatising discourse, was more related to the celebrity trend as faddism claims mainly arose in reference to celebrities, and was hence instead included in the second frame. Conversely, the second and third frames, "Veganism as a celebrity fashion" and "Veganism as a healthy diet", respectively, were operationalised and distinguished in the coding along six different facets as presented in Table 1. The frames will be elaborated on in Chapter 4.2.

Table 1. Coding of the frames "Veganism as a celebrity fashion" and "Veganism as a healthy diet".

	Veganism as a celebrity fashion	**Veganism as a healthy diet**
Authority	celebrity lifestyle gurus	doctors and the scientific community
Focus	aesthetics and weight-loss versus	health
Longevity and intensity	obsessive or fickle	reasonable and flexible
Politics	apolitical or "charismatic" politics	apolitical
Implied level of cultural capital	low	high
Reference group	popular culture opinion leaders	ordinary consumers

In addition to qualitative frame analysis, a relatively crude quantitative analysis was conducted to quantify the changes in the framing as well as to highlight the increased attention veganism received. For the latter, the articles were thus categorised as negative, neutral or positive according to my interpretation of the overall tone of the article. This way it was also possible to compare the results with Cole and Morgan's (2011) study which, as noted above, focused solely on data from the year 2007. Therefore, similarly to Cole and Morgan (2011), "neutral" articles were those mentioning vegans or veganism in passing without evaluative comment, "positive" articles were those deemed to be favourable towards vegans or veganism, and "negative" articles those which deployed derogatory discourses as identified by Cole and Morgan (2011). Similarly, the final categorisation was made based on my interpretation as to the dominant discourse in the data. The results are reported in Chapter 4.2. However, it is already worth noting that given that there are some differences in methodology, particularly print versus online media, and that the persons in charge of the categorisation are different, caution should be exercised when comparing the findings of Cole and Morgan (2011) and my study.

In addition, in order to enhance the reliability of the coding, a recoding by an independent coder trained in qualitative analysis was conducted. The sample

included all articles in the first month of every year under investigation (n=103). Krippendorff was then assessed with the Kalpha macro (Hayes & Krippendorff 2007) in IBM SPSS 23 with 5000 bootstraps. The Krippendorff's alpha reliability estimates of of .922 for the frame analysis and .848 for the sentiment analysis indicate very good intercoder reliability.

3.3.3 Essay III

After exploring why the media and celebrities contribute to the rise of veganism, the thesis then turns to understanding the process by which this has happened. Consequently, the aim of the third study is to understand how exactly veganism became co-opted in the UK media. The data included a large cross section of the British mediascape with four broadsheets – the *Times* and the *Daily Telegraph* which tend to take a conservative stance, and the *Independent* and the *Guardian* which represent a more liberal line (Newton & Brynin 2001) – as well as three tabloids – the *Sun*, *Daily Mail* and the *Mirror*. These newspapers were searched using the ProQuest Central database using the keywords "vegan", "vegans" and "veganism" appearing anywhere within the article within the time period of 2000–2015. This specific time period was chosen under investigation as it represents a key period in the rise of veganism. As has been argued before, Cole and Morgan (2011) found veganism to be very much marginalised in the UK media in 2007. However, in order to capture the origins of these changes, we now went further back in history to delve into the early contributors of the transformative processes. All in all, the data consisted of 6 623 articles with a staggering 500 % increase in the number of articles related to veganism from the year 2000 (181 articles) to 2015 (984 articles). Therefore, the number of articles again supports the notion that there has been a clear rise in the interest regarding veganism.

In this study, the frame analysis was mainly qualitative in nature as described in Chapter 3.2. However, in order to increase the credibility of the initial qualitative analysis, triangulation through quantitative techniques was deemed necessary in order to obtain corroborating evidence (Onwuegbuzie & Leech 2007). In practice, we then conducted an automated quantitative content analysis of the data using the computer program Linguistic Inquiry and Word Count (LIWC, Pennebaker, Francis, & Booth 2007). In order to explain the procedure for the quantitative triangulation, however, it is first necessary to briefly explore how the frames and the semantic categories arose from the qualitative data, as this directed the construction of the custom dictionary for LIWC as well as the time periods used in the quantitative analysis.

We thus started our analysis qualitatively, identifying recurring themes in the data. The qualitative analysis revealed that the main themes corresponded to the three main motivations for veganism identified in extant literature, namely, animal rights, environmental motivations and health reasons (Greenebaum 2012). However, the analysis also revealed that these themes corresponded to different frames so that different themes were highlighted in different time periods. This resulted in three separate frames: the animal rights movement, environmentalism and, finally, health and weight-loss.

After the main themes were identified, a more in-depth qualitative analysis of the emerging frames was conducted focusing particularly on the key words and actors (e.g. animal rights movement, celebrities) associated with each theme or frame. This second level of analysis then formed the semantic categories associated with each theme. The analysis, for instance, revealed that the animal rights movement was generally portrayed in a negative and radical light associating the movement with both activism and, as a result, with crime. In addition, veganism itself was associated with ill health and malnutrition instead of positive effects on one's body.

Once a semantic category associated with a frame was established, it was then possible to create a custom dictionary which corresponded to a semantic category. The two authors indicated whether each word should be included or excluded from the dictionary category and were free to offer any suggestions for additional words. In case of a disagreement as to whether a word should be included, the final decision was mine based on a discussion with the co-author. These semantic categories as well as examples of the dictionary words used to measure the categories are included in Table 2.

The qualitative analysis also revealed the lack of environmental motivations in the animal rights movement framing. Instead, these issues rose on the media agenda in the second framing. Thus, the second frame consists of environmentalism and environmental motivations and, again, a custom dictionary for the semantic category of "environmentalism" was constructed based on the steps introduced above. Finally, qualitative analysis also revealed that in the later years of the data veganism became associated with health and weight-loss through increasing celebrity involvement. These form the three semantic categories associated with the final frame, and a custom dictionary was constructed for each category. Examples of the words used for each semantic category are again shown in Table 2.

Table 2. Frames, categories and examples of the dictionary words used for quantitative analysis

Frame	Category	Examples
Animal rights movement	Animal rights	animal rights, ethical, animal cruelty, animal welfare, animal liberation
	Ill health	deficiency, malnourished, starving, ill, weak
	Activism	activist, protest, political, radical, demonstration, anarchist
	Crime	militant, terror, crime, police, prison, sabotage
Environmentalism	Environmental	environment, climate change, global warming, pollution, greenhouse effect, carbon footprint
Health and weight-loss	Weight-loss	weight-loss, slender, slim, detox, cleanse
	Health benefits	nutrition, health, active, athletic, fitness
	Celebrities	celebrity, paparazzi, Hollywood, star, A-list, model, actor, pop, movie, music

Finally, it was necessary to establish the time frames for each of the media frames. Firstly, based on the qualitative analysis, it was clear that the animal rights movement was most prevalent in the data in the early years of the data. However, the qualitative analysis also revealed that later veganism became more associated with environmental motivations as the general discourse of sustainable development gained momentum in the media around 2006. This change coincided with the overall rise in the climate change coverage in the UK media which Boykoff and Mansfield (2008) place around 2005-2006. Thus, this was also deemed as the point where the environmentalist frame took over.

However, the enthusiasm of these couple of years died down soon and the framing turned increasingly negative. In 2011, for instance, Simon Fairlie gained a great deal of publicity with his book *Meat: A Benign Extravagance*, which argues that eating meat is in fact good for the environment. At the same time, a

whole host of celebrities began associating themselves with veganism changing the meanings of veganism away from environmental discourse to veganism as a vehicle for health and weight-loss, as a means for obligation to oneself. Based on the qualitative analysis, this turning point was placed around 2010-2011. Thus, the time frames were set at 2000-2005 for the animal rights movement framing, 2006-2010 for the environmentalism framing and, finally, 2011-2015 for the health and weight-loss framing.

The results of the quantitative analysis support the findings from the qualitative analysis. They firstly show that an ANOVA with the three time periods of 2000 – 2005 (period 1), 2006 – 2010 (period 2), 2011 – 2015 (period 3) as independent variable and the percentage of words from the animal rights movement library (consisting of a dictionary from four separate semantic categories, see Table 2) as dependent measure was significant ($F(2,191) = 13.58$, $p < .001$). Contrasts revealed that the newspaper articles contained significantly more animal rights movement words in period 1 than in period 2 ($M_{2000\text{-}2005} = .37$ vs. $M_{2006\text{-}2010} = .30$, $p < .05$), which again was significantly more coined by animal rights movement than period 3 ($M_{2011\text{-}2015} = .23$, $p < .05$). Thus, there was a continuous decline in use of animal rights movement words during the three time periods under investigation.

Secondly, an ANOVA with the environmentalism library (consisting of a dictionary from one semantic category, Table 2) as dependent variable was significant ($F(2,191) = 44.31$, $p < .001$). Contrasts confirmed that the mean for environmentalism words was significantly higher during period 2 ($M_{2006\text{-}2010} = .25$) versus period 1 ($M_{2000\text{-}2005} = .12$, $p < .001$), or period 3 ($M_{2011\text{-}2015} = .12$, $p < .001$). Finally, an ANOVA on health and weight-loss related words (from three separate categories, Table 2) was significant ($F(2,191) = 11.09$, $p < .001$). Contrasts revealed that indeed the mean for health related words was significantly higher for period 3 ($M_{2011\text{-}2015} = .79$) than for periods 1 and 2 ($M_{2000\text{-}2005} = .68$, $M_{2006\text{-}2010} = .68$, both $p < .001$). Finally, qualitative analysis was again used to enable interpretation and contextualisation of these frames.

As noted above, the fourth and final article is a theoretical, conceptual essay. Quotes from newspaper articles are used in order to illustrate the claims made in the study but the study is not based on empirical findings. Before proceeding with the findings of the essays, however, it is necessary first to evaluate the quality of the findings of the empirical studies.

3.4 Evaluating the quality of the findings

As was argued in more detail in Chapter 2, research inspired by radical structuralism and critical theory should focus on critiquing the society. Instead of research which merely aims to understand or explain reality, it thus encourages research which ultimately seeks social change that will improve life and which seeks to free people from constraining structures. Thus, the transformative potential of research is one of the key criteria for evaluating the quality of the findings. Nevertheless, this alone is not a sufficient criterion. Furthermore, the criteria used must follow from the ontological and epistemological assumptions the study makes.

Keeping these notions in mind, in this thesis, I mainly follow Murray and Ozanne's (1991) guidelines for assessing the quality of findings. They outline criteria for assessing the quality of findings for each individual step of the research process. The steps of the process are presented in Table 3. The reason for using their guidelines is that they provide comprehensive and practical framework for research following Critical Transformative Consumer Research (Tadajewski et al. 2014). However, there is an important caveat. Murray and Ozanne's (1991) interpretation of critical theory is interpretive and humanistic in nature, whilst in this thesis, following from the radical structuralist perspective, the ontological assumptions lean towards realism. In other words, the main aim of the first three studies is to explain, rather than understand, why and how the transformative processes have taken place. Therefore, while Murray and Ozanne's (1991) criteria provide the basic framework for the evaluative criteria, they also need to be adapted to be appropriate for research guided by radical structuralism, particularly in reference with the interpretive step.

Starting with the first step, however, Murray and Ozanne (1991) argue that, in the initial stage of research, the problems must be evaluated as to whether they are concrete and practical and of interest to real people. The thesis is very much aligned with this criterion as it aims to uncover how societal change within the sphere of consumption is possible and what are the societal forces which oppose societal transformation. The problems of climate change, speciesism and the marginalisation of vegans are all concrete problems which require solving for the benefit of the environment, animal rights, and the society at large, as was explained in the introduction. The continued marginalisation is also problematic from the point of view of the individuals who aim to change the world for the better with their own actions.

Table 3. Research process in critical research (adapted from Murray & Ozanne 1991).

Stage of the research process		**Key activities**
Initial stage		Identification of a concrete practical problem; identification of all groups involved with this problem
Data collection stage	Interpretive step	Construction of an intersubjective understanding of each group
	Historical-empirical step	Examination of the historical development of any relevant social structures or processes
	Dialectical step	Search for contradictions between the intersubjective understanding and the objective social conditions
	Awareness step	Discuss alternative ways of seeing their situation with the repressed group(s)
	Praxis step	Participate in a theoretically grounded program of actions to change social conditions

The data collection process can be further divided into five steps and the evaluative criteria also differ according to the step. The first one of these, according to Murray and Ozanne (1991), is the interpretive step where this thesis must divert from their recommendations due to the reasons outlined above. For Murray and Ozanne (1991), this step involves forming an understanding based on the perceptions of all the people involved, highlighting the humanist orientation of their recommendations. Instead, taking a more realist approach to this criterion, this step is here interpreted as referring to the media portrayal provided for the audiences. The notion of framing implies that the frame has a common effect on large portions of the receiving audience, even if it is not likely to have a universal effect on all (Entman 1993). Therefore, the aim of the researcher at this stage is to look for the dominant meaning in the messages.

During this stage, Murray and Ozanne (1991) argue that the researcher may use evaluative criteria designed for more general interpretive or qualitative research, which does not have an emancipatory research interest as a starting point. One of

the frameworks which has gained considerable favour is that of Guba and Lincoln developed in a series of publications (Shenton 2004). It is used here particularly as Hudson and Ozanne (1988) note that, while their epistemological assumptions are consistent with the general interpretivist world view, Lincoln and Guba still fall closer to many positivist programs in their axiological assumption than do many pure interpretivists. Thus, their conceptualisation of evaluative criteria is in line with the assumptions of this thesis. Following Guba and Lincoln (1982), the research could then be analysed in terms of credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability.

The first of these, *credibility*, establishes whether or not the research findings represent a correct interpretation of the data or how congruent are the findings with reality (Lincoln & Guba 1985, Shenton 2004). Credibility can be increased by various strategies, for instance, the strategies of prolonged and varied field experience, time sampling, reflexivity (field journal), triangulation, member checking, peer examination, interview technique, establishing authority of researcher and structural coherence (Lincoln & Guba 1985). Of these, prolonged engagement and triangulation are the most important to the current context, and these will be outlined next.

Prolonged engagement in the field means that the researcher should immerse themselves in the phenomenon. This helps the researcher to gain an insight into the context of the study, which minimises the distortions of information and provides a greater understanding of phenomenon and context (Onwuegbuzie & Leech 2007). Again, whilst conducting media analysis it is not possible to immerse oneself in the research site or community *per se* as in the case of ethnographic research, the fact that three of the articles focus on the same thematic topic allowed me to engage with the phenomenon on a deeper level. In addition, as I detailed in Chapter 3.1., I had already explored the high status of sustainable consumption in my Master's thesis, and had spent time working at an environmental non-profit organization which both helped me to immerse myself in the topic. Furthermore, I also acquainted myself with the topic of veganism by, for instance, reading a great deal of literature outside the data, and personally trying veganism for several months.

Triangulation, on the other hand, involves the use of multiple and different methods, investigators, sources and theories to obtain corroborating evidence (Onwuegbuzie & Leech 2007: 239). Thus, there are four major triangulation techniques (Denzin 1978, Patton 1999). Firstly, different theoretical lenses were used to investigate the phenomenon of the rise of a marginalised form of consumption. Whilst different theories of course lead to differing interpretations,

together the findings corroborate, for instance, the role of media as well as celebrities in the rise of sustainable consumption and veganism. The findings of the four essays are corroborated in Chapter 5.5 after the summaries of the four studies.

The second technique is data triangulation which uses different sources of data to enhance the quality of the data. This was achieved by collecting data from different countries and from different types of media, as well as by focusing on two different, though related, consumption practices (sustainable consumption and veganism) which had for a long time been marginalised. In particular, while the second essay provides depth of analysis by focusing on a single news media, the aim of the third essay was to increase the breadth of understanding. In practice this meant collecting data from a large variety of newspapers thus providing a reliable cross section of the media representations relating to veganism in the UK. Similarly, the first essay explores three different lifestyle magazines in Finland.

The third and fourth triangulation methods are investigator and methodological triangulation. These relate to the second and third essay, in particular. Of these, investigation triangulation includes the use of multiple researchers to investigate the same problem. This brings different perceptions to the inquiry and helps to strengthen the integrity of the findings. While three of the studies were conducted by a single author, the third essay included two researchers. Furthermore, in the second essay a recoding of a portion of the data was carried out by an independent coder. Based on this, it was possible to calculate intercoder reliability which was considered to be very good. This brings attention to methodological triangulation which refers to the use of different research methods. This was achieved particularly in the third essay as this study also relied on quantitative analysis which confirms our qualitative findings.

The second criterion, *transferability*, refers to the degree to which the results of qualitative research can be transferred to other contexts (Lincoln & Guba 1995). It is the researcher's responsibility then to help the reader make the judgment whether the results are transferable to other contexts by providing thick description, in other words a detailed and extensive account of all the research processes (Guba 1981). Without a detailed description, it is difficult for the reader to determine the extent to which the overall findings "ring true" (Shenton 2004: 69). In this thesis, this has been achieved by a detailed account of all the stages of research from data collection and context of the study. In addition, extensive quotations from the data are provided to support the conclusions drawn. Furthermore, quantitative analysis was utilised in the second and third essays to

provide credibility to the conclusions regarding the overall trends within the data. However, ultimately, the aim of qualitative research is not to provide generalisable, universal data (Shenton 2004). Hence, while the aim of this thesis is to explain the role of media and celebrities in the rise of veganism and sustainable consumption in order to improve the life of all stakeholders, one should not overgeneralise the findings to other contexts and to other phenomena.

The third criterion, *dependability*, refers to showing that the findings are consistent and could be repeated (Lincoln & Guba 1995). Dependability is established, for instance, using triangulation as introduced above. Similarly, dependability can be increased through a thorough audit trail through which the researcher accounts for all the research decisions and activities to show how the data were collected, recorded and analysed (Lincoln & Guba 1995, Shenton 2004), as was already discussed in relation to thick description of the data. The research process for the overall thesis was also elaborated on in Chapter 3.1 in order to account for the choices made.

Finally, *confirmability* refers to the degree to which the results of an inquiry could be confirmed or corroborated by other researchers. Thus, it refers to the degree of neutrality from researcher bias (Lincoln & Guba 1985). This is achieved in this thesis particularly through an audit trail and triangulation (Shenton 2004), as outlined above.

Moving to the next step in Murray and Ozanne's (1991) recommendations, in the historical-empirical step the theorist must understand how the phenomenon is historically grounded. In this instance, the aim is to explain how the media portrayal follows from the structures. There is thus an implied causal relationship between the structures and the framing. In mainstream positivistic research such proposition would, for instance, necessitate an experimental design. However, as the deep structures and power relations of the society are hard to detect, control and quantify, I instead contextualise the framing using extant literature. In practice, I followed Smith and Lux's (1993) recommendations for historical analysis. In particular, this historical analysis involves investigating the interplay between the subject or, here, the portrayal of the consumption practice, on the one hand, and the object, or the social structures, on the other (Murray et al. 1994). The empirical data of media framing is thus contextualised using extant literature, and by providing thick description of the data it is possible for the reader to evaluate to what extent the analysis and contextualisation ring true.

In the dialectical step, the researcher must identify all contradictions as well as all injured parties (Murray & Ozanne 1991). The contradictions in this instance

include, for example, that whilst veganism is currently seen as trendy and mainstream, this change has happened at a cost: the original animal rights movement and the motivations of animal welfare and environmental preservation remain marginalised. Thus, vegans still remain the injured party by being stigmatised. This can also lead to personal and emotional costs.

The final two steps include the awareness step and the praxis step. In the awareness step, the researcher must engage the social actors in dialogue regarding the social conditions (Murray & Ozanne 1991, see also Murray & Ozanne 2009). Conversely, in the praxis step, the researcher considers whether life has improved for constrained social groups as quality empirical work is only a penultimate goal that is necessary but not sufficient to reach the ultimate goal of making society better (Murray & Ozanne 1991). These issues I will explore in more detail in the final chapter (see Chapter 5.2). Here, it suffices to say that all the essays aim to uncover some of the social structures which uphold status quo of speciesism and consumer culture, despite the apparent trends of sustainable consumption and veganism, and which thus prevent a meaningful change in the society. Uncovering these structures and their hidden mechanisms is the first step on the road for a more just and equal society. Keeping these notions in mind, then, it is time to turn to the summaries of the four essays.

4 SUMMARY OF THE ESSAYS

The aim of this thesis is to uncover the role of media and celebrities in the rise of veganism and sustainable consumption. In particular, I have tried to identify both the reasons as well as the processes by which the change has occurred. Overall, I explore the issue in four studies through four different theoretical lenses relying on media theory, stigmatisation literature, co-optation theory as well as Bourdieu's field theory. Next, I will therefore summarise the findings of the individual essays, and then corroborate the findings of the studies by bringing them together and comparing and contrasting them. This also helps in evaluating the quality of findings (see Chapter 3.4).

4.1 Fashionalising sustainable consumption in lifestyle media

In the first essay (see Essay I), I study why has sustainable consumption become fashionable in lifestyle media, particularly in women's magazines. From the extant literature, I identified three competing explanations for the current high status of sustainable consumption. The first one comes from the proponents of evolutionary psychology (e.g. Griskevicius et al. 2012, Griskevicius et al. 2010, Van Vugt & Hardy 2010). They argue that through conspicuous sustainable consumption a consumer is able to show that they are altruistic and that they can afford to spend money on the welfare of others. Elliott (2013) also finds that green consumption is socially patterned. However, she provides a different explanation. With the help of Bourdieu (1984), Elliott (2013) then argues for a more subtle, and in fact subconscious, ways of signalling status and taste through green consumption.

However, I propose that there is a significant problem with these studies. Firstly, evolutionary psychology fails to account for the structural factors which guide consumers (see Askegaard & Linnet 2011). Furthermore, both accounts offer a very static explanation for the status of sustainability. In other words, they do not account for the rise of sustainability and also seem to imply that interest in it will not wane either. Neither do they account for the active role of the market system or of cultural elites, such as celebrities, apart from the notion by Griskevicius et al. (2010) that marketers should make eco-products more expensive to appeal to consumers. This notion is objectionable on many counts such as making sustainability the purview of only the rich and privileged as well as potentially promoting unnecessary consumption (Elliott 2013, Owen 2012, Soron 2010).

The third explanation, co-optation theory (Frank 1997, Heath & Potter 2004, Thompson & Coskuner-Balli 2007), does take the market system into account by arguing that market forces will eventually internalise and commodify radical and marginalised consumption phenomena. In this process, they are transformed into "a constellation of trendy commodities and depoliticized fashion styles" (Thompson & Coskuner-Balli 2007: 136). However, the extant literature utilising co-optation theory has not explained in detail how and why certain previously stigmatised forms of consumption become fashionable (Sandicki & Ger 2010). In addition, extant literature has focused on marketers and has thus largely ignored the role of media, apart from it being the site for advertising. But as the battle for and against social change is fought in the public sphere (Castells 2009), and as lifestyle media has become littered with messages about sustainability (Lewis 2008, 2012), this is a major gap in the literature (see also Chapter 4.3).

The main contribution of this study is then to provide a fourth, complementary explanation for the phenomenon by analysing how and why media institutions shape the market to give rise to a fashion trend of sustainable consumption. In the essay, I have called this the fashionalisation of sustainable consumption to highlight the active involvement of a market actor. In relation to the previous studies, I argue against the view taken by the proponents of evolutionary psychology that there is something inherently status-enhancing about green products. Instead, I concur with Elliott (2013) that these meanings are historically emergent. Moreover, I argue that these meanings are shaped by the market system, and, in fact, are created due to two interlinked motives: firstly, the profit-making logic of the media business and, secondly, the upholding of the status quo and the ideology of consumerism. This is the conclusion drawn after a frame analysis of three Finnish women's lifestyle magazines in 2008—2013 where the so-called Propaganda model of Herman and Chomsky (1988) is used to tie the media frames to the context of media content production. Conversely, the second contribution of this paper is to highlight that the status and the trend of sustainable consumption seems to be short-term in nature due to the need for the lifestyle media to keep churning out new trends. This runs counter to what Elliott (2013) and the evolutionary psychologists seem to imply.

I draw this conclusion based on frame analysis, which revealed two frames. The first one of these was labelled *Eco-chic*. As was noted in the introduction, eco-chic aims to combine sustainable living with trendiness. Indeed, the trendiness of sustainable consumption was often stated in clear terms within this frame by, for instance, naming sustainable consumption or organic food as "the trend" of the year. Overall, this frame raises three important points. Firstly, in all of the three magazines, sustainable consumption – or, rather, ostensibly sustainable

consumption – was ubiquitous (see also Lewis 2008, 2012). Secondly, in line with the eco-chic ideology, it was implied that ecological values can be combined with beauty, both on the inside and the outside, and that consumers preferring sustainable products are discerning and quality conscious. In fact, it seemed as though the word or prefix "eco" was often used as a short-hand for such qualities in the headline, whereas the actual text may not even mention the ecological benefits of the product at all. This begs the question, what is the main motivation for such consumption behaviour. Thirdly, the sustainability promoted by the magazines was generally commodified in the form of various eco-products. Concurrently, anti-consumption stories, factual arguments, political discourses and voices from the environmental movement were silenced.

This ties in with the profit-making and funding filters in the Propaganda model (Herman & Chomsky 1988). The profit-making filter then states that the media content is biased as to protect the interests of the corporation. Lifestyle magazines, such as the current three, often revolve around fashion trends and they have also been dubbed the "dreamworld" of shopping (Stevens & Maclaran 2005). Their existence is therefore reliant on maintaining urgency around being fashionable and up-to-date. Hence, to keep the readers coming back for more, there is a need to actively create consumption trends. Sustainability, when defined as reducing the amount of consumption (Alexander & Ussher 2012), is therefore a threat to the media as it would make this type of media redundant and would hence destabilise their profit-making logic. Commodified, fashionalised sustainability, however, is not a threat so long as it keeps consumers buying more and so long as it can be replaced by other trends once interest wanes.

Secondly, the advertising filter argues that media relies on advertisers for their funding. However, in order to attract advertisers they need a sizeable audience of the right kind – thus making the audience the commodity sold instead of the magazine itself. Hence, the content will take any form necessary to attract the audience. More importantly, content which is likely to put the audience off buying – in other words, anti-consumption stories – is marginalised or left out. Essentially, then, magazines are geared towards ever increasing consumption.

This is also where the filter "otherness" (Chomsky 1998) comes into play. This filter argues that the media promotes the idea that enemies are attacking the society. In this way, the readers are encouraged to protect the dominant ideology of free capitalist markets. Here, the enemies consist of the anti-consumption movement. Furthermore, the perpetuation of the sustainability trend can be seen as an offensive against the rising tide of anti-consumption voices. By promoting

sustainability through consumption, it is possible to answer the call for sustainability but to apply the rules of the dominant ideology to the game thus high jacking, or co-opting, the environmental movement. Taking a critical point of view Luke (2005), in fact, argues that sustainable development is merely a social movement for greater commodification.

In this quest, images of celebrities are also evoked. This coincides with the overall trend of using celebrities in the media coverage of climate change (Boykoff et al. 2010). Here, reference to Herman and Chomsky's (1988) sourcing filter is prudent. They argue that media forms a symbiotic relationship with its trusted sources out of economic necessity and reciprocity of interest. Good sources, for instance, provide a steady stream of news which are guaranteed to interest the audience. I argue that, especially for lifestyle media, celebrities are such sources. Media rely on celebrities to sell the magazines whilst celebrities rely on lifestyle media to build their brands thus forming a symbiotic relationship. What embeds celebrities even deeper into the institutions upholding the hegemony of consumption culture is that celebrities act as endorsers of brands (Erdogan 1999) and, as Brockington (2008) states, celebrities exist to facilitate ever-increasing consumption. This ties in well with the aim of preserving the status quo.

Conversely, the second frame, *Free to choose* frame, highlights the idea that sustainability will have to come second after more important shopping criteria, and that the readers do not appreciate being pressured into sustainable consumption. Instead, consumers should be free to choose, without any guilt, how they spend their money. Here, the filter "otherness" (Chomsky 1998) raises its head again. The radical voices of those who "fuss" about the environment are marginalised to protect the dominant ideology of consumption culture, free choice and the rights of the individual.

This marked the end of the sustainability trend for the magazines. Instead the limelight was hijacked by other trends, such as the so-called superfoods and their use in beauty products. These products were framed in a similar fashion compared to sustainable consumption in that denotations of healthiness and quality, which ostensibly derived from the natural ingredients, were emphasised. Similarly, denotations of trendiness and discerning taste were underlined. While there is a clear continuity from the trend of sustainable consumption, in the process, references to sustainability per se were dropped. This highlights the fact that sustainable consumption for the lifestyle media institutions is no more than another trend to churn out to keep the never-ending cycle of consumption going. Furthermore, even if sustained over a long period of time, the trend of sustainable consumption may not guarantee environmental benefits as

commodified, fashionalised sustainability may lead to excesses and unnecessary consumption (e.g. Boykoff et al. 2010, Elliott 2013, Owen 2012).

The study is not without its limitations, however. The first one is that it was not possible to discuss the role of the government in this development. This is an important factor as, for instance, Alexander and Ussher (2012) argue that even governments are yet to accept the necessity to consume less. Instead, they argue that governments continue to promote "sustainable development" by which they mean policies which aim to pursue economic growth whilst aiming for efficiency. As has been noted, this seems to be a flawed way of thinking as true sustainability would seem to necessitate curbing consumption levels instead of merely aiming for efficiency (e.g. Alexander & Ussher 2012, Owen 2012, Polimeni et al. 2008, Seyfang 2013). Secondly, only women's magazines were analysed and further research is required in a wider range of publications. There is also a real danger of perpetuating the gendered view on sustainable consumption (Bourdieu 1984: 382, Elliott 2013). In addition, the context here was Finland which is arguably a small market. However, the basic principles of media business are the same in modern, capitalist countries (Herman & Chomsky 1988). Nevertheless, cross-cultural comparisons would be a fruitful avenue for future research.

These limitations are taken into account in the following studies. The role of "flak" is explored through a more nuanced exploration of the wider ideologies in the society. Furthermore, the last two of the limitations are overcome in the following studies by turning my attention to British news media. Moreover, in the subsequent essays, I begin to hone in on the role of celebrities which was identified in this essay as a key component in the rise of sustainable consumption.

4.2 Celebrities and the media in the rise of veganism: Destigmatisation of veganism in the *Daily Mail*, 2008-2014

In the second essay (see Essay II) I then turn my focus on the rise of veganism, particularly exploring the destigmatisation of veganism in a large, British newspaper, the *Daily Mail*. Whilst the main contribution of my previous essay is to highlight the role of media institutions in the rise of sustainable consumption, the analysis, however, pays fairly limited attention to the wider context of the phenomenon. Thus, the second essay builds on the first essay by outlining the different forces which have made the ground so fertile for the rise of veganism at this particular moment. The essay then aims to explain why veganism has risen

as a consumption trend. In addition, it hones in on the role of celebrities, which will become increasingly important in the last two essays.

Specifically, the essay contributes to destigmatisation literature by highlighting the role of the symbiotic relationship between celebrities and the media in destigmatisation, which was also highlighted in the first essay. Here, I argue that instead of the celebrity merely making the stigmatised group more acceptable, the *Daily Mail* uses celebrities to hype up the trend of the vegan diet. After the celebrity trend is established by the media, it is then transformed for the ordinary readers. Exploring the wider media context also reveals that it is particularly in conjunction with the wider macro level ideologies, and national and organisational contexts which makes the celebrity trend so potent at this particular time. In this way, the paper aims to respond to the call by Link and Phelan (2001) who argue that stigma research should be multilevel as well as multifaceted to address the many mechanisms of stigmatisation. In particular, as per the recommendations of Scrambler (2006), the aim is to build sociological theory on destigmatisation which emphasises the causal importance of social structures for grasping stigma relations. Furthermore, the aim is to build theory which goes beyond the simple dichotomy of deviance/normalcy.

In fact, already in quantitative terms it is clear that the interest in veganism had increased considerably (see Figure 2 in Essay II). When in 2008, there had on average been 4.5 stories related to veganism a month, this had increased 9-fold to 40 stories a month in 2014. In addition, whereas Cole and Morgan (2011) found that in 2007, only 6.5% of the articles in the *Daily Mail* were positive and 89.1% were negative, by 2014 the tables had turned: only 14.7% of the articles were classified as negative, while an overwhelming majority of 76.7% of the articles were classified as positive.

The qualitative frame analysis also revealed three separate frames. The first one of these, *Veganism as a sign of extremism and moral decay*, was prevalent particularly in the early years of the data. Using Link and Phelan's (2001) conceptualisation of stigma, I argue the framing to be stigmatising. According to Link and Phelan (2001), then, a stigma is a mark that links a person to undesirable characteristics or stereotypes, it divides groups of people into Us and Them, and leads to discrimination. This process is entirely contingent on access to social, economic, and political power. This power allows the identification of difference, the construction of stereotypes, the separation of labelled persons into distinct categories, and the full execution of disapproval, rejection, exclusion, and discrimination.

Accordingly, in this framing, the negative stereotypes associated with vegans include being portrayed as misfits and eccentrics, terrorists and criminals, and uneducated and ill-informed fanatics who were both harmful to themselves as well as their children. This last threat was posed through veganism's image as a malnutrious diet – an image which is in direct contrast with later framing where veganism is touted as a scientifically proven, healthy diet. This framing then shows many similarities with Cole and Morgan's (2011) study where they found that in 2007 74.3% of articles in the UK media related to veganism included a derogatory attitude towards vegans. They found that veganism was ridiculed, and characterised as asceticism, as difficult or impossible to sustain, whilst vegans were characterised as oversensitive or even hostile.

Thus, in this data, the separation between Us and Them was clear and the aim was to separate these harmful individuals from the in-group so as to protect the values of the group and to avoid contamination. The power here is in the hands of the media as it has the power to construct stereotypes and to distribute disapproval and rejection by its choice of topics, words and frames. However, it is important to note that in this study it is not possible to ascertain the final component, the level of exclusion and discrimination of vegans. Instead, the analysis will focus on the media representations of vegans and on the construction of the different stereotypes associated with veganism. However, the vegan stigma as defined by Link and Phelan (2001) was investigated by Bresnahan et al. (2015) who concluded that the stigma does exist.

The turning point in the framing can be placed between 2010 and 2011 where the number of articles within the *Veganism as a celebrity fashion* framing increased considerably. This is also the time period when the proportion of positive portrayal as well as the overall number of articles related to veganism increased significantly. At the same time, the number of A-list celebrity vegans also exploded. The trend was hyped up by rolling an ever increasing list of celebrity vegans on the pages of the *Mail* and by highlighting the explosion of the trend in no uncertain terms. This period thus saw a change from the Us/Them binary into the world of Hollywood glitterati where patronising a "trendy", "celebrity hotspot" vegan restaurant became a paparazzi moment. It became evident that veganism was mainly seen as a short-term weight-loss regime aimed at aesthetic considerations rather than an ethical, political or environmental choice, or even a long-term diet for a healthier life. The framing is particularly potent as celebrities bring in connotation of wealth and privilege. They are portrayed as consumption experts for consumers who are then able to mimic their elegance and their discerning taste and get a piece of their lifestyles through similar consumption

choices (Hackley & Hackley 2015). Here in particular, their example is used in order to emulate their unattainable and elusive toned bodies.

Finally, the destigmatising framing, called *Veganism as a healthy diet*, portrayed veganism as a scientifically proven, healthy (supplement to a) diet, as opposed to a diet for aesthetic, weight-loss reasons which due to its connotations of faddism also became the target of ridicule. In particular, in this frame, flexible part-time veganism was promoted in order to reap the benefits but to avoid the potential, harmful side effects. In fact, some experts again warned against long-term veganism. Thus, whereas the stigmatising frame had highlighted malnutrition, lack of knowledge and being blinded by ethical convictions, and whereas the celebrity fashion framing ignored the issue of health and focused instead on superficial and dangerous obsession with beauty, destigmatising framing highlighted scientific data, education and rational thought (see also Thompson & Hirschman 1995). Compared to both the stigmatising framing and celebrity fashion framing, it also highlighted the economic and cultural capital the new breed of vegans was seen to possess. Finally, in comparison with stigmatising framing, which had connotations of political motivations, it highlighted veganism as an apolitical diet aimed at distinction and obligation to oneself.

Why would the media in general or the *Daily Mail* in particular then first portray veganism as stigmatised, and then as destigmatised and even fashionable at this particular moment? In other words, why do media and celebrities contribute to this change? The theoretical framework of the destigmatisation of veganism in the *Daily Mail* presented in Figure 2 aims to explain this. In the figure, the national context is represented by a sphere which is subsumed under the wider, international ideologies of neoliberalism and which provides the background for, for instance, the organizational context where the news organization is situated. Here, in the interest of simplification, the organizational context is bound within the national context, though in reality, as I will argue in Chapter 5.1., large media conglomerates in particular are cross-national in nature.

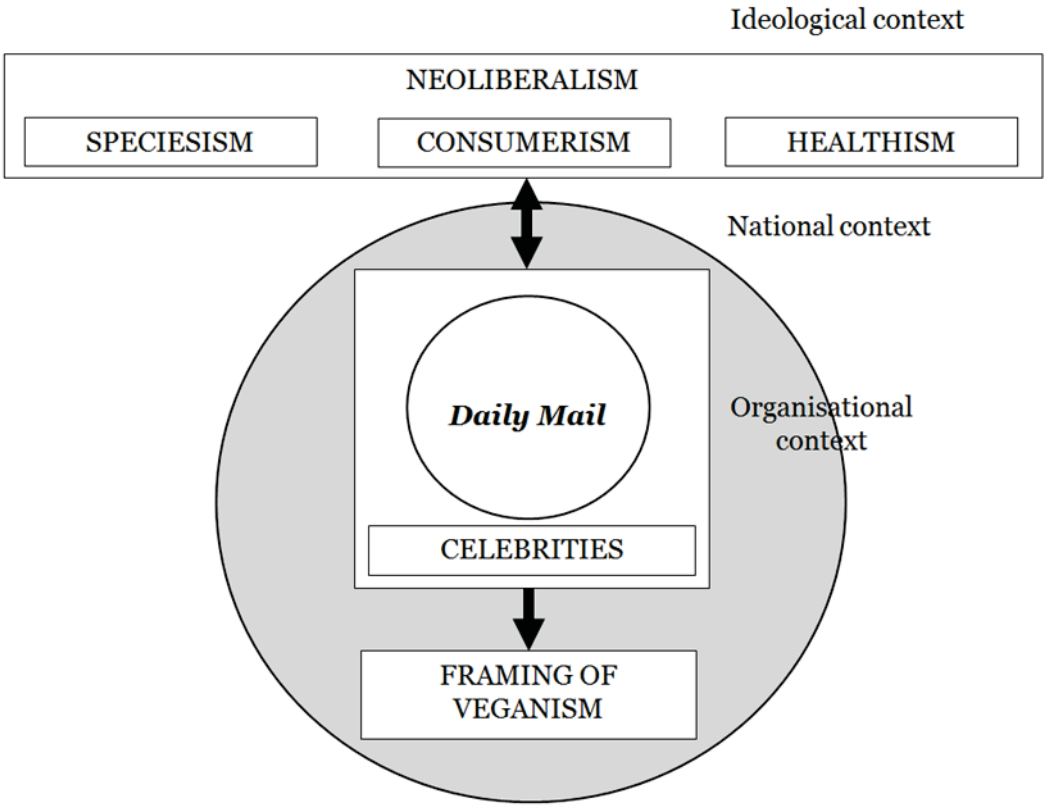

Figure 2. Forces affecting the destigmatisation of veganism in the *Daily Mail* (2008-2014)

In addition, of particular interest here is the important symbiotic relationship between celebrities and media. This relationship is most obvious on the organisational level which is why it is placed at the heart of this framework. However, the relationship radiates outwards to the other levels as well. Media organisations, for instance, use celebrities to link veganism with larger ideologies. In addition, to an extent, the importance of celebrities within a society seems to depend on the national context as well. I will therefore explore every level of analysis in detail next.

One must then first understand why traditionally the *Daily Mail* has attempted to stigmatise veganism. I argue that, from the perspective of the ideological context, the reason for this lies in the aims of the animal rights movement. Politically motivated veganism as practiced by the animal rights movement is essentially aimed at bringing down the ideology of speciesism – a form of prejudice against nonhuman animals, analogous to sexism and racism, which shows a disregard for the discriminated group (Ryder 1983). Thus, veganism, for instance, questions the basic ideas regarding the omnivorous diet and the place of the human at the top of the food chain.

However, as extant literature (e.g. Link & Phelan 2001) has explained, stigmatisation protects the interests of the powerful. Therefore, the marginalisation of political veganism, can be seen as a way to protect the status quo from the challenge to the ideology of speciesism (see also Cole & Morgan 2011). If speciesism was overthrown, this would, for instance, have serious real life consequences for many industries which rely on animal-based products, from meat and dairy industries to fashion, to name but a few. Similarly, it would threaten the individuals' freedom to choose from free markets, which is a key tenet of neoliberalism (Ayo 2012). As was noted in the first essay, Herman and Chomsky (1988), for instance, argue that media as an institution protects the right-wing elitist and corporate interests. Thus, it is unlikely to propose such major upheavals which would destroy many industries. Media then works to uphold the overall neoliberal project (e.g. Ayo 2012).

However, as has been shown above, there was a clear shift in the framing, and veganism became portrayed as a vehicle for health and weight-loss. I argue that the reason for this is that the media, via celebrities, has been able to harness veganism to uphold the ideologies of consumerism and healthism both of which are linked to the overall neoliberal project (e.g. Ayo 2012, Rose 1999). This is also why in the figure healthism, consumerism as well as speciesism are represented alongside neoliberalism. Together, these ideologies make the current context such fertile ground for veganism.

In particular, self-surveillance as regards to one's health is a direct link to healthism which, Rose (1999) argues, links the public objectives for good health and good order with the desire of individuals for health and well-being. Healthism assigns a key role to experts as it is experts who can tell us how to conduct and improve ourselves (Ayo 2012, see also Lewis 2008). In addition, as Rose (1999) argues, the seduction to healthism takes place through advertising and media. More specifically, media has framed celebrities as experts in lifestyle (Lewis 2007, 2010), consumption (Hackley & Hackley 2015) and, moreover, health (Hoffman & Tan 2013) by framing celebrity lifestyle as aspirational. Arguably, the reason for doing so is, as was noted in the first essay, that media forms a symbiotic relationship with its elite sources, for instance, celebrities who provide a steady stream of news which are guaranteed to interest the audience. Media thus relies on celebrities to sell the magazines whilst celebrities rely on the media to build their brands. However, by framing celebrity lifestyle as aspirational and by framing consumption as a way to emulate the celebrity lifestyle, the media also perpetuates consumerism and thus the neoliberal project (see Ayo 2012) via the celebrities. Whilst this may not be intention of the

individual celebrities, the celebrity culture combined with the media logic upholds the status quo.

These trends seem heightened by both the national and the organisational context. Here, the national context means accounting for the heightened neoliberal tendencies in the UK (Harvey 2005) which arguably emphasise the importance of the other ideologies. Interestingly, Brockington (2009) also argues that, as the income inequalities are heightened in the UK, this leads to a higher propensity for celebrity obsession.

Conversely, at the organisational level, it seems that the turn around, in which veganism has been transformed from representing the layabout other to the symbol of leanness, self-monitoring and success, seems to be related to the same core values which at first made the *Mail* seem so opposed to veganism. It is an ardent proponent of neoliberalism and taking charge of one's life. Therefore, again, the neoliberal tendencies and the associated trends seem heightened here through the promotion of lower taxes and the responsibilities of individuals, and through lobbying for less government control. Hence, the *Mail* is, for instance, likely to take a harsh view on what it deems to be individuals who live off the money of the respectable tax payers'. Indeed, in many occasions vegans were portrayed as a burden on the tax payers' wallets in the stigmatising framing, for instance, by being allegedly work shy or by being imprisoned. On the other hand, these core values also make the *Mail* likely to promote healthism in which the individual has to take responsibility for their own actions. Veganism seems to be a very good means for taking care of one's health through healthy eating.

These are the forces which have made the ground fertile for veganism to rise at this particular time in this particular context. However, I argue that it is particularly the symbiotic relationship between media and celebrities, which was noted in the first essay, which has actively propelled the rise of veganism. As argued earlier, this relationship is most obvious on the organisational level. The reasons for this include that celebrities rely on media to keep their names in people's minds to build their own brands. As celebrity news sell, media is also drawn to the celebrities. However, the celebrities also need to keep providing the media with new stories whether it is related to their consumption habits, professional projects or personal trials and tribulations. This symbiotic relationship fuels the need for new celebrity stories and trends, such as veganism. The relationship then radiates outwards to the other levels as well so that celebrities in fact become vehicles in the reinforcement of existing structures and power imbalances.

As has been noted several times, the first two essays complement each other. In fact, the two essays are brought together to build a more comprehensive framework of why media and celebrities have contributed to the rise of veganism in Chapter 5.1.1. However, admittedly, there are also some limitations in the second study, particularly the fact that the study relies on a single media source. This limitation is addressed in the third essay. In addition, there is a need to explore the process by which this change has occurred in more detail. This is what I shall turn to next.

4.3 Celebrities in the co-optation of veganism

After establishing why media and celebrities have contributed to the rise of veganism and sustainable consumption in the first two essays, I proceed to explore how exactly this change has happened. Hence, the third study (see Essay III) analyses the rise of veganism from the point of view of co-optation theory. As was argued in Chapter 2.4, co-optation can be defined as the process by which a more powerful group subsumes a weaker or a challenging group by attempting to replicate the aspects that they find appealing without adopting the full programme or ideals thus protecting the status quo.

In this paper, I, along with my co-author, uncover the dual role celebrities have played in the co-optation of veganism in the UK. We show that the co-optation of veganism has taken place via the celebritisation of a parallel movement – environmentalism. Whilst the scientific and political discourse of the environmental movement then legitimised veganism in the media, it was the celebritisation of the environmental movement which diluted the message. Later, the persistent celebrity involvement associated veganism – or more accurately, the plant-based diet – with health and weight-loss aligning it with the ideology of healthism. Through this new framing and new vocabulary veganism severed its ties with both the animal rights and environmental movement thus finally co-opting veganism. We illustrate this through a novel stage model of co-optation which highlights the consecutive processes of celebritisation and co-optation in the vegan movement. In this way, co-optation theory is further developed in the light of celebrity involvement.

To reach this conclusion, we again conducted a frame analysis informed by radical structuralism. While the previous essay focused solely on one newspaper, here we extend the analysis to seven of the largest daily newspapers in Britain. In addition, the data consists of all articles related to veganism in these newspapers in 2000–2015, thus extending the time period under investigation. The analysis

revealed that the framing of veganism consisted of three different frames: *Animal rights movement* framing which was most prevalent in 2000–2005, *Environmentalism* framing which was most prevalent in 2006–2010, and, finally, *Health and weight-loss* framing in 2011–2015.

Of these, the *Animal rights movement* framing was again very similar to the stigmatising framing of the second essay, and the frame provides further support to Cole and Morgan's (2011) findings regarding "vegaphobia". Moreover, one can conclude that, whilst in the early years vegans were predominantly associated with the animal rights movement, the media portrayal was mainly negative in tone. Thus, veganism was, for instance, associated misfits and eccentrics, activists, terrorists and criminals, and seen as a sign of unhealthy extremism. Furthermore, in comparison with the later framing, where veganism was portrayed as a healthy diet, in the earlier years it was again seen as detrimental to one's health through various deficiencies. Taken together, this frame shows how politically and morally informed veganism was still very much marginalised. In addition, the environmental benefits of veganism were not included in the discussion.

This was about to change, however, as *Environmentalism* framing rose on the media agenda. The rise of the environmental framing here is not a coincidence as this is the time period where the media coverage of climate change grew overall as well (see e.g. Boykoff & Mansfield 2008). This helped to emphasise the environmental motivations for veganism, and to a large extent highlighted political and rational discourse based on the good of the commons (see Johnston 2008). It therefore seems that a frame bridging (Snow et al. 1986) has taken place. Via frame bridging, ideologically congruent but structurally unconnected frames or movements are brought together. This does not mean that the message was universally accepted. In fact, the stigmatising, "vegaphobic" attitudes towards vegans persisted, as is evident from Cole and Morgan's (2011) study as well as the second essay. However, there was a clear change in the discourse towards environmental factors while the animal rights framing started to decline compared to the earlier period. On the other hand, the enthusiasm of these couple of years died down soon as the environmental framing decreased in prominence.

But what made the sustainability discourse rise on the media agenda in the first place in comparison with the earlier time period? We argue that this change is partly due to celebrities. As extant literature has noted (e.g. Boykoff et al. 2010, Boykoff & Goodman 2010), celebrities had jumped on the sustainability bandwagon with great zeal with 2007 seen as a peak of the iceberg. Media had

also attempted to pique the interest of the general public in sustainability issues by using celebrities as role models in said issues. Thus, their green zeal was used to explain how sustainable consumption is not only for consumers adopting an alternative lifestyle but are now mainstream concerns. In fact, celebrity adherents even made sustainability seem fashionable.

This is an instance of celebritisation (Boykoff & Goodman 2009, Driessens 2013b, Goodman 2010) which, as explained in Chapter 2.4., can be simplified as referring to celebrity activism and celebrity politics. However, whilst celebrities can raise interest in sustainability (Boykoff et al. 2010), there are some serious caveats: celebrities as "heroic individuals" combined with the neoliberal environment lead to a situation where sustainability issues become the overwhelming responsibility of the individual (Boykoff & Goodmann 2009), instead of governments or regulators who might affect more significant policy changes (Boykoff et al. 2010). In practice these tendencies have meant an emphasis on commodified solutions to environmental degradation (see also Boykoff et al. 2010, Meyer & Gamson 1995). What this then exemplifies is the parallel between the concepts of celebritisation and that of the citizen-consumer, as introduced in Chapter 2.4. While the political, rational discourse highlights obligation to commons and the necessity for intergovernmental, macro level agreements, celebritisation individualises the issue. In this way, consumers are called to "vote with one's dollar" and, thus, to fulfill obligation to both the commons and to oneself through market place transactions through the citizen-consumer hybrid (Johnston 2008).

However, the co-optation process was not complete until the final framing which disassociated veganism from both the animal rights movement as well as environmental reasons. Here, the *Health and weight-loss* framing portrayed veganism as a scientifically proven, healthy (supplement to a) diet as well as a diet for aesthetic, weight-loss reasons. This framing took place particularly through celebrities. Therefore, there are clear parallels here with the *Veganism as a healthy diet* and *Veganism as a celebrity fashion* framing of the second article. Again, the rationality of apolitical veganism was backed up by several studies and scientific, expert information related to the health benefits of veganism. However, what this type of veganism seems to lack are the previous connotations of animal rights or environmental concerns. Instead, the main promotional claims for veganism were health and weight-loss aspects. Veganism was promoted as a diet which could be utilised to attain a healthy, slim and toned body.

This turn can be linked to the dramatic increase in the number of A-list celebrity vegans adopting the diet around this time period. An ever increasing list of celebrity vegans was included in the media. There was also a transformation of language. In particular, there is the introduction of the term "plant-based diet" (e.g. Hardgrave 2014, Griffiths 2015, *Daily Mail* 2015, McMahon 2015). This emphasises the fact that veganism is reduced to a diet, instead of an all-encompassing moral lifestyle, which would also restrict the use of animals "for food, clothing or any other purpose" (Vegan Society 2016). In addition, the notions such as "part-time" veganism or "Vegan before 6:00" diet (e.g. Betts 2014) are promoted. Therefore, veganism had turned into flexible veganism. Furthermore, what this framing highlights is veganism as an apolitical diet aimed at obligation to oneself (Johnston 2008), without any links with obligation to commons or to the notion of a citizen-consumer. Veganism had, in other words, been co-opted and turned into a "depoliticized fashion style" (Thompson & Coskuner-Balli 2007). However, it is important to note that despite the trendiness of this particular strand of veganism, aspects of veganism still remained marginalised and stigmatised. Overall, the vegan movement had then become divided in two in the media. The apolitical consumption trend lead by celebrities was separated from the stigmatised, political and moral lifestyle.

How this change has happened in practice is shown in the novel stage model of co-optation in Table 4. As was noted in Chapter 2.4, this model builds on the stage model of co-optation created by Coy and Hedeen (2005). Similarly to their model, Stage 1 involves the formation of the countermovement to address social problems and to demand social change for the good of the commons. While veganism has a long history (see Davis 2012), the inception of veganism as a movement can be argued to have taken place in 1944. This is when the term was first coined with the establishment of the Vegan Society (Davis 2012). However, for a long time veganism remained marginal.

As has been shown above, the framing of veganism did, however, become more positive. Yet, instead of the animal right movement pushing their message through, like in Coy and Hedeen's (2005) model, the impetus for this change came from a related but a separate field and due to new actors: the environmental movement and celebrities. Therefore, Stage 2 is markedly different to Coy and Hedeen's (2005) model as it emphasises the role of a new group of actors who enter the conversation. In our model, frame bridging and celebritisation are, therefore, included as its own separate stage. Thus, from the point of view of the mainstream media, the environmental movement developed separately. When the movement became celebritised, these two movements were brought together through frame bridging (Snow et al. 1986).

Table 4. A stage model of the co-optation of veganism

	Stage 1: Inception	**Stage 2: Celebritisation and frame bridging**	**Stage 3: Appropriation of language, transformation of program goals and marginalisation**
Step 1	Countermovement forms to address social problems	Celebritisation of a parallel movement	Separation from parallel movement through new actors and new framing
Step 2	Countermovement demands change	Frame bridging	Vested interests appropriate language; dismiss values; change goals and definitions
Step 3	Vested interests marginalise countermovement	Vested interests attracted to the extended/modified frame	Original countermovement movement becomes marginalised; new actors take over

Importantly, then, it would seem that celebrities were required for the media to become attracted to the new ideas as they raise the profile of the movement in the first place (see e.g. Boykoff et al. 2010, Meyer & Gamson 1995, Kerrigan et al. 2011). This is related to the journalistic norm of personalisation which refers to the tendency to forego the bigger social, economic, or political picture in favor of the human interest story (Boykoff & Boykoff 2007) where the personality with the greatest charisma gains the greatest amount of attention (see also Chapter 2.3). In practice, however, this also means that celebritisation dilutes the message of the environmental movement. Celebrities thus bring incentives to commodify, individualise and depoliticise movements (Boykoff et al. 2010, Meyer & Gamson 1995).

Finally, in Stage 3, the original movement is separated further from the parallel movement and a divide between the old and new breed of vegans deepens. Instead of inclusion and participation, or the general animal rights movement becoming more accepted, the limelight is high-jacked by new actors who adopt, appropriate and help to diffuse new imagery. Similarly to Stage 2, these new actors are also celebrities but a different set of them, a set which uses the plant-based diet merely for aesthetic and health-related reasons. This highlights the

difference between celebritisation, which has political motivations, and mere celebrity involvement, which does not. Through celebrity involvement the imagery related to veganism then changes. The media thus accepts veganism but only to the extent that it can be seen as a diet which could be utilised to attain a healthy, slim and toned body. Following from this, similarly to Coy and Hedeen's (2005) model, Stage 3 then involves the transformation of programme goals and redefinition of terms. Through this final frame veganism is turned into a vehicle through which obligation to oneself (Johnston 2008) can be achieved.

Overall, this study highlights the importance of understanding the role of both celebrities and the media in the co-optation process – a factor which has gained only cursory attention in extant literature. The theoretical contributions of this study include developing the understanding of co-optation by exploring the connections between the concepts of celebritisation and co-optation, and detailing the two different roles celebrities have in the co-optation process. In addition, what the model highlights is the need for a more dynamic understanding of co-optation. Co-optation does not happen in an instant, for instance, at the whim of a group of marketers (cf. Frank 1997). Nor is co-optation merely a battle between two opposing forces – the countermovement and vested interests. Instead, co-optation involves many different, competing and even internally contradictory forces with their own motives – which sometimes lead to unintended consequences. Therefore, this study aims to be a step in the direction of a more nuanced and detailed understanding of the co-optation process.

This essay builds a very detailed picture of how the portrayal of veganism changed. However, there is still a need to explore in more detail the process by which the meanings associated with celebrity trends would seep into the consumption practices of consumers. The final essay then continues to explore how exactly celebrities can contribute to the rise of a marginalised form of consumption but this time does so from the point of view of Bourdieu's field theory.

4.4 The Beyoncé Diet: Media meta-capital and celebrity in changing taste regimes

Whilst a number of studies have studied celebrity involvement in this context (e.g. Boykoff & Goodman 2009, Boykoff et al. 2010, Goodman 2010), the process by which celebrities actually impact the consumption practices of the wider public has not received a great deal of attention. Goodman (2010), for instance, argues that by purchasing celebrity endorsed ethical brands we hope to become

more like the celebrity. This line of argument is derived from the seminal meaning transfer model of paid celebrity endorsement proposed by McCracken (1989). This approach, however, neglects the structural forces which guide consumers (for critique see Holt 1997b) which, following Askegaard and Linnet (2011), I argue to be a serious flaw. Thus, in this essay (see Essay IV) I propose that Bourdieusian theory is more apt at explaining societal changes in consumption behaviour.

The essay then contributes to the traditional celebrity endorsement literature by suggesting an alternative framework which is more appropriate for explaining celebrity influence on the macro level and outside the advertising context. It also accounts for the active role of media in the process by suggesting Couldry's (2003) notion of media meta-capital as the missing link between celebrities and the consumers. It is through media meta-capital that media has the power to define what constitutes different forms of capital within a field and it explains how media messages are spread across various fields. By accounting for the role of different fields and so-called taste regimes (Arsel & Bean 2013) within a society, the framework also provides a more nuanced account of celebrity influence.

To appreciate the process by which this happens, one must first understand the concepts of the field and of taste regimes. A field is a historical social arena in which agents compete for position and for various types of capital. The concept of field highlights the different resources required to be successful in a particular section of the society (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992). In this essay, I particularly focus on the field of consumption which is seen as consisting of subfields with their own distinctive value systems, normative discourses, modes of practice, and status systems (Arsel & Thompson 2011). Thus, the fields and the corresponding taste regimes should be thought of as subfields within the larger field of consumption. Moreover, while a generalised Bourdieusian capital determines one's status in the broader societal hierarchy, field-dependent capital is at play within specific fields of consumption (Arsel & Thompson 2011).

Furthermore, taste regimes, as defined by Arsel and Bean (2013) are discursively constructed normative systems which are perpetuated by marketplace institutions such as magazines and websites. It is in these taste communities or taste regimes that consumers learn to calibrate their tastes to a field, community, or group with which they identify (McQuarrie et al. 2013). While in the extant literature Arsel and Bean's (2013) analysis highlights how media have practical implications for the practices of the consumers within a particular taste regime, what I propose in this essay is Couldry's (2003) concept of media meta-capital to

explain how media power extends across different fields and, hence, can lead to societal level change via celebrities.

For Couldry (2003), then, media meta-capital is media power in the society. According to this view, media influences social fields and social space as a whole by, firstly, providing discursive regimes which frame social issues, influence agendas, and legitimate representations of the social world. But, as Couldry (2003) argues, the power of media meta-capital is that it extends beyond different fields. In his theorisation, media's meta-capital affects social space through the general circulation of media representations as all actors in specific fields are likely also to be actors in general social space and to be consumers of media messages. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that media has an effect on a wide cross-section of society rather than just one particular taste regime.

Secondly, Couldry (2003) argues that media can influence "what counts as symbolic capital in particular fields through its increasing monopoly over the sites of social prestige" (Couldry 2003: 668), as well as the exchange rate between different forms of capital. Media thus also has the power to frame these new "rules of the game" or the field to the public, it has the power to construct celebrities by granting them symbolic capital and frame them as consumption experts (Hackley & Hackley 2015). Finally, media has the power to promote meanings relating to a taste by highlighting a connection to celebrity.

This overall process is outlined in Figure 3 where I illustrate the process through the case of the so-called Beyoncé Diet, named after the pop princess Beyoncé Knowles. The case aims to show how media meta-capital has contributed to the new emerging meanings of veganism and, hence, to changes in taste regimes.

Thus, at the end of the year 2013, Beyoncé along with her husband, rapper and producer Jay Z decided to go vegan for 22 days, and the internet and the lifestyle media went wild. The year 2014, for instance, was claimed to become the "year of the vegan" due to this stunt (Rami 2014), which is now commonly known as the "Beyoncé Diet" or the "22-day diet". The media attention was also transformed into real life interest by the public (e.g. Marsh 2016), which the media as well as the Vegan Society attributed to a great extent to Beyoncé (e.g. Barford 2014, Vegan Society 2014). As the rise of veganism seems driven to a large extent by celebrities, particularly by Beyoncé, this seems an ideal context to explore the wider role of celebrity influence in the society.

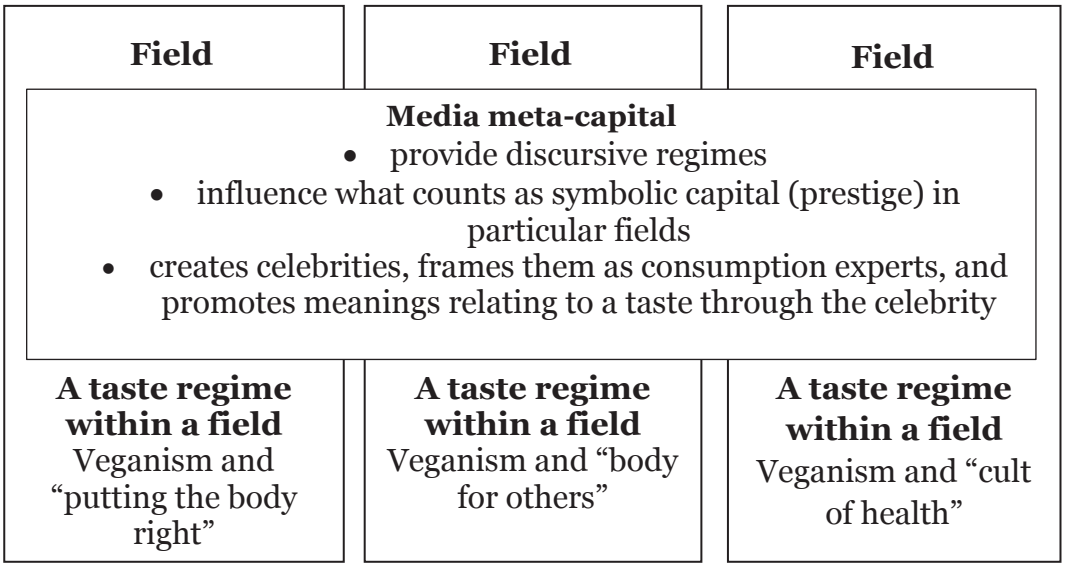

Figure 3. Media meta-capital and celebrity influence in the case of the Beyoncé Diet

Beyoncé's career started as the lead singer of Destiny's Child, which according to Nielsen Soundscan is the second most successful girl group of all time worldwide (Farber 2013). In her subsequent solo career, Beyoncé had already proceeded to sell another 100 million records (Chicago Tribune 2013) before the release of her latest album, *Lemonade*, making her one of the most successful artists of all time.

Beyoncé's celebrity status, however, is created by the media. Boorstin (1961: 57), for instance, defines celebrities by their "well-knownness", which arises from media exposure. Similarly, Driessens (2013a) relies on Bourdieu when he argues that a celebrity can be defined as someone who possesses so-called celebrity capital, by which he means recognisability resulting from media visibility. Moreover, Driessens (2013a) argues that what makes celebrity capital so distinctive is that it tends to work across social fields. This celebrity capital, which Beyoncé possesses and which has been created by the media, does indeed function across different fields outside the world of pop music. In fact, Beyoncé has regularly been named one of the most influential celebrities in the world. In 2014, Forbes, for instance, ranked her as the most powerful celebrity in the world with Jay Z following in 6th place (Forbes 2014, see also Petridis et al. 2016).

It has also been noted that media portrays celebrities as consumption experts (Hackley & Hackley 2015). In practical terms, this kind of framing takes place, for instance, by often ranking Beyoncé among the "most beautiful" or "sexiest" women in the world (e.g. by the *People* magazine, People 2012). In fact, Beyoncé's brand (see also Cashmore 2010, Trier-Bieniek 2016) is very much focused on her bodily aesthetics, for instance, through her elaborate dance

choreographies (Petridis et al. 2016). The implication then is that by following in Beyoncé's footsteps in her consumption and lifestyle choices, one can enhance their own sexual allure and status.

Overall, this brings attention to Beyoncé's physical capital (Bourdieu 1978: 832), an aspect of cultural capital (Williams 1995). According to Shilling (1991), the production of physical capital then refers to the social formation of bodies by individuals. This can take place through sporting, leisure and other activities, such as nutrition (see Guthman 2003), in ways which express one's taste (Bourdieu 1984) and which are accorded symbolic value. This physical capital is then converted into further economic, cultural, and social capital (Bourdieu 1978, 1984) and, overall, into increased status (see Shilling 1991). The coverage of the so-called Beyoncé Diet also highlights the importance of physical capital. Hence, by emphasising the link between Beyoncé's physical capital and veganism, the media promotes meanings relating to a taste through the celebrity.

Thus, whilst Beyoncé had tried the vegan diet previously in an effort to shed the pregnancy weight after giving birth to her first child (see e.g. Warrington 2013), it was in December 2013 when the diet attracted the most attention. It was then when Beyoncé and Jay Z decided to go vegan for 22 days. Out of the wider media coverage emerges three new meanings for veganism which are related to physical capital in particular and which are promoted through Beyoncé and her embodied capital. These are veganism as a short-term fix for restoring the body to its "normal state"; as a tool to gain a body to be admired by others; and, finally, as an ally in the quest for health, as is shown in Figure 3. These themes arise from the media coverage and show how the new meanings of veganism can appeal to a wide range of audiences, as part of different, existing taste regimes. Nevertheless, it is possible to see parallels here with Bourdieu's original theorisations despite the fact that, as in most of his earlier theorisations, Bourdieu focuses particularly on the importance of the body for different classes.

Thus, in exploring the social stratification of consumption patterns, Bourdieu (1984) notes that different classes approach the body in different ways. Working classes, for instance, develop an instrumental orientation to the body so that the body is a means to an end. This is evident in relation to illness and sporting choices. For instance, for the working classes, "putting the body right" (see Figure 3) is primarily a means for returning to work or getting ready for holiday. The Beyoncé Diet exemplifies this as a temporary fix. The diet is, for instance, used to get the body back into the shape it was before the pregnancy, like Beyoncé did. Similarly, many articles promote the Beyoncé Diet as a short-term fix after the

overindulgence of the Christmas period. After the diet has "put the body right", it is possible to indulge again and return to the normal routine in February.

Conversely, Bourdieu argues that the tastes of the dominant classes develop in spaces marked by a greater "distance from necessity" (Bourdieu 1984) and tend to treat the body as an end in itself. This can be directed to the body either on the inside or the outside: either to a "cult of health", or "the 'physique', i.e. the body for others" (see Figure 3, Bourdieu 1978: 838, Bourdieu 1984: 212-13). Both of these meanings are found in the media coverage of the Beyoncé Diet. Firstly, the preoccupation on Beyoncé's enhanced physique highlights the diet as a way to hone the body for others. In particular, the emphasis was on how much weight Beyoncé had lost during the stint. Secondly, the emphasis on health and the spiritual aspects of the original post, where Jay Z (2013) referred to the diet as "a spiritual and physical cleanse", also highlights the link to the "cult of health". What is, however, again mostly missing from the media discourse in relation to the Beyoncé Diet are the ethical and environmental aspects of veganism.

This framework then explores how taste regimes change in part due to celebrity influence. Whilst models relying on identification with a celebrity focus mainly on the micro level, the framework presented here explores how the meanings of the celebrity feed into taste regimes on a meso and macro level, across the society. In particular, the paper suggests Couldry's (2003) notion of media meta-capital as the missing link between celebrities and the consumers. It is through media meta-capital that media has the power to define what constitutes different forms of capital within a field, and it explains how media messages are spread across various fields. In addition, in comparison with models developed for the context of paid celebrity endorsement, the concept of media meta-capital also takes a wider approach in accounting for the myriad of ways in which celebrities promote products, brands, consumption practices and causes through the media, not merely in the context of paid endorsement.

Thus, in contrast with traditional celebrity endorsement literature, it is proposed here that Bourdieusian theory is more apt at explaining celebrity influence in societal change. In contrast with models such as the one proposed by McCracken (1989) which does not allow for the possibility that consumers may vary in terms of how they understand and use consumption objects, the poststructuralist approach allows for the same practice to gain different meanings within different taste regimes. This nuanced account of celebrity influence thus helps to explore which audiences would be attracted to the celebrity emulation in a particular instance and why. However, while the possible meanings attached to the Beyoncé Diet and, hence, to a plant-based diet have been explored above, in a conceptual

paper like the current one, it is not possible to empirically ascertain who would adopt celebrity taste displays as part of their own and what exactly are the meanings they attach to them. This is a question for future research.

4.5 Corroborating the findings of the four essays

The four essays presented above investigate the role of media and celebrities in the rise of a sustainable consumption and, particularly, veganism. This issue has been explored from four different angles, both from the point of view of radical structuralism and Bourdieusian field theory. Whilst these different foci, theoretical lenses as well as data used in each study are likely to lead to slightly different findings, it is still possible to find clear commonalities between the studies. It is, therefore, necessary to corroborate the findings of the four essays. As a form of triangulation, this increases the credibility, dependability and confirmability of the findings (see Chapter 3.4). The different frames of the first three articles are also shown in Figure 4. The figure also shows the time periods when the frames were the most prevalent. However, one must keep in mind, that at times the frames were overlapping, and that often there are no clear cut off points for the changes between the frames. Nevertheless, some common themes and trends can be detected.

Firstly, the first essay explores the time period 2009–2013 and argues that environmentally sustainable consumption was popular and fashionable in the media in the early years of the data. However, the essay also demonstrates that the media then turned against sustainable consumption in the later years. Similar conclusions can also be drawn from the environmental frame in the third essay, in that the environmental framing related to veganism peaks around 2006–2010 and then dies down. Whilst it must be remembered that the data in the third essay consists of articles related to veganism, it is possible to see a general trend here in that the media — both in Finland and the UK, both lifestyle magazines and mainstream news outlets — turns away from sustainability issues after a brief period of exuberance.

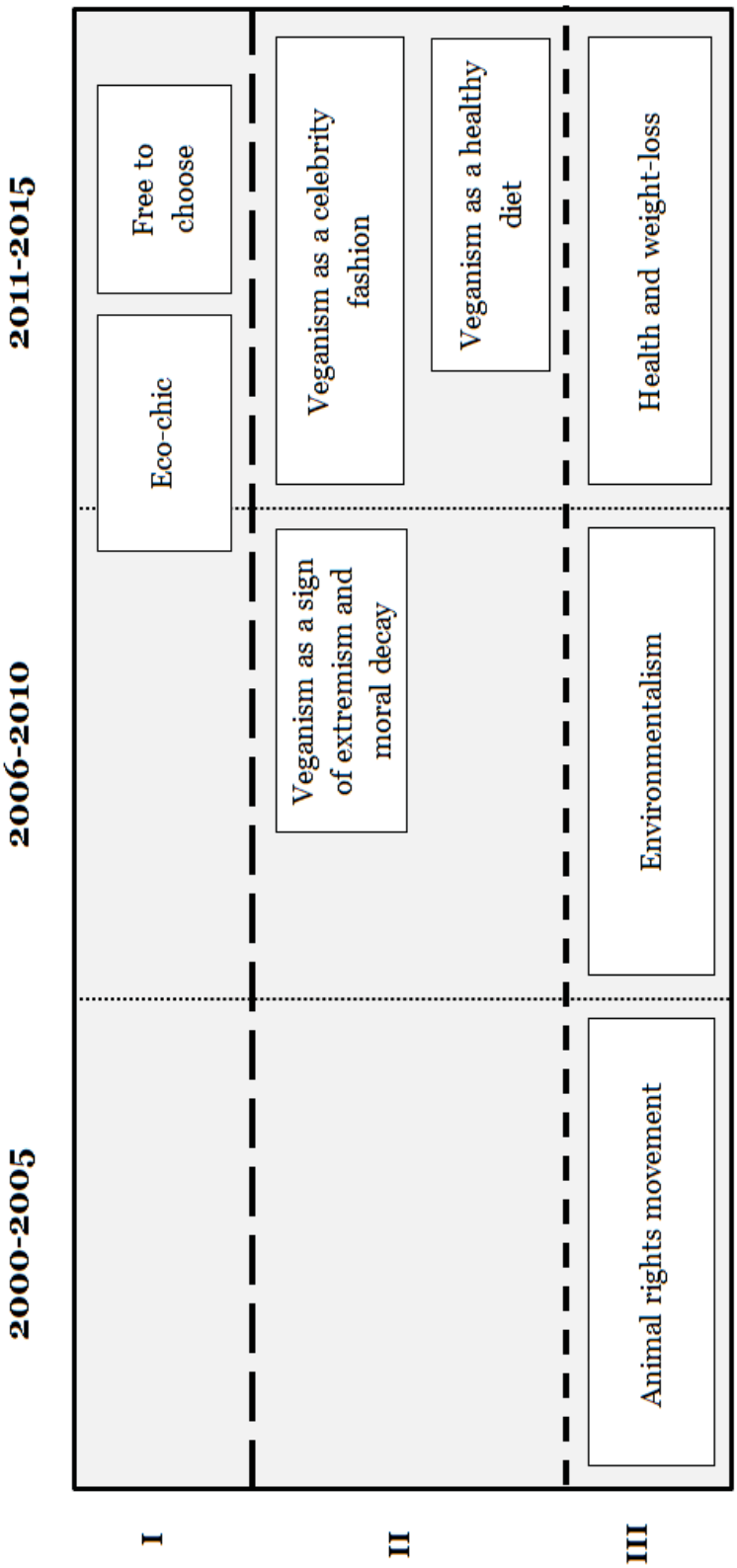

Figure 4. The frames of the first three essays

Secondly, both the second and third essays show how the number of articles related to veganism increases over time. In particular, they show a turn in the data around 2010–2011 as a whole host of celebrities joined the vegan movement. The timing of this turn is also corroborated by Cole and Morgan's (2011) study in that I agree that veganism was still very much marginalised in 2007 in the UK media despite the increased environmentalism framing. A downturn in the interest in veganism is not yet to be detected in the data. However, the results from the first essay would suggest that such a change is only a matter of time.

In addition, together the essays show that even though veganism and sustainable consumption have been hyped up by the media, the status quo remains. All of the essays have argued that the type of veganism or the form of sustainable consumption which has been promoted by the media is distanced from the original aims of the animal rights movement or the environmental movement. In other words, veganism as a moral and political ethos remains marginalised, and thus status quo is protected from the major upheaval which the rejection of speciesism would no doubt necessitate. Similarly, the re-marginalisation of sustainability issues in the first essay implies that sustainable consumption is merely used as a new, commodified consumption trend to hype up and then destroy when interest in it wanes, only to be replaced by a new trend.

However, there are differences between the findings between the second and third essay. In the second essay, the frames of *Veganism as a celebrity fashion*, which focuses on aesthetics, and the destigmatising framing of *Veganism as a healthy diet*, which emphasises health, are considered as two separate frames, despite the fact that their timing is to a large extent overlapping, as can be seen in Figure 4. In contrast, in the third essay these themes – health, weight-loss and celebrities – are merged through the frame of *Health and weight-loss*. I argue that this difference arises from two different factors. Firstly, the data are different in these two essays so that, in the second essay, the online tabloid content highlights magazine-style celebrity news to a greater extent. This would, for instance, entail articles which focus on one particular celebrity and revolve around paparazzi pictures. In contrast, in the third essay an array of celebrities could be used as part of general lifestyle articles to give credence to the promoted consumption style. Moreover, this discrepancy can be explained by methodological choices. In the third essay the analysis is also quantitative, and while LIWC is a valuable tool for thematic analysis, it is not so useful in conducting nuanced analysis. For instance, in the second article it was argued that to a large extent the final, destigmatising frame also used celebrities to justify the newly found trendiness of veganism. Nonetheless, the rational,

scientific approach taken towards the plant-based diet was distanced from celebrities by ridiculing their fad diets. Finding such nuances through quantitative analysis is difficult thus conflating the two frames in this instance.

However, both of these essays argue that it is the celebrity involvement in veganism which gave rise to veganism, or more specifically plant-based diet, as a consumption trend. This corroborates the results and gives added credence to the first and fourth essay. Next it is then time to draw conclusions from these four essays and to answer the question why and how do media and celebrities contribute to the rise of a marginalised form of consumption, particularly in the case of veganism.

5 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

5.1 Media and celebrities in the rise of veganism

This thesis set out to investigate how and why do media and celebrities contribute to the rise of a marginalised form of consumption. This question has been explored in this thesis through four different theoretical lenses in the context of sustainable consumption and, particularly, veganism.

The findings of the four essays reveal that, despite the apparent rise in the status of veganism in particular, the media portrayal is dichotomous. On the one hand, media continues to marginalise ethical, political veganism but, on the other, it promotes the new fashionable trend of the plant-based diet for aesthetic and health reasons. In particular, the thesis has argued that the media has cut veganism from its previously radical roots. This works as a way to hinder real change, the ultimate goal of which would be the end of exploitation of animals. In this way, media harnesses veganism to protect the status quo of speciesism, consumerism and, ultimately, neoliberalism. In addition, in this way plant-based diets can also be harnessed to support the ideology of healthism.

In this process, celebrities have been powerful allies as through them connotations of health and beauty can be associated with veganism. On the other hand, these connotations also make the trend susceptible to competitors when new celebrity fad diets become available, as was shown in the case of sustainable consumption in the first essay. Thus, whilst no downward trend can yet be detected in the data, it is also probable that the trend of plant-based diet will also wither. This is due to the profit-making aims of the media institutions which necessitates new consumption trends.

Based on these findings, the overall thesis then contributes to the extant literature in two ways. The first contribution of the thesis, which is based on the first two essays, is the development of a multilevel, theoretical framework which shows the different forces which explain the rise of veganism. The framework provides a more comprehensive explanation compared to either of the individual essays. It builds on the first essay by also exploring the wider ideologies as well as the national and organisational contexts in the rise of veganism. Furthermore, in contrast with the second essay, it also highlights the institutional context of media content production. In particular, the framework places media and celebrities firmly at the centre of the framework as key contributors to the rise of

veganism. Thus, while there are other forces which have made the ground fertile for veganism to rise at this particular time in this particular context, I argue that it is particularly this symbiotic relationship between media and celebrities which has actively propelled the rise of veganism.

Conversely, the second contribution of the overall thesis, which is based on the last two essays, is the development of a framework which shows how exactly celebrities contribute to the changing consumer practices via media. While the third essay explores in detail, how the media portrayal of veganism has changed, it does not explain how these meanings are adopted by the audiences. Instead, it is the fourth essay which illustrates how these meanings then seep into the consumption practices of consumers. However, in focusing on one particular case, the so-called Beyoncé Diet, the fourth essay places less emphasis on the wider context within which these changes must be situated and which are revealed by the third essay. These are the limitations that are overcome by bringing these two frameworks together. Hence, the second contribution of the thesis is the development of a more comprehensive Bourdieusian process model which shows how celebrities contribute to the changing consumer practices through media meta-capital and through changing taste regimes. These two frameworks will be developed next.

5.1.1 Why media and celebrities contribute to the rise of veganism

The first two essays focus particularly on explaining why has the media, in conjunction with celebrities, given rise to the trend of veganism and of sustainable consumption. The two essays explore the issue through two different lenses, through media theory and through destigmatisation literature. Nevertheless, the two approaches are complementary and both are based on frame analysis informed by radical structuralism. Therefore, it is now time to bring these two essays together. In this way, it is possible to provide a more comprehensive theoretical framework of the forces explaining the rise of veganism in the UK.

The first essay then brings the profit-making aims of media institutions into the conversation about sustainable consumption to help explain why the meanings related to sustainable consumption have changed in the recent years. By relying on Herman and Chomsky's (1988) so-called Propaganda model, the essay shows that the media has a vested interest in both hyping up and then destroying the trend of sustainable consumption. More specifically, I found the filters of ownership and profit orientation of media corporations, advertising (i.e. source of funding), otherness (marginalisation of the Other) and sourcing (reliance on

profitable and reliable sources) to be most influential as the drivers in the process. Particularly, the essay argues that celebrities are elite sources which the media leverages for its own benefit.

The second essay builds on the first one. Again, then, the media is seen as a social sphere in which societal change is negotiated and through which meanings are spread. It is also seen as a vested interest which uses celebrities to its own advantage and to uphold the status quo. The second essay contributes to the destigmatisation literature by highlighting the role of the symbiotic relationship between celebrities and the media in destigmatisation. This is an important contribution as the role of celebrities has received only cursory attention in extant destigmatisation literature despite the different ways celebrities can become involved in stigma relations. However, in comparison with the first essay, the second essay moves away from the institutional context of media content production. Instead, it explores the wider media context and reveals that it is particularly in conjunction with the wider ideologies, and national and organisational contexts which makes the ground so fertile for veganism in this particular context at this particular time.

Nevertheless, Herman and Chomsky (1988) argue the filters of media content production to be generalisable to private media within capitalist societies. Thus, these filters are equally applicable to both newspapers and lifestyle magazines, and in both Finland and Britain. Therefore, it is possible to bring these two essays together in order to build a more comprehensive theoretical framework of the forces explaining the rise of veganism. This theoretical framework is presented in Figure 5.

As can be seen in this figure, the four most pertinent filters of Herman and Chomsky's (1988) model are placed at the centre of the framework in the form of the institutional context of news production. To reiterate, Herman and Chomsky (1988) argue that the main imperative for media organisations is to make profit. As the main source of funding is advertisers, the media needs to create content which keeps consumers buying the media content and advertised products. In addition, the media needs to keep readers in a state of mind which perpetuates the ideology of consumer culture. According to the filter of otherness, this also necessitates the marginalisation of actors and ideas which would threaten the status quo.

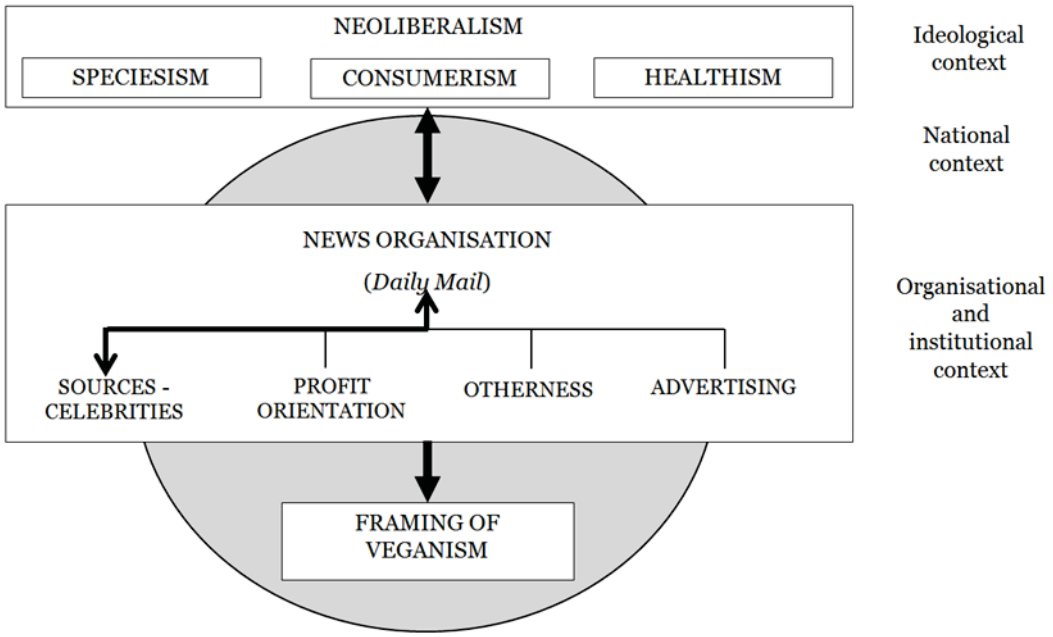

Figure 5. Forces explaining the rise of veganism

Finally, in the quest to attract readers, and thus the advertisers, the media relies on a particular group of elite sources — celebrities. Celebrities as cultural icons and as consumption experts attract readers and particularly readers who are in the shopping frame of mind. Through them it is possible to hype up trends which are then destroyed in order to make room for new ones thus creating urgency to keep up to date with the latest trends through media consumption. In fact, in this framework of particular interest is the important symbiotic relationship between media and celebrities. This relationship is most obvious on the institutional and organisational level. However, the relationship radiates outwards to the other levels as well. Media organisations, for instance, use celebrities to link veganism with larger ideologies. In addition, the importance of celebrities seems to depend on the national context to an extent.

In fact, all of the above filters can be related back to the ideological context, which was explored in more detail in the second essay. Thus, the marginalisation of vegans early on relates to the need to preserve the status quo (Herman & Chomsky 1988) as veganism essentially is a movement which aims to destabilise it. Political vegans present a threat to the neoliberal values as they question some of the basic tenets of the society through their opposition to speciesism (see e.g. Cole & Morgan 2011). Conversely, the change in the portrayal of veganism can be interpreted as the containment of radical, political veganism through co-optation, to use the terminology of the third essay. In fact, in this way veganism could be turned into a vehicle for health and weight-loss particularly through

their association with celebrities as experts in lifestyle (Lewis 2007, 2010), consumption (Hackley & Hackley 2015) and health (Hoffman & Tan 2013). This self-surveillance as regards to one's health is a direct link to healthism which links the public objectives for the good health and good order with the desire of individuals for health and well-being (Rose 1999). Furthermore, by framing celebrity lifestyle as aspirational and by framing the plant-based diet as a way to emulate the celebrity lifestyle, media perpetuates consumerism. Overall, then, via celebrities media is able to harness the plant-based diet to promote consumerism and healthism — both of which are linked to the overall neoliberal project (e.g. Ayo 2012, Rose 1999). Together, they make the current context such fertile ground for veganism.

These trends seem heightened by both the national and the organisational context. In the figure, the national context is represented by a sphere which is subsumed under the wider, international ideologies of neoliberalism and which provides the background for, for instance, the organizational context where the news organization is situated. On the other hand, as noted briefly in Chapter 4.2., major news organisations are rarely nationally bound. Therefore, the *Mail*, for instance, also takes influences and stories from around the world and, via its website, allows an access to international audiences. In fact, as was noted before, this time period also saw the *Mail* become the most visited online newspaper in the whole world (Greenslade 2012, Wheeler 2012). Therefore, the organizational level here is represented as expanding over the national context.

In practice, the national context means accounting for the heightened neoliberal tendencies in the UK (Harvey 2005), for instance, in contrast with Finland. These heightened tendencies arguably emphasise the other related trends. This time period also saw the economic crash of 2008 and the subsequent Eurozone crisis and austerity measures in the UK. As Guthman (2003) argues, the rise of organic food in the 1970s coincided, among other things, with the asceticism which derived from the newly found awareness of international poverty. It would not be too much of a stretch to then argue that the new wave of "back to basics" trends of Slow Food, veganism and organic food among other things would also be related to the economic times – after all, asceticism was one of the stereotypes previously attached to veganism, according to Cole and Morgan (2011). The tough times highlighting tightening of the belt can be seen to have led to the re-emergence of "cocooning" (Popcorn 1991) behaviour whereby people seek comfort and enjoyment in the creature comforts of everyday life when life outside the house gets too tough. The link between this and return to "authentic" "good old times" and non-industrial food (see also Guthman 2003), for instance, is easy to see. Interestingly, Brockington (2009) also argues that, as the income

inequalities are heightened in the UK, this leads to a higher propensity for celebrity obsession.

Finally, at the organisational level, one should consider the aims of the particular news outlet. In the second essay, for instance, the British tabloid *Daily Mail* was investigated. Here, I argue that the change in the portrayal of veganism is tied to the political leanings and values of the newspaper. The *Mail*, for instance, is an ardent proponent of neoliberalism and taking charge of one's life. Therefore, again, the neoliberal tendencies and the associated trends seem heightened here through the promotion of lower taxes and the responsibilities of individuals and lobbying for less government control. Hence, the *Mail* is, for instance, likely to take a harsh view on what it deems to be individuals who live off the money of the respectable tax payers. This, according to the *Mail*, is the case particularly for the animal rights activists who are portrayed as work shy and as criminals. By portraying these activists as the Other, it is able to protect the values of the in-group. On the other hand, the core values that first made the *Mail* so opposed to veganism also seem as the reason it later started to promote the plant-based diet. In particular, it is likely to promote healthism in which the individual has to take responsibility for their own actions. Hence, the portrayal of veganism changed from first representing the layabout Other to the symbol of leanness, self-monitoring and success.

Furthermore, at the organisational level the symbiotic relationship between the media organisation and celebrities seems heightened. As Cole (2007) argues, the *Mail* was "the first to realise how much newspapers could learn from magazines, particularly the technique of applying a current news story about a celebrity, a fashion or a fad to 'ordinary' *Mail* readers." These magazine-like techniques highlight the role of celebrities for the *Mail*'s profit-making logic. However, this technique is not only restricted to the *Mail*. In fact, Rojek's (2001) concept of the celetoids highlights the important relationship between celebrities and tabloids. To him, celetoids then are individuals who attain intense bursts of fame within media. The term itself is an amalgamation of "celebrity" and "tabloid" emphasising the importance of this type of media in both the creation of this type of celebrities but also their important role to the media content and, thus, to the profit-making logic of the media organisation.

Overall, then, the rise of veganism at this particular time can be related to the ideologies of speciesism, consumerism and healthism, which trace their origins back to the wider neoliberal project. In this case, these ideologies are further enhanced by the national context in Britain, the organisational context of the

Daily Mail, as well as the institutional context of the media content production through the four filters outlined above.

These are the forces which have made the ground fertile for veganism to rise at this particular time in this particular context. However, I argue that it is particularly the symbiotic relationship between media and celebrities which has actively propelled the rise of veganism. This relationship is most obvious on the institutional and organisational level. Celebrities rely on media to keep their names in people's minds to build their own brands. As celebrity news sell, media is also drawn to the celebrities. However, the celebrities also need to keep providing the media with new stories – whether related to their consumption habits, professional projects or personal trials and tribulations. This symbiotic relationship then fuels the need for new celebrity stories and trends, such as veganism. As has been outlined above, the relationship then radiates outwards to the other levels as well so that celebrities in fact become vehicles in the reinforcement of existing structures and power imbalances. Next, it is necessary to explore how exactly has this change taken place.

5.1.2 How media and celebrities contribute to the rise of veganism

The last two essays focus on uncovering how veganism has become mainstream and fashionable. In particular, they hone in on the role of media and celebrities in the process. In both of these essays I develop a Bourdieusian framework, which I now bring together to provide a more holistic description of how exactly do media and celebrities contribute to the rise of veganism.

Firstly, this framework builds on a stage model developed in the third essay. The essay explores the process by which veganism has become co-opted in the UK and it develops a novel stage model of co-optation. This model argues that co-optation has taken place via the celebritisation of a parallel movement – environmentalism. Celebritisation then moves the focus from political action aimed at the good of the commons to the citizen-consumer hybrid. The model also argues that it was apolitical celebrity involvement in the third and final stages that associated veganism – or more accurately, the plant-based diet – with health and weight-loss. Through this new framing and new vocabulary veganism severed its ties with both the animal rights and environmental movements thus emphasizing "obligation to self" and thus finally co-opting veganism.

The essay then builds a very detailed picture of how the portrayal of veganism changed, stage by stage, and accounts for the individuals steps therein. However, it still does not explain the process by which the meanings associated with

celebrity trends actually seep into the consumption practices of consumers. Instead, it is only possible to show how the media representations of veganism changed.

To explain this process, extant literature on celebrity involvement in sustainability issues has relied on traditional celebrity endorsement models. Goodman (2010), for instance, argues that by purchasing celebrity endorsed ethical brands we hope to become more like the celebrity. This line of argument is derived from the celebrity endorsement model proposed by McCracken (1989). However, as has been argued previously, a problem with this model is that, it neglects the structural forces which guide consumers (for critique of McCracken's approach, see Holt 1997b, see also Askegaard & Linnet 2011). Thus, in the final essay, I propose that Bourdieusian theory is more apt at explaining societal changes in consumption behaviour.

In particular, the fourth essay suggests Couldry's (2003) notion of media meta-capital as the missing link between celebrities and the consumers. It is through media meta-capital that media has the power to define what constitutes different forms of capital within a field and it explains how media messages are spread across various fields. Thus, whilst traditional models of celebrity endorsement focus mainly on the micro level, the framework presented here explores how the meanings of the celebrity feed into taste regimes on a meso and macro level, across the society. Therefore, it shows how the often unconscious choices of the consumers are guided by structural forces (see also Askegaard & Linnet 2011). In contrast with models such as McCracken's (1989), which does not allow for the possibility that consumers may vary in terms of how they understand and use consumption objects, the poststructuralist approach proposed in the fourth essay also allows for the same practice to gain different meanings within different taste regimes. This nuanced account of celebrity influence thus helps to explore which audiences would be attracted to celebrity emulation and why.

However, while in the fourth essay the theory is illustrated through the so-called Beyoncé Diet, the framework should not be taken to mean that these changes have taken place in a vacuum, at the hands of a single celebrity. Indeed, as the third essay shows, co-optation of veganism has taken place after several successive steps. It shows that the overall co-optation process has involved many different actors from animal rights movement to the scientific community and to a whole host of celebrities with differing motivation. Therefore, by bringing these two essays together, it is possible to propose a more comprehensive Bourdieusian process model of media meta-capital in the rise of veganism. This framework is outlined in Figure 6. I have called this model ”Media meta-capital and celebrities

in the rise of veganism", which is why the apparent lack of celebrities within the framework may seem striking. However, the reason for this is that celebrities only truly exist within media, as they are created by them and as the messages from and about celebrities are mediated to the public via the media. Thus, celebrities in my process model are subsumed under the general rubric of media meta-capital which creates the celebrities, frames them as experts in consumption and then promotes and spreads the meanings related to them. However, in order to appreciate this process, it is first necessary to take a more detailed look at Bourdieusian field theory upon which the model is based.

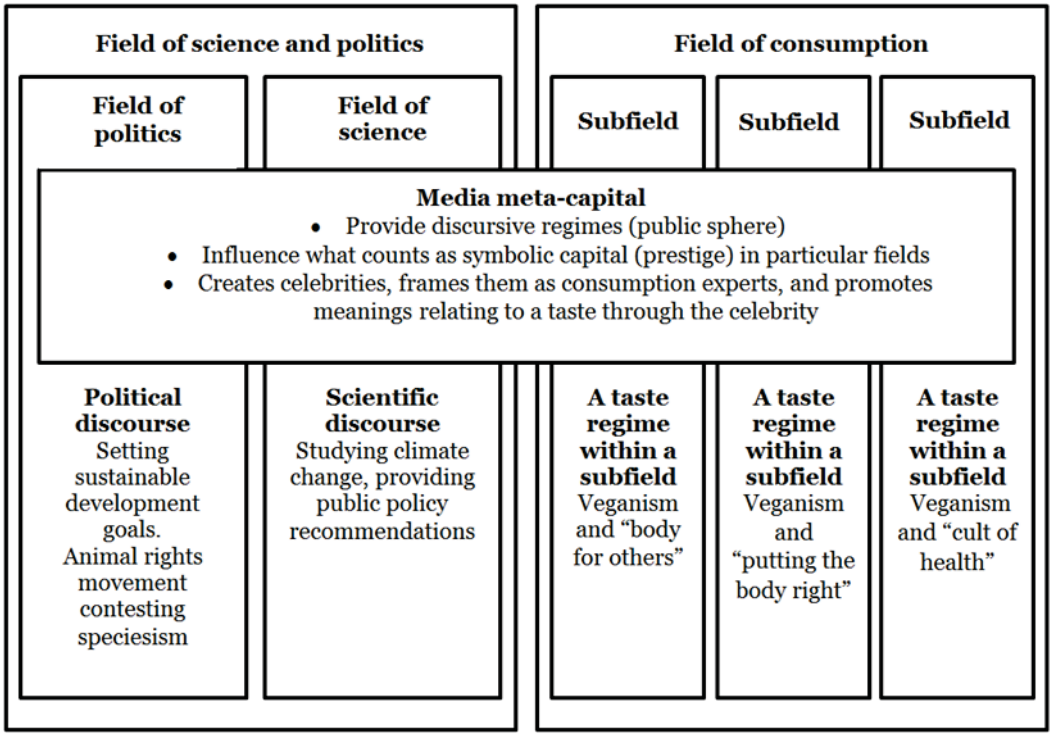

Figure 6. Media meta-capital and celebrities in the rise of veganism

Thus, to reiterate, a field is a historical social arena in which agents compete for position and for various types of capital. The concept of field highlights the different resources required to be successful in a particular section of the society (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992). In the fourth essay, I particularly focus on the field of consumption which is seen as consisting of subfields with their own distinctive value systems, normative discourses, modes of practice, and status systems (Arsel & Thompson 2011). This is seen on the right-hand side of Figure 6.

Furthermore, taste regimes are discursively constructed normative systems which are perpetuated by marketplace institutions such as magazines and websites (Arsel & Bean 2013). It is in these taste communities or taste regimes

that consumers learn to calibrate their tastes to a field, community, or group with which they identify (McQuarrie et al. 2013). In the extant literature, Arsel and Bean's (2013) analysis highlights how media have practical implications for the practices of the consumers within a particular taste regime. Conversely, what I propose in this essay is Couldry's (2003) concept of media meta-capital to explain how media power extends across different fields and, hence, can lead to societal level change via celebrities.

For Couldry (2003), then, media meta-capital is media power in the society. According to this view, media influences social fields and social space as a whole by, firstly, providing discursive regimes which frame social issues, influencing agendas, and legitimating representations of the social world. But, as Couldry (2003) argues, the power of media meta-capital is that it extends beyond different fields. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that media has an effect on a wide cross-section of society rather than just one particular taste regime. In Couldry's (2003) theorisation, media's meta-capital affects social space through the general circulation of media representations as all actors in specific fields are likely also to be actors in general social space and to be consumers of media messages.

Secondly, Couldry (2003) argues that media can influence "what counts as symbolic capital in particular fields through its increasing monopoly over the sites of social prestige" (Couldry 2003: 668), as well as the exchange rate between different forms of capital. Media thus also has the power to frame these new "rules of the game" or the field to the public, it has the power to construct celebrities by granting them symbolic capital and frame them as consumption experts (Hackley & Hackley 2015). Finally, media has the power to promote meanings relating to a taste by highlighting a connection to celebrity.

However, as noted above, this change has not taken place in a vacuum. Thus the actors who were identified as influential in the rise of veganism in the third essay should also be accounted for in order to produce a more comprehensive Bourdieusian framework. In particular, these actors include the scientific community as well as political actors. As per the third essay, the latter include the animal rights movement as well as politicians, the state and intergovernmental organisations such as the United Nations. These are shown in the left-hand side of Figure 6.

In this framework, the society is then simplified as consisting of two main fields: the field of consumption, on the one hand, and the field of politics and science, on the other. As argued, this dichotomy arises from the findings of the third essay but is also further supported by an earlier discussion regarding celebritisation,

which is a key concept in the third essay. Hence, as was noted in Chapter 2.4., celebritisation refers to a mediatised process whereby the boundaries of different spheres of life, particularly between the state and commercial/popular culture, begin to blur. Indeed, the popular media sphere has become the pre-eminent site for questions of politics and citizenship (Lewis 2010). Traditional figures of authority and expertise have then found themselves competing for media airtime with a range of other figures who have as much or more authority within the media sphere (Lewis 2010). Therefore, not only are celebrities influential in the realm of consumption culture, they have also become increasingly influential from a political point of view (e.g. Lewis 2010, Driessens 2013b, Boykoff & Goodman 2009) often contributing to the merging of these two worlds through media and by politics being enacted through consumption choices.

In this instance, then, one could argue that veganism started within the field of politics through the political animal rights movement and within a small niche subfield in the field of consumption as these vegans practiced their beliefs in their daily lives, within their taste regimes. While these meanings were spread around the society via media meta-capital, the meanings related to veganism outside this small subfield were negative and marginalising.

However, as the scientific community became more vocal about anthropogenic climate change, this necessitated changes on both the media and political agenda. In particular, the celebritisation of the issue attracted media attention. Via media meta-capital, these meanings would then again begin to seep into further subfields and taste regimes. Furthermore, once the meanings started changing, a new set of celebrities entered the process by distancing the meanings even further from the original aims of the animal rights movement. Increasing number of celebrities adopting the diet then further fuelled media attention and the new meanings were once again spread across different fields and taste regimes.

To conclude, overall, the thesis has urged sustainable consumption and celebrity endorsement research to direct its gaze away from the micro level to the structures which both inhibit and encourage change. In this spirit, the first three essays have aimed to explain the changes in media framing. Conversely, the final essay and the final framework presented here seek to understand how the meanings are circulated within the society and how they seep into the consumption practices of consumers. The Bourdieusian framework then also emphasises that consumption is indeed patterned and guided by structural factors. However, it also highlights the need for both a more balanced and more nuanced understanding of societal change in contrast with both structural research and positivistic research. In other words, the framework shows the need

to find a more balanced point between the micro and macro level. Furthermore, in contrast with traditional celebrity endorsement models, it also allows for the possibility that consumers may vary in terms of how they understand and use consumption objects. Therefore, there is a need for a more nuanced understanding of how the social meanings vary between different taste regimes which this framework in particular aims to capture.

5.2 Societal implications

As was argued in more detail in Chapter 2, research inspired by radical structuralism and critical theory should focus on critiquing the society. Instead of research which merely aims to understand or explain reality, it thus encourages research which seeks social change that will improve life and which seeks to free people from constraining structures. While radical structuralism tends to be rather negative as to the opportunities for real change, following the ethos of Critical Transformative Consumer Research (Tadajewski et al. 2014), I feel it prudent now to explore the potential societal implications of this thesis. In particular, I will focus on the societal implications of the first three essays which arise from radical structuralism.

Perhaps one of the most practical guidelines for exploring the transformative potential of consumer research comes from Murray and Ozanne (1991), whose advice I already followed in Chapter 3.4 in regards to the criteria to evaluate the quality of the findings. Following their conceptualisation, I will therefore explore the social implications through the two remaining evaluative criteria for transformative research as proposed by Murray and Ozanne (1991), namely the awareness and praxis steps. As for the awareness step (Murray & Ozanne 1991), the aim would be to spread the results of the thesis to the wider public, to all relevant stakeholders. This is linked with the praxis step, which refers to the researcher participating in a theoretically grounded programme of actions to change social conditions (Murray & Ozanne 1991). In practice, however, it is difficult to separate the two from each other. Therefore, I will explore these two steps concurrently.

The take away from the first essay for the wider public would then, for instance, be media's own motives in creating consumption trends. In particular, media has a tendency to individualise and commodify sustainability. While individuals should consider the impact of their own actions, it has been argued in this thesis that the onus of responsibility should be on the macro level (see also Geels et al. 2015). Thus, instead of the "citizen-consumer hybrid" (Johnston 2008) promoted

by the media, individuals should demand for discourse which aims for the good of the commons on the political stage. The praxis step could then, for instance, include programmes to enhance the media literacy of the audiences as well as programmes which would enhance dialogue between citizens and political leaders.

Conversely, the take away from the second and third essay relate to the public understanding and status of veganism. While the media portrayal of veganism has both increased as well as turned increasingly positive, there are some caveats in this development. Firstly, I have argued that political, moral veganism still remains stigmatised. Secondly, the version of veganism which is currently touted as trendy is in fact merely a plant-based diet, instead of veganism as a complete lifestyle. This is problematic as, whilst any move towards a more plant-based diet is arguably a positive change both from the animal rights as well the ecological point of view, there is a danger that the change will remain short term as was also argued in the first essay.

One way to look at this issue is using Snow et al.'s (1986) terminology. They argue that a global frame transformation changes one's outlook on the whole world. It is thus a transformation akin to a religious conversion. Arguably, "going vegan" as a moral ethos can be seen as a similar kind of global transformation which not only affects the dietary choices but the way a whole host of issues are interpreted through (see also Adams 1990/2010 on veganism and feminism). Conversely, domain-specific frame transformations refer to singular, specific domains such as dietary habits, consumption patterns or leisure activities (Snow et al. 1986), which is what a change to a more plant-based diet represents. One could then argue that the move to a plant-based diet even on a temporary basis is positive in that a more step-wise transformation via domain specific transformation could ultimately lead to a global frame transformation (Snow et al. 1986) when individuals start considering vegan food as something healthy, desirable and even tasty. However, as the transformation is not global and does not affect the whole philosophy of the individual, there is a danger that the individual will return to old habits once the trend of the plant-based diet withers away.

More importantly, as political veganism and the animal rights movement remain marginalised, the radical changes which the animal rights movement is calling for (in essence, the overthrowing of speciesism) are ignored and marginalised. If all the arguments for veganism are not explored in the media, the issue will remain misunderstood by the general public. In fact, currently, the societal changes seem to be mere lip service.

The most obvious solution to this dilemma would seem to be educating and lobbying the media to change the portrayal of veganism to include political and ethical arguments of veganism in the media portrayal. However, given how media critical the thesis is, I take the view that it is unlikely that the media would be very receptive to this message. In fact, this is the message that the animal rights movement has — rather unsuccessfully — been promoting. As the public opinion is so strongly affected by the media, the question is, how to bypass it and still reach a large audience to engage in dialogue.

One option is of course social media. Platforms such as kulutus.fi in Finland, for instance, are dedicated to critiquing the consumption culture for a more sustainable future. However, the problem with such platforms is that it is mainstream media which has the ability to reach large audiences, even in social media, whereas platforms such as kulutus.fi still remain niche outlets.

This is, of course, another problem the animal rights movement has been trying to solve by setting up such platforms. When such initiatives have failed to engage large audiences, however, animal rights groups such as PETA (People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals) have turned to other tactics, particularly, by engaging celebrities in their campaigns (see e.g. Simonson 2001). In this way, it has aimed to play by the rules of the mainstream media, so to speak. However, based on the findings of this thesis as well as extant literature (e.g. Meyer & Gamson 1995), it seems that celebrities do indeed bring with them the tendency to individualise and depoliticise the issues, leaving the movement open to co-optation. As noted above, this may lead to a "global transformation" (Snow et al. 1986) but this is not a given. Therefore, another practical recommendation of this thesis would be to engage in dialogue with such groups to find a way to increase awareness without jeopardising the core message of veganism.

The final key stakeholder is of course the government. Not only should the citizens demand for more macro level changes, but the researcher can also go straight to the political leaders. By instigating policy changes, political leaders could then help to harness the current trendiness of veganism to establish more permanent change by, for instance, supporting veganism in institutional settings such as schools and hospitals. Regarding the former, school lunches have a great impact in educating the next generation about healthy eating (Opetushallitus 2016) and thus creating legitimacy for veganism. As for instance in Finland 900 000 pupils and students receive a free meal every day (Opetushallitus 2016), the norms taught have wide consequences. As Finns, for instance, eat too much meat already (Kuluttajaliitto 2015), this change would undoubtedly be beneficial on environmental and health grounds, as argued in the introduction. Secondly, if

there are no nutritious vegan options available, this will make the conviction harder to stick by due to lack of convenience and tangible problems related to everyday life.

Similarly, regarding the latter, hospitals are another important institutional eating context where the issue of veganism could be considered. Indeed, vegans find going to a hospital a major task and many vegans even reportedly face "a traumatic daily fight for food" (Animal Aid 2004). In fact, there are several websites offering at times extreme advice on how to prepare for such visits (e.g. Bird 2013, Vegetarian Resource Group 2011) as, reportedly, receiving a vegan meal at the hospital can be a "matter of sheer luck" (Animal Aid 2004). Similarly to schools, hospitals and other medical experts, including the official dietary guidelines (e.g. in Finland the National Nutrition Council, see Evira 2017) then have a major impact in educating citizens about healthy eating. Such an opposition to vegan diets from custodians of health sends a signal that vegan diets are not seen as healthy.

This is rather curious given the repeated calls from organisation such as the United Nations who argue that a more plant-based diet would be highly beneficial for the environment (Carus 2010). In addition, veganism was recognised as a belief for the purposes of human rights legislation as far back as 1998 (Rowley 2014). There then seems to be a contradiction between rhetoric and actions. There is therefore room for public policy initiatives which would support individuals in these contexts by making sure that healthy and versatile options are available. By bringing vegan options alongside omnivorous diets, this also normalises the option for others.

5.3 Managerial implications

Managerial implications are generally not included for research arising from radical structuralism or critical theory (see Hetrick & Lozada 1994). Therefore, the managerial implications here will focus on the fourth essay which arises from Bourdieusian theory. However, it is easy to see how the insights gained from the first three essays could also be utilised in an effort to promote sustainable and vegan products to the mainstream consumers.

The meanings related to sustainable products, for instance, include high quality and discerning taste. Therefore, a branding strategy which highlights these aspects, instead of ecological benefits *per se*, would no doubt be effective. Similarly, veganism has now been associated with health and weight-loss, instead of ethical or environmental considerations. Again, emphasizing these aspects in

the branding, along with the flexible approach to veganism, would then be effective. The thesis, of course, also points to the importance of media interest and celebrity endorsement in creating new consumption trends. Marketers would then be well-advised to both proactively create media attention through celebrity led PR campaigns as well as tracking trends in the media in order to align their branding strategies with these trends. Nevertheless, the thesis also points to the need for a more nuanced understanding of celebrity endorsement.

Thus, as was argued in the fourth essay, celebrity studies in consumer research has focused on improving the effectiveness of celebrity endorsement (Kerrigan et al. 2011, Keel & Nataraajan 2012) and this research has been driven by managerial needs. McCracken's meaning transfer model has been particularly influential. However, McCracken's (1989) model (see also McCracken 1986) arises from object signification approach. As Holt (1997b) explains, in this approach, consumption objects are viewed as semiotic containers. The assumption is that various cultural codes are embedded in them by cultural producers using marketing techniques. The meanings are then accepted by consumers and they choose products and brands that suit their self-identity or their personality and values.

However, as has been noted several times, the problem with object signification models is that it does not allow for the possibility that consumers may vary in terms of how they understand and use consumption objects. Therefore, it is implied that there is a one-to-one correspondence between consumption objects and social meanings (Holt 1997b). Instead, the poststructuralist approach proposed by Bourdieu argues that consumption patterns are expressed through regularities in consumption practices rather than in consumer objects allowing for veganism to be practiced in different ways by different groups of people or, to be more exact, within different taste regimes.

The managerial implication of this would then be to broaden the understanding of how consumers attach meanings to consumption objects to assist marketers in planning marketing campaigns. Loading desired semiotic meanings to objects using marketing techniques is not enough, but the meanings need to be understood from the point of view of the consumers. Conversely, the meanings which consumers attach to the consumption objects differ and are guided by structural factors. A more holistic understanding would therefore be required instead of traditional means of improving advertising effectiveness. In practice, this would necessitate, for instance, ethnographic, practice based research (Bourdieu 1972, 1984) into how the consumer brands and objects fit into the everyday lives of the consumer and what are the meanings derived from them.

5.4 Study limitations and future research suggestions

While the four studies presented in this thesis have their limitations, together they compliment each other and provide a holistic picture of how and why media and celebrities have contributed to the rise of veganism as well as the overall trend of sustainable consumption. For instance, while the first essay relies on an institutional level analysis developed by Herman and Chomsky (1988), it pays lesser attention to the context of analysis, such as the ideological and organisational context factors as well as the national context. Instead, these forces are accounted for in the second essay. The second essay thus builds on and complements the first essay, as was shown in Chapter 5.1.1.

Similarly, in the first essay, it was not possible to discuss the role of the government in this development in more detail. However, the ideological and national factors are accounted for in the second essay. Political discourse and how it is superseded by celebritisation of the environmental movement is also touched upon in the third essay. Nevertheless, exploring how political and scientific discourse is transformed for mass audiences by the media would no doubt warrant further research as it is through media that public opinion is formed.

Furthermore, only women's magazines were analysed in the first essay and further research was thus required in a wider range of publications. In addition, the context there was Finland which is arguably a small market. These issues were again taken into account when planning the second essay. Therefore, the second essay extends the context from Finland to the UK, and from lifestyle magazines to news media. However, the fact that the analysis of the second essay focused entirely on the *Daily Mail* can be seen as problematic, despite the fact that it is a major news outlet in Britain as well as internationally. Therefore, the third study extended the analysis to a wider cross-section of the British mediascape and included a wider time frame for a more detailed longitudinal analysis.

Conversely, a potential limitation of the third essay is that the model does not aim to be representative of co-optation in all contexts. In particular, the aim is not to claim that co-optation always necessitates the celebritisation of a parallel movement and a frame alignment with said movement. Instead, what the model does highlight is the need for a more dynamic understanding of co-optation. Co-optation does not happen in an instant, for instance, at the whim of a group of marketers (cf. Frank 1997). Nor is co-optation merely a battle between two opposing forces, the countermovement and vested interests. Instead, co-optation

involves many different, competing and even internally contradictory forces with their own motives – which sometimes lead to unintended consequences. Therefore, this study aims to be a step in the direction of a more nuanced understanding of the co-optation process. Comparisons between the co-optation processes of various different social movements would, however, be a fruitful avenue for future research.

Finally, the fourth essay is a conceptual essay on how celebrities can contribute to changing taste regimes via media meta-capital. The possible meanings attached to the Beyoncé Diet and, hence, to a plant-based diet are explored in the essay. However, in a conceptual paper, it is not possible to empirically ascertain who would adopt celebrity taste displays as part of their own and what exactly are the meanings they attach to them. Thus, this is a question for future research.

Related to the lack of empirical data is also another caveat. The theoretical framework seems to imply that these changes have taken place in a vacuum, at the hands of a single celebrity. This contradicts the findings of the third essay. However, this limitation was overcome in Chapter 5.1.2. by bringing these two essays together, and by proposing a more comprehensive Bourdieusian process model of media meta-capital in the rise of veganism.

In addition, there are other actors which arguably have had a role to play in the transformed image of veganism. In particular, the animal rights movement has of course been active in its attempts to overthrow speciesism. In the second essay in particular (see Essay II), I already briefly considered their role in the rise of veganism. However, one could explore their role in depth, for instance, as institutional entrepreneurs (see e.g. Battilana & Boxenbaum 2009) using new institutional theory (see Maggi 2016). Taking this point of view, one could then explore what has changed in their strategy as well as the wider society for the changes to have taken place now when they arguably had previously failed. On the other hand, as has been argued several times in this thesis, the original animal rights movement still seems to be very much marginalised and separated from the new breed of vegans. Therefore, one must be careful not to attribute too much of this change to the animal rights movement.

In addition, this thesis has also several times referred to the focus this new type of veganism has given to the slim and toned (female) body. The gendered issue was already touched upon in the second essay (see Essay II). However, as has already been noted particularly in the fourth essay, the body is an important and multifaceted object and, thus, there are also many different ways to theorise this issue. In addition to Bourdieu, one could also explore this issue from the view point of Foucault's (1985) writings. Particularly, one could explore how veganism

has risen as a technology of the self through which individuals present and police their "selves" in society. As these ways of policing the self are enabled or constrained by available discourses, they are also evolving and directed by societal forces. This issue was briefly touched upon in the three essays on veganism (see Essays I-III). However, a more detailed exploration of veganism through a Foucauldian lens would also lead to a more nuanced understanding of the gender issues which surround veganism.

5.5 Coda

To a great extent, this doctoral thesis has focused on lifestyle media, tabloids and celebrity news. One might ask, why should we care about celebrity gossip. It may be tempting to dismiss it as trivial, as harmless fun or as one for overly zealous teenage fans.

However, as this thesis has attempted to show, not only are celebrities important from the point of view of how we dress or how we try to lose weight, but also from a political and societal point of view. Going forward, understanding their role in the society is thus of great importance. Indeed, it seems that this understanding has never seemed more topical and crucial for our society. In the words of Monbiot (2016), "Now that a reality TV star [has] become president of the United States, can we agree that celebrity culture is more than just harmless fun – that it might, in fact, be an essential component of the systems that govern our lives?"

References

A-lehdet (2013). *Eeva: Naistenlehtien Klassikko*. [online, cited on 1 July 2014]. Available from: http://www.a-lehdet.fi/mediaopas/eeva.

Adams, C. L. (1990/2010). *The Sexual Politics of Meat: A Feminist-Vegetarian Critical Theory*. 20th Anniversary Edition. London, UK: Continuum.

Adams, T. (2005). This green and pleasant land. *Observer*, 10 April [online, cited on 22 November 2014]. Available from: http://www.theguardian.com/uk/2005/apr/10/britishidentity.features.

Adkins, N. R., & Ozanne, J. L. (2005). Critical Consumer Education: Empowering the Low-Literate Consumer. *Journal of Macromarketing* 25: 2, 153–162.

Ajzen, I. & Fishbein, M. (1974). Factors Influencing Intentions and Intention-Behavior Relation. *Human Relations* 27: 1, 1–15.

Akehurst, G., Alfonso, C., Martins Gonçalves, H. (2012). Re-examining green purchase behaviour and the green consumer profile: new evidences. *Management Decision* 50: 5, 972–998.

Alexander, S. & Ussher, S. (2012). The Voluntary Simplicity Movement: A Multi-national Survey Analysis in Theoretical Context. *Journal of Consumer Culture* 12: 1, 66–86.

Alford, M. (2009). A Propaganda Model for Hollywood. *Westminster Papers in Communication and Culture* 6: 2, 144–156.

Alwitt, L. F. & Pitts, R. W. (1996). Predicting Purchase Intentions for an Environmentally Sensitive Product. *Journal of Consumer Psychology* 5: 1, 49–64.

Animal Aid (2004). *Nil by mouth – vegetarian meals in hospitals*. [online, cited on 15 March 2015]. Available from: http://www.animalaid.org.uk/h/n/CAMPAIGNS/vegetarianism/ALL/479/.

Argo, J. J., & Main, K. J. (2008). Stigma by Association in Coupon Redemption: Looking Cheap because of Others. *Journal of Consumer Research* 35: Dec, 559–572.

Arnould, E. J. & Thompson, C. J. (2005). Consumer Culture Theory (CCT): Twenty Years of Research. *Journal of Consumer Research* 31: 4, 868–882.

Arsel, Z. & Bean, J. (2013). Taste Regimes and Market-Mediated Practice. *Journal of Consumer Research* 39: Feb, 899–917.

Arsel, Z. & Thompson, C. J. (2011). Demythologizing Consumption Practices: How Consumers Protect Their Field-Dependent Identity Investments from Devaluing Marketplace Myths. *Journal of Consumer Research* 37: Feb, 791–806.

Askegaard S. & Linnet J. T. (2011). Towards an epistemology of consumer culture theory: Phenomenology and the context of context. *Marketing Theory* 11: 4, 381–404.

Ayo, N. (2012). Understanding health promotion in a neoliberal climate and the making of health conscious citizens. *Critical Public Health* 22: 1, 99–105.

Baggini, J. (2013). *A Very British Populism*. London: Counterpoint. [online, cited on 22 November 2014]. Available from: http://counterpoint.uk.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/09/507_CP_RRadical_UK_Web.pdf.

Bamberg, S. & Moser, G. (2006). Twenty years after Hines, Hungerford, and Tomera: A new meta-analysis of psycho-social determinants of pro-environmental behavior. *Journal of Environmental Psychology* 27: 1, 14–25.

Barford, V. (2014). The rise of the part-time vegans. *BBC*, 17 February [online, cited on 30 November 2014]. Available from: http://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-25644903.

Basil, M. D. (1996). Identification as a mediator of celebrity effects. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media* 40: 4, 478–495.

Battilana J., Bernard, L. & Boxenbaum E. (2009). How Actors Change Institutions: Towards a Theory of Institutional Entrepreneurship. *The Academy of Management Annals* 3: 1, 65–107.

BBC (2009). The politics of UK newspapers. *BBC*, 30 September [online, cited on 26 November 2015]. Available from: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_politics/8282189.stm.

Bengtsson, A., Ostberg J. & Kjeldgaard D. (2005). Prisoners in Paradise: Subcultural Resistance to the Marketization of Tattooing. *Consumption Markets & Culture* 8: 3, 261–274.

Betts, H. (2014). Can a vegan ever be sexy? *Daily Telegraph* 15 March, 1.

Binkley, S. (2003). Cosmic profit: Countercultural commerce and the problem of trust in American marketing. *Consumption Markets & Culture* 6: 4, 231–249.

Bird, S. (2013). *9 Tips for Eating Vegan in the Hospital*. 5 August [online, cited on 15 March 2015]. Available from: http://www.care2.com/causes/9-tips-for-eating-vegan-in-the-hospital.html#ixzz3UoUZAadI.

Boorstin, D. J. (1961/2011). *The Image: A Guide to Pseudo-Events in America*. 50th Anniversary Edition. New York: Vintage Books.

Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction: A social critique of the judgement of taste*. London: Routledge.

Bourdieu, P. (1978). Sport and social class. *Social Science Information* 17: 6, 819–840.

Bourdieu, P. (1986). The forms of capital. In J. Richardson (Ed.). *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*. New York: Greenwood Press. 241-258.

Bourdieu, P. (1998). *Acts of resistance: Against the tyranny of the market*. New York: New Press.

Bourdieu, P. (2003). *Firing back: Against the tyranny of the market 2*. New York: New Press.

Bourdieu, P. & Wacquant, L. (1992). *An invitation to reflexive sociology*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Boykoff, M. T. (2007). From convergence to contention: United States mass media representations of anthropogenic climate change science. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 32: 4, 477–489.

Boykoff, M. T. (2008). The cultural politics of climate change discourse in UK tabloids. *Political Geography* 27: 5, 549–569.

Boykoff, M. T. & Boykoff, J. M. (2007). Climate change and journalistic norms: A case-study of US mass-media coverage. *Geoforum* 38: 6, 1190–1204.

Boykoff, M. T. & Goodman, M. K. (2009). Conspicuous redemption? Reflections on the promises and perils of the 'Celebritization' of climate change. *Geoforum* 40: 3, 395–406.

Boykoff, M. T. Goodman, M. K. & Littler, J. (2010). 'Charismatic megafauna': The growing power of celebrities and pop culture in climate

change campaigns. *Environment, Politics and Development Working Paper Series*, number 28. London: King's College.

Boykoff, M. T. & Mansfield, M. (2008). 'Ye Olde Hot Aire'*: reporting on human contributions to climate change in the UK tabloid press. *Environmental research letters* 3: 2, 1–8.

Bresnahan, M., Zhuang, J. & Zhu, X. (2015). Why Is the Vegan Line in the Dining Hall Always the Shortest? Understanding Vegan Stigma. *Stigma and Health* 1: 1, 3–15.

Brockington, D. (2008). Powerful environmentalisms: conservation, celebrity and capitalism. *Media, Culture & Society* 30: 4, 551–568.

Brockington, D. (2009). *Celebrity and the Environment: Face, Wealth and Power in Conservation*. London: Zed Books.

Brown, W. J., Basil, M. D. & Bocarnea, M. C. (2003). Social influence of an international celebrity: Responses to the death of Princess Diana. *Journal of Communication* 53: 4, 587–605.

Brown, K.W. & Kasser, T. (2005). Are psychological and ecological well-being compatible? The role of values, mindfulness, and lifestyle. *Social Indicators Research* 74: 2, 349–368.

Burrell, G. & Morgan, G. (1979). *Sociological paradigms and organizational analysis*. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Burrell, I. (2010). Linda Grant: The 'Mail' turns on the charm. *Independent*, 3 June [online, cited on 22 November 2015]. Available from: http://www.independent.co.uk/news/media/linda-grant-the-mail-turns-on-the-charm-449694.html.

Carfagna, L. B., Dubois, E. A., Fitzmaurice, C., Ouimette, M. Y., Schor, J. B., Willis, M. & Laidley T. (2014). An emerging eco-habitus: The reconfiguration of high cultural capital practices among ethical consumers. *Journal of Consumer Culture* 14: 2, 158–178.

Carr, M. (2013). A vegan diet won't save Beyonce when the fur starts flying. *Mail on Sunday* 8 December, 23.

Carus, F. (2010). UN urges global move to meat and dairy-free diet. *Guardian*, 2 June [online, cited on 1 December 2014]. Available from: http://www.theguardian.com/environment/2010/jun/02/un-report-meat-free-diet.

Cashmore, E. (2010) Buying Beyoncé. *Celebrity Studies* 1: 2, 135–150.

Castells, M. (2009). *Communication Power*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Chatzidakis, A., Maclaran, P. & Bradshaw, A. (2012). Heterotopian space and the utopics of ethical and green consumption. *Journal of Marketing Management* 28: 3–4, 494–515.

Cherrier, H. (2007). Ethical consumption practices: Co-production of self-expression and social recognition. *Journal of Consumer Behaviour* 6: Sept–Oct, 321–335.

Chicago Tribune (2013). 'Beyonce' album review: More than the delivery is a surprise. *Chicago Tribune*, 14 December [online, cited on 29 October 2016]. Available from: http://www.chicagotribune.com/chi-beyonce-album-review-beyonce-self-titled-album-reviewed-20131214-column.html.

Chomsky, N. (1998). *The Common Good. Interviews with David Barsamian*. Berkeley: Odonian.

Cocker, H. L., Banister, E. N. & Piacentini, M. G. (2015). Producing and consuming celebrity identity myths: unpacking the classed identities of Cheryl Cole and Katie Price. *Journal of Marketing Management* 31: 5–6, 502–524.

Cole, P. (2007). Why middle England gets the Mail. *Guardian*, 20 August [online, cited on 30 November 2014]. Available from: http://www.theguardian.com/media/2007/aug/20/mondaymediasection.pressandpublishing.

Cole M. & Morgan, K. (2011). Vegaphobia: derogatory discourses of veganism and the reproduction of speciesism in UK national newspapers. *The British Journal of Sociology* 62: 1, 134–153.

Conner, M. (2014). Observer Magazine: The winners: Sustainable Fashion Award: Beyond Skin. *Observer* 15 June, 25.

Corrigan, P. W. & Penn, D. L. (1999). Lessons From Social Psychology on Discrediting Psychiatric Stigma. *American Psychologist* 54: 9, 765–776.

Couldry, N. (2003). Media meta-capital: Extending the range of Bourdieu's field theory. *Theory and Society* 32: 5–6, 653–677.

Couldry, N. (2015). Why celebrity studies needs social theory (and vice versa). *Celebrity* 6: 3, 385–388.

Coy, P. G. & Hedeen, T. (2005). A stage model of social movement co-optation: Community Mediation in the United States. *The Sociological Quarterly* 46: 3, 405–435.

Cronin, J. M., McCarthy, M. B. & Collins, A. M. (2014). Covert distinction: how hipsters practice food-based resistance strategies in the production of identity. *Consumption Markets & Culture* 17: 1, 2–28.

Daily Mail (2015). Backlash as vegan Ella puts meat on the menu. *Daily Mail* 10 November, 34.

Dalal, A. K. (2006). Social interventions to moderate discriminatory attitudes: The case of the physically challenged in India. *Psychology, Health & Medicine* 11: 3, 374–382.

Davies, F. & Slater, S. (2015). Unpacking celebrity brands through unpaid market communications. *Journal of Marketing Management* 31: 5–6, 665–684.

Davis, J. (2012). *World Veganism: Past, Present and Future* [online, cited on 29 March 2016]. Available from: http://www.ivu.org/history/Vegan_History.pdf.

D'Angelo, P. (2002). News Framing as a Multiparadigmatic Research Program: A Response to Entman. *Journal of Communication* 52: 4, 870–888.

de Burgh-Woodman, H. & King, D. (2012). Sustainability and the human/nature connection: a critical discourse analysis of being "symbolically" sustainable. *Consumption Markets & Culture* 16: 2, 145–168.

Denzin, N. K. (1978). *Sociological Methods*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Driessens, O. (2013a). Celebrity capital: redefining celebrity using field theory. *Theory and Society* 42: 5, 543–560.

Driessens, O. (2013b). The celebritization of society and culture: Understanding the structural dynamics of celebrity culture. International *Journal of Cultural Studies* 16: 6, 641–657.

Easton, M. (2010). In search of Middle England. *BBC*, 6 March [online, cited on 22 November 2015]. Available from: http://www.bbc.co.uk/blogs/thereporters/markeaston/2010/10/in_search_of_middle_england.html.

Ebreo, A., Hershey, J. & Vining, J. (1999). Reducing Solid Waste: Linking Recycling to Environmentally Responsible Consumerism. *Environment and Behavior* 31: 1, 107–135.

Elliott, R. (2013). The taste for green: The possibilities and dynamics of status differentiation through "green" consumption. *Poetics* 41: 3, 294–322.

Entman, R. M. (1993). Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm. *Journal of Communication* 43: 4, 51–58.

Erdogan, B. Z. (1999). Celebrity Endorsement: A Literature Review. *Journal of Marketing Management* 15: 4, 291–314.

Evira (2017). *National Nutrition Council* [online, cited on 15 April 2017]. Available from: https://www.evira.fi/en/foodstuff/healthy-diet/national-nutrition-council/.

Farber, J. (2013). After a decade of drought, girl groups are on the rebound. *NY Daily News*, 20 October [online, cited on 3 December 2016]. Available from: http://www.nydailynews.com/girl-groups-rebound-article-1.1486490.

Featherstone, M. (1982). The body in consumer culture. *Theory, Culture and Society* 1: 2, 18–33.

Forbes (2014). *The World's Most Powerful Celebrities* [online, cited on 20 November 2014]. Available from: http://www.forbes.com/celebrities/list/#tab:overall.

Forbes (2017). *Profile: Rupert Murdoch & family* [online, cited on 1 April 2017]. Available from: https://www.forbes.com/profile/rupert-murdoch/.

Foucault, M. (1985). *The Use of Pleasure*. New York: Pantheon Books.

Francione, G. (2010). The Abolition of Animal Exploitation. In G.L. Francione & R. Garner (Eds). *The Animal Rights Debate: Abolition or Regulation*. New York: Columbia University Press. 1–102.

Frank, T. (1997). *The Conquest of Cool: Business Culture, Counterculture, and Hip Consumerism*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Fraser, B. P. & Brown, W. J. (2002). Media, celebrities, and social influence: Identification With Elvis Presley. *Mass Communication & Society* 5: 2, 183–206.

Freeman, H. (2013). Beyoncé wore fur to a vegan restaurant – and there's nothing contradictory about that. *Guardian*. 10 December [online, cited on 3 December2016]. Available from: http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2013/dec/10/beyonce-fur-vegan-restaurant-veganism-lifestyle-celebrity?CMP=fb_gu.

Fury, A. (2013). Why I Won't be Shopping in the UK's First Veganz Supermarket. *Independent*, 31 December [online, cited on 31 February 2017]. Available from: http://www.independent.co.uk/voices/comment/why-i-wont-be-shopping-in-the-uks-first-veganz-supermarket-9031947.html.

Gamson, W. A., & Modigliani, A. (1989). Media Discourse and Public Opinion on Nuclear Power: A Constructionist Approach. *American Journal of Sociology* 95: 1, 1–37.

Gamson, W. A. (1992). *Talking politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Geels, F. W., McMeekin, A., Mylan, J. & Southerton, D. (2015). A critical appraisal of Sustainable Consumption and Production research: The reformist, revolutionary and reconfiguration positions. *Global Environmental Change* 34: Sept, 1–12.

Giesler, M. (2012). How Doppelgänger Brand Images Influence the Market Creation Process: Longitudinal Insights from the Rise of Botox Cosmetic. *Journal of Marketing* 76: Nov, 55–68.

Giesler, M. (2008). Conflict and Compromise: Drama in Marketplace Evolution. *Journal of Consumer Research* 34: April, 739–753.

Giesler, M. & Thompson, C.J. (2016). Process Theorization in Cultural Consumer Research. *Journal of Consumer Research* 43: Dec, 497–508.

Goffman, E. (1963). *Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall.

Goffman, E. (1974). *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience*. New York: Harper & Row.

Goodman, M. K. (2010). The mirror of consumption: Celebritization, developmental consumption and the shifting cultural politics of fair trade. *Geoforum* 41: 1, 104–116.

Grammy (2016). *Beyoncé* [online, cited on 3 December 2016]. Available from: http://www.grammy.com/artist/beyonce.

Greenebaum, J. (2012). Veganism, Identity and the Quest for Authenticity. *Food, Culture & Society* 15: 1, 129–144.

Greenslade, R. (2012). Mail Online goes top of the world. *Guardian*, 25 January [online, cited on 21 October 2016]. Available from: https://www.theguardian.com/media/greenslade/2012/jan/25/dailymail-internet.

Grenfell, M. J. (2014). *Pierre Bourdieu: Key Concepts*. London: Routledge.

Griffiths, C. (2015). Kate does for Niko what she'd never do with Jamie... *Mail on Sunday* 6 December, 20.

Griskevicius, V., Cantú, S. M. & van Vugt, M. (2012). The Evolutionary Bases for Sustainable Behavior: Implications for Marketing, Policy, and Social Entrepreneurship. *Journal of Public Policy & Marketing* 31: 1, 115–128.

Griskevicius, V., Tybur, J. M., & Van den Bergh, B. (2010). Going Green to be Seen: Status, Reputation and Conspicuous Conservation. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 98: 3, 392–404.

Guardian (2014). ABCs: National daily newspaper circulation August 2014. *Guardian*, 5 September [online, cited on 15 September 2014]. Available from: http://www.theguardian.com/media/table/2014/sep/05/abcs-national-newspapers.

Guba, E. G. (1981). Criteria for assessing the trustworthiness of naturalistic inquiries. *Educational Communication and Technology Journal* 29: 2, 75–91.

Guba, E. G. & Lincoln, Y. S. (1982). Epistemological and methodological bases of naturalistic inquiry. *Educational Communication and Technology Journal* 30: 4, 233–252.

Guba, E. G. & Lincoln, Y. S. (1989). *Fourth Generation Evaluation*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Guthman, J. (2003). Fast food/organic food: reflexive tastes and the marking of 'yuppie chow'. *Social & Cultural Geography* 4: 15, 45–58.

Haanpää, L. (2009). Vastuullinen kuluttajuus ja ympäristömyötäisyys kulutusasenteissa. In M. Lammi, M. Niva & J. Varjonen (Eds). *Kuluttajatutkimuskeskuksen vuosikirja 2009*. Tampere: Tampereen Yliopistopaino Oy. 66–82.

Habermas, J. (1962). *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*. MIT Press.

Hackley, C., & Hackley, R. A. (2015). Marketing and the cultural production of celebrity in the era of media convergence. *Journal of Marketing Management* 31: 5/6, 461–478.

Hall, S. (1979). Culture, the Media and the 'Ideological Effect'. In J. Curran, M. Gurevitch & J. Woollacott (Eds). *Mass communication and society*. Beverly Hills: Sage. 315–348.

Hall, S. (1986). Gramsci's Relevance for the Study of Race and Ethnicity. *Journal of Communication Inquiry* 10: 2, 5–27.

Hall, S. (1995). The Whites of Their Eyes: Racial Ideologies and the Media. In G. Dines & J.M. Humez (Eds). *Gender, Race and Class in Media*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage. 18–22.

Hall, S., Critcher, C., Clarke, J., Roberts, B. & Tony, J. (1978). *Policing the Crisis: Mugging, the State, and Law and Order*. London: Macmillan.

Hall, S., Hobson, D., Lowe, A. & Willis, P. (1980). *Culture, Media, Language: Working Papers in Cultural Studies, 1972–79*. London: Hutchinson.

Hardgrave, C. (2014). Not just a load of old tofu. *Sunday Times* 24 August, 23.

Harvey, D. (2005). *A brief history of neoliberalism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hayes, A. F., & Krippendorff, K. (2007). Answering the call for a standard reliability measure for coding data. *Communication Methods and Measures* 1: 1, 77–89.

Heath, J. & Potter, A. (2004). *Nation of Rebels: Why Counterculture Became Consumer Culture*. New York: HarperBusiness.

Hebdige, D. (1979). *Subculture: The Meaning of Style*. Oxford: Taylor & Francis.

Hearns-Branaman, J. O. (2009). A Political Economy of News Media in the People's Republic of China. *Westminster Papers in Communication and Culture* 6: 2, 119–143.

Heijnders, M. & Van Der Meij, S. (2006). The fight against stigma: An overview of stigma-reduction strategies and interventions. *Psychology, Health & Medicine* 11: 3, 353–363.

Henry, P. C., & Caldwell, M. L. (2006). Self-Empowerment and Consumption: Consumer Remedies for Prolonged Stigmatization. *European Journal of Marketing* 40: 9–10, 1031–1048.

Herman, E. S., & Chomsky, N. (1988). *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media*. New York: Pantheon Books.

Herring, E. & Robinson, P. (2003). 'Too polemical or too critical? Chomsky on the study of the news media and US foreign policy'. *Review of International Studies* 29: 4, 553–568.

Hetrick, W. P. & Lozada, H. R. (1994). Construing the Critical Imagination: Comments and Necessary Diversions. *Journal of Consumer Research* 21: Dec, 548–558.

Hines, J. M., Hungerford, H. R., & Tomera, A. N. (1986/87). Analysis and synthesis of research on environmental behavior. A meta-analysis. *Journal of Environmental Education* 18: 2, 1–8.

Hoffman, S. & Tan, C. (2013). Following celebrities' medical advice: meta-narrative analysis. *The BMJ* 347: 7151.

Holt, D. B. (1997a). Distinction in America? Recovering Bourdieu's theory of tastes from its critics. *Poetics* 25: Nov, 93–120.

Holt, D. B. (1997b). Poststructuralist Lifestyle Analysis: Conceptualizing the Social Patterning of Consumption in Postmodernity. *Journal of Consumer Research* 23: 4, 326–350.

Holt, D. B. (1998). Does culture capital structure American consumption? *Journal of Consumer Research* 25: June, 1–25.

Hudson, L. A. & Ozanne, J. L. (1988). Altemative Ways of Seeking Knowledge in Consumer Research. *Journal of Consumer Research* 14: March, 508–521.

Humphreys, A. (2010a). Megamarketing: The Creation of Markets as a Social Process. *Journal of Marketing* 74: 2, 1–19.

Humphreys, A. (2010b). Semiotic Structure and the Legitimation of Consumption Practices: the Case of Casino Gambling. *Journal of Consumer Research* 37: Oct, 490–510.

Humphreys, A. & LaTour, K. A. (2013). Framing the Game: Assessing the Impact of Cultural Representations on Consumer Perceptions of Legitimacy. *Journal of Consumer Research* 40: 4, 773–795.

Humphreys, A. & Thompson, C. J. (2014). Branding Disaster: Reestablishing Trust through the Ideological Containment of Systemic Risk Anxieties. *Journal of Consumer Research* 41: Dec, 877–910.

Huttunen, K. & Autio, M. (2010). Consumer ethoses in Finnish consumer life stories – agrarianism, economism and green consumerism. *International Journal of Consumer Studies* 34: 2, 146–152.

Innes, E. (2014). Rise of the part-time vegans: Number of people following in Beyoncé's footsteps soars by 40% in a year. *Daily Mail*, 22 January [online, cited on 15 April 2017]. Available from: http://www.dailymail.co.uk/health/article-2543971/Rise-PART-TIME-vegans-Number-people-following-Beyonc-s-footsteps-soars-40-year.html#ixzz4F3S0j8dO.

IPCC (2014). *Climate Change 2014: Synthesis Report. Summary for Policymakers* [online, cited on 14 April 2017]. Available from:

https://www.ipcc.ch/pdf/assessment-report/ar5/syr/AR5_SYR_FINAL_SPM.pdf.

Jay Z (2013). 22 Days Challenge. *Life and Times* [online, cited on 10 April 2017]. Available from: http://lifeandtimes.com/22-days-challenge.

Johnston, J. (2008). The citizen-consumer hybrid: ideological tensions and the case of Whole Foods Market. *Theory & Society* 37: 3, 229–270.

Jones, L. (2008). A green budget? Just tax meat eaters and leave my BMW alone. *Daily Mail*, 15 March [online, cited on 15 April 2017]. Available from: http://www.dailymail.co.uk/columnists/article-535028/LIZ-JONES-A-green-Budget-Just-tax-meat-eaters-leave-BMW-alone.html.

Jowit, J. (2008). UN says eat less meat to curb global warming. *Guardian*, 7 September [online, cited on 10 April 2017]. Available from: https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2008/sep/07/food.foodanddrink.

Keel, A. & Nataraajan, R. (2012). Celebrity endorsements and beyond: New avenues for celebrity branding. *Psychology and Marketing* 29: 9, 690–703.

Kerrigan, F., Brownlie, D. Hewer, P., & Daza-LeTouze C. (2011). 'Spinning' Warhol: Celebrity brand theoretics and the logic of the celebrity brand. *Journal of Marketing Management* 27: 13–14, 1504–1524.

Kilbourne, W. E. & Beckmann, S. C. (1998). Review and Critical Assessment of Research on Marketing and the Environment. *Journal of Marketing Management* 14: 6, 513–532.

Kilbourne, W. & Pickett, G. (2008). How Materialism Affects Environmental Beliefs, Concern, and Environmentally Responsible Behaviour. *Journal of Business Research* 61: 9, 885–893.

Kinnear, T. C., Taylor, J. R. & Ahmed, S. A. (1974). Ecologically Concerned Consumers: Who Are They? *Journal of Marketing* 38: 2, 20–24.

Klaehn, J. (2002). A Critical Review and Assessment of Herman and Chomsky's 'Propaganda Model'. *European Journal of Communication* 17: 2, 147–182.

Kolandai-Matchett, K. (2009). Mediated Communication of 'Sustainable Consumption' in the Alternative Media: a Case Study Exploring a Message Framing Strategy. *International Journal of Consumer Studies* 33: 2, 113–125.

Kozinets, R. V. (2001). Utopian Enterprise: Articulating the Meanings of Star Trek's Culture of Consumption. *Journal of Consumer Research* 28: June, 67–88.

Kuluttajaliitto (2015). *Ruuan ympäristövaikutukset* [online, cited on 18 March 2015]. Available from: http://www.kuluttajaliitto.fi/teemat/elintarvikkeet_ja_ravitsemus/ruuan_ymparistovaikutukset.

Laidley, T. (2013). Climate, class and culture: political issues as cultural signifiers in the US. *The Sociological Review* 61: 1, 153–171.

Laczniak, G. R. (1983). Framework for Analyzing Marketing Ethics. *Journal of Macromarketing* 3: 1, 7–18.

Lewin, K. (1951). *Field Theory in Social Science: Selected Theoretical Papers*. D. Cartwright (Ed). New York: Harper & Row.

Lewis, T. (2007). "He Needs to Face His Fears With These Five Queers!": Queer Eye for the Straight Guy, Makeover TV, and the Lifestyle Expert. *Television & New Media* 8: 4, 285–311.

Lewis, J. (1998). Learning to strip; the socialization experiences of exotic dancers. *Canadian Journal of Human Sexuality* 7: 1, 51–66.

Lewis, J. (2013). *Beyond Consumer Capitalism: Media and the Limits to Imagination*. London: Polity.

Lewis, T. (2008). Transforming Citizens? Green Politics and Ethical Consumption on Lifestyle Television. *Continuum: Journal of Media & Cultural Studies* 22: 2, 227–240.

Lewis, T. (2012). 'There Grows the Neighbourhood': Green Citizenship, Creativity and Life Politics on Eco-TV. *International Journal of Cultural Studies* 15: 3, 315–326.

Lewis, T. (2010). Branding, celebritization and the lifestyle expert. *Cultural Studies* 24: 4, 580–598.

Lincoln, Y. S. & Guba, E. G. (1985). *Naturalistic Inquiry*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.

Link, B. G. & Phelan, J. C. (2001). Conceptualizing Stigma. *Annual Review of Sociology* 27: 1, 363–385.

Link, B. G., Yang, L. H., Phelan, J. C. & Collins, P. Y. (2004). Measuring mental illness stigma. *Schizophrenia Bulletin* 30: 3, 511–541.

Lovelock, M. (2016). Call me Caitlyn: making and making over the 'authentic' transgender body in Anglo-American popular culture. *Journal of Gender Studies*. Advance online publication. DOI: 10.1080/09589236.2016.1155978.

Luke, T. W. (2005). Neither Sustainable nor Development: Reconsidering Sustainability. *Sustainable Development* 13: 4, 228–238.

Lundahl, O. (2012). *Statushakuista ekokulutusta – Vastuullisuuden ja statusarvon kytkeytyminen toisiinsa elintarvikekontekstissa*. Master's thesis. Vaasa: University of Vaasa.

MacGregor, S. (2005). The Public, the Private, the Planet and the Province: Women's Quality of Life Activism in Urban Southern Ontario. In M. Hessing, R. Raglan, C. Sandilands (Eds). *This Elusive Land: Women and the Canadian Environment*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press. 169–187.

Maconie, S. (2010). Stop knocking Middle England. *Mirror*, 19 March [online, cited on 22 November 2015]. Available from: http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/stop-knocking-middle-england-209179.

Maggi, E. (2016). *The Will of Change: European Neighborhood Policy, Domestic Actors and Institutional Change in Morocco*. Wiesbaden: Springer VS.

Mainieri, T., Barnett, E. G, Valdero, T. R., Unipan, J. B. & Oskamp, S. (1997). Green Buying: The Influence of Environmental Concern on Consumer Behavior. *The Journal of Social Psychology* 137: 2, 189–204.

Maloney, M. P. & Ward, M. P. (1973). Ecology: Let's hear from the people: An objective scale for the measurement of ecological attitudes and knowledge. *American Psychologist* 28: 7, 583–586.

Maniates, M. (2002). Individualization: plant a tree, buy a bike, save the world? In T. Princen, M. Maniates & K. Konca (Eds). *Confronting Consumption*. London: MIT Press. 43–66.

Marcuse, H. (1969). Repressive Tolerance. In R.P. Wolff, B. Moore, Jr., & H. Marcuse (Eds). *A Critique of Pure Tolerance*. Boston: Beacon Press. 95–137.

Marsh, S. (2016). The rise of vegan teenagers: 'More people are into it because of Instagram'. *Guardian*, 27 May [online, cited on 12 April 2017]. Available from: http://www.theguardian.com/lifeandstyle/2016/may/27/the-rise-of-vegan-teenagers-more-people-are-into-it-because-of-instagram?CMP=fb_gu.

McCracken, G. (1986). Culture and Consumption: A Theoretical Account of the Structure and Movement of the Cultural Meaning of Consumer Goods. *Journal of Consumer Research* 13: June, 71–84.

McCracken, G. (1989). Who is the celebrity endorser? Cultural foundations of the endorsement process. *Journal of Consumer Research* 16: Dec, 310–321.

McGee, L. Scerri, A. James, P. Thom, J.A., Padgham, L., Hickmott, S., Deng H., Cahill, F. (2013). Reframing social sustainability reporting: towards an engaged approach. *Environment, Development and Sustainability* 15: 1, 225–243.

McMahon, B. (2015). What eating too much meat is really doing to your health. *Times* 31 October, 4.

McQuarrie, E. F., Miller, J. & Phillips, B. J. (2013). The Megaphone Effect: Taste and Audience in Fashion Blogging. *Journal of Consumer Culture* 40: June, 136–158.

Mercille, J. (2015). *The Political Economy and Media Coverage of the European Economic Crisis: The Case of Ireland*. New York: Routledge.

Meyer, D. S. & Gamson, J. (1995). The Challenge of cultural elites: Celebrities and social movements. *Sociological Inquiry* 65: 2, 181–206.

Mick, D. G. (2006). Meaning and Mattering through Transformative Consumer Research. Presidential Address to the Association for Consumer Research. In C. Pechmann & L.L. Price (Eds). *Advances in Consumer Research*, Vol. 33. Provo, UT: Association for Consumer Research. 1–4.

Mittelstaedt, J. D., Shultz II, C. J., Kilbourne, W. E., & Peterson, M. (2014). Sustainability as Megatrend: Two Schools of Macromarketing Thought. *Journal of Macromarketing* 34: 3, 253–264.

Moisander, J. (2007). Motivational Complexity of Green Consumerism. *International Journal of Consumer Studies* 31: 4, 404–409.

Moisander, J. & Pesonen, S. (2012). Narratives of sustainable ways of living: constructing the self and the other as a green consumer. *Management Decision* 40: 4, 329–342.

Monbiot, G. (2016). Celebrity isn't just harmless fun – it's the smiling face of the corporate machine. *Guardian*, 20 December [online, cited on 21 December 2016]. Available from: https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/dec/20/celebrity-corporate-machine-fame-big-business-donald-trump-kim-kardashian.

Murray, J. & Ozanne, J. (1991). The Critical Imagination: Emancipatory Interests in Consumer Research. *Journal of Consumer Research* 18: 2, 129–144.

Murray, J. & Ozanne, J. (1997). A Critical-Emancipatory Sociology of Knowledge: Reflections on the Social Construction of Consumer Research. In R.W. Belk (Ed.). *Research in Consumer Behavior*, Vol. 8. Greenwich, CT: JAI Press. 57–92.

Murray, J. & Ozanne, J. (2009). The critical participant. *Journal of Marketing Management* 25: 7–8, 835–841.

Murray, J.B., Ozanne, J.L. & Shapiro, J.M. (1994). Revitalizing the Critical Imagination: Unleashing the Crouched Tiger. *Journal of Consumer Research* 21: Dec, 559–565.

Newman, N., Fletcher, R., Levy, D. A. L. & Nielsen, R. K. (2016). *Reuters Institute Digital News Report 2016* [online, cited on 22 October 2016]. Available from: https://reutersinstitute.politics.ox.ac.uk/sites/default/files/Digital-News-Report-2016.pdf

Newton, K. & Brynin, M. (2001). The National Press and Party Voting in the UK. *Political Studies* 49: 2, 265–285.

Onwuegbuzie, A. J. & Leech, N. L. (2007). Validity and qualitative research: An oxymoron? *Quality & Quantity: International Journal of Methodology* 41: 2, 233–249.

Opetushallitus (2016). *Kouluruokailu* [online, cited on 18 March 2017]. Available from: http://www.oph.fi/koulutus_ja_tutkinnot/perusopetus/hyvinvointi_ja_turvallisuus/kouluruokailu.

Otavamedia (2013a). *Lukijaprofiili: Anna 2013* [online, cited on 1 July 2014]. Available from: http://mediatiedot.kuvalehdet.fi/files/library/attachments/Lukijaprofiili%20pdf%202013/AN_lukijaprofiili_2013.pdf.

Otavamedia (2013b). *Lukijaprofiili: Kaksplus 2013* [online, cited on 1 July 2014]. Available from: http://mediatiedot.kuvalehdet.fi/files/library/attachments/Lukijaprofiili%20pdf%202013/KP_lukijaprofiili_2013.pdf.

Owen, D. (2012). *The Conundrum: How Scientific Innovation, Increased Efficiency, and Good Intentions Can Make Our Energy and Climate Problems Worse*. New York: Riverhead Books.

Patton, M. Q. (1999). Enhancing the quality and credibility of qualitative analysis. *Health Services Research* 34: 5, 1189–1208.

Pennebaker, J. W., Francis, M. E. & Booth, R. J. (2007). *Linguistic Inquiry and Word Count (Liwc): Liwc2007*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

People (2012). World's Most Beautiful: Beyoncé. *People* 77: 19, 1.

Petridis, A., Mahdawi, A., Schwab, K., Brooks, D. & Robinson, P. (2016). Beyoncé's star formation: from Destiny's Child to Queen Bey. *Guardian*, 27 June [online, cited on 28 June 2016]. Available from: https://www.theguardian.com/music/2016/jun/27/beyonce-star-formation-destinys-child-queen-bey-tour.

Poberezhskaya, M. (2016). *Communicating Climate Change in Russia: State and Propaganda*. New York: Routledge.

Polimeni, J. M., Mayumi, K., Giampietro, M., & Alcott, B. (2008). *The Myth of Resource Efficiency: The Jevons Paradox*. London: Earthscan.

Popcorn, F. (1991). *The Popcorn Report: Faith Popcorn on the Future of Your Company, Your World, Your Life*. New York: Doubleday.

Potts A., & Parry J. (2010). Vegan sexuality: Challenging heteronormative masculinity through meat-free sex. *Feminism & Psychology* 20: 1, 53–72.

Public Health England (2014). *National Diet and Nutrition Survey* [online, cited on 1 December 2014]. Available from: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/310995/NDNS_Y1_to_4_UK_report.pdf.

Rami, T. (2014). Veganism in Seven Decades. *New York Magazine*, 12 January [online, cited on 19 September 2014]. Available from: http://nymag.com/news/intelligencer/vegan-celebrities-2014-1/.

Regan, T. (2004). *The Case for Animal Rights*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Reeves, R. A., Baker, G. A. & Truluck, C. S. (2012). Celebrity worship, materialism, compulsive buying, and the empty self. *Psychology and Marketing* 29: 9, 674–679.

Reeves, R. (2007). Middle England. They're nicer than you think. *New Statesman*, 25 October [online, cited on 22 November 2015]. Available from: http://www.newstatesman.com/politics/2007/10/middle-england-class-social.

Roberts, J. A. (1996). Will the real socially responsible consumer please step forward? *Business Horizons* 39: 1, 79–83.

Rojek, C. (2001). *Celebrity*. London: Reaktion Books.

Rokka, J. & Moisander, J. (2009). Environmental dialogue in online communities: negotiating ecological citizenship among global travelers. *International Journal of Consumer Studies* 33: 2, 199–205.

Rose, N. (1999). *Powers of Freedom: Reframing Political Thought*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Rowley, J. K. (2014). *Vegan Rights: Questions and* Answers [online, cited on 15 April 2017]. Available from: http://www.theivra.com/Documents/Vegan%20Rights.pdf.

Ryder, R. (1983). *Victims of Science: The Use of Animals in Research*. Revised edition. London: National Anti-Vivisection Society.

Sandikci, Ö & Ger, G. (2010). Veiling in Style: How Does a Stigmatized Practice Become Fashionable? *Journal of Consumer Research* 37: June, 15–36.

Shaw, D., Grehan, E., Shiu, E., Hassan, L. & Thomson, J. (2005). An exploration of values in ethical consumer decision making. *Journal of Consumer Behaviour* 4: 3, 185–200.

Schiele, K. & Venkatesh, A. (2016). Regaining control through reclamation: how consumption subcultures preserve meaning and group identity after commodification. *Consumption Markets & Culture* 19: 5, 427–450.

Scrambler, G. (2006). Sociology, social structure and health-related stigma. *Psychology, Health & Medicine* 11: 3, 288–295.

Seyfang, G. (2005). Shopping for sustainability: Can sustainable consumption promote ecological citizenship? *Environmental Politics* 14: 2, 290–306.

Shenton, A. K. (2004). Strategies for ensuring trustworthiness in qualitative research projects. *Education for Information* 22: 2, 63–75.

Shilling, C. (1991). Educating the Body: Physical Capital and the Production of Social Inequalities. *Sociology* 25: 4, 653–672.

Simmel, G. (1904/1957). Fashion. *American Journal of Sociology* 62: May, 541–558.

Simonson, P. (2001). Social noise and segmented rhythms: News, entertainment, and celebrity in the crusade for animal rights. *The Communication review* 4: 3, 399–420.

Singer, P. (1975). *Animal Liberation: A New Ethics for Our Treatment of Animals*. New York: HarperCollins.

Smith, R. A. & Lux, D. S. (1993). Historical Method in Consumer Research: Developing Causal Explanations of Change. *Journal of Consumer Research* 19: March, 595–610.

Snow, D. A., Rochford, E. B. Jr., Worden, S. K. & Benford, R. D. (1986). Frame Alignment Processes, Micromobilization, and Movement Participation. *American Sociological Review* 51: 4, 464–481.

Soron, D. (2010). Sustainability, self-Identity and the sociology of consumption. *Sustainable Development* 18: 3, 172–181.

Spencer, E. A., Appleby, P. N., Davey, G. K. & Key, T. J. (2003). Diet and body mass index in 38000 EPIC-Oxford meat-eaters, fish-eaters, vegetarians and vegans. *International Journal of Obesity and Related Metabolic Disorders* 27: 6, 728–734.

Starr, M. A. (2009). The social economics of ethical consumption: Theoretical considerations and empirical evidence. *Journal of Socio-Economics* 38: 6, 916–925.

Stern, P. C. (2000). New Environmental Theories: Toward a Coherent Theory of Environmentally Significant Behavior. *Social Issues* 56: 3, 407–424.

Stevens, L. & Maclaran, P. (2005). Exploring the 'Shopping Imaginary': The Dreamworld of Women's Magazines. *Journal of Consumer Behaviour* 4: 4, 282–292.

Stout, P. A., Villegas, J. & Jennings, N. A. (2004). Images of Mental Illness in the Media: Identifying Gaps in the Research. *Schizophrenia Bulletin* 30: 3, 543–561.

Straughan, R. D. & Roberts, J. A. (1999). Environmental segmentation alternatives: a look at green consumer behavior in the new millennium. *Journal of Consumer Marketing* 16: 6, 558–575.

Tadajewski, M., Chelekis, J., DeBerry-Spence, B., Figueiredo, B., Kravets, O., Nuttavuthisit, K., Penaloza, L. & Moisander, J. (2014). The discourses of marketing and development: towards 'critical transformative marketing research'. *Journal of Marketing Management* 30: 17–18, 1728–1771.

Tanner, C. & Kast, S. W. (2003). Promoting Sustainable Consumption: Determinants of Green Purchases by Swiss Consumers. *Psychology & Marketing* 20: 10, 883–902.

Tepper, K. (1994). The Role of Labeling Processes in Elderly Consumers' Responses to Age Segmentation Cues. *Journal of Consumer Research* 20: March, 503–519.

Thompson, C. J. & Coskuner-Balli, G. (2007). Countervailing Market Responses to Corporate Co-optation and the Ideological Recruitment of Consumption Communities. *Journal of Consumer Research* 34: Aug, 135–152.

Thompson, C. J., & Hirschman, E. C. (1995). Understanding the Socialized Body: A Poststructuralist Analysis of Consumers' Self-Conceptions, Body Images, and Self-Care Practices. *Journal of Consumer Research* 22: Sept, 139–153.

Trier-Bieniek, A. (2016). *The Beyonce Effect: Essays on Sexuality, Race and Feminism*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland.

Trigg, A. B. (2001). Veblen, Bourdieu, and Conspicuous Consumption. *Journal of Economic Issues* 35: 1, 99–115.

Tuchman, G. (1978). *Making News*. New York: Free Press.

Tucker, L. R. (1998). The Framing of Calvin Klein: A Frame Analysis of Media Discourse about the August 1995 Calvin Klein Jeans Advertising Campaign. *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 15: 2, 141–157.

Turner, G. (2010). Approaching celebrity studies. *Celebrity Studies* 1: 1, 11–20.

UNCED (1992). *Agenda 21*. [online, cited on 15 April 2017]. Available from:
https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/content/documents/Agenda21.pdf.

UNEP (2010). *Assessing the Environmental Impacts of Consumption and Production: Priority Products and Materials* [online, cited on 15 April 2017]. Available from:
http://www.unep.fr/shared/publications/pdf/DTIx1262xPA-PriorityProductsAndMaterials_Report.pdf.

Van Liere, K. D. & Dunlap, R. E. (1981). Environmental Concern Does it Make a Difference How it's Measured? *Environment and Behavior* 13: 6, 651–676.

Van Vugt, M. & Hardy, C. L. (2010). Cooperation for reputation: Wasteful contributions as costly signals in public goods. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations* 13: 1, 101–111.

Veblen, T. (1899/1970). *The Theory of the Leisure Class*. London: Unwin.

Vegan Society (2016). *Definition of veganism* [online, cited on 18 November 2016]. Available from: http://www.vegansociety.com/try-vegan/definition-veganism.

Vegan Society (2014). *Ripened by human determination: 70 years of the Vegan Society* [online, cited on 10 April 2017]. Available from: http://www.vegansociety.com/sites/default/files/uploads/Ripened%20by%20human%20determination.pdf.

Vegetarian Resource Group (2011). *Vegetarians in the Hospital: How to make the most of your stay with the nutrition you need*. 15 November [online, cited on 18 March 2015]. Available from: http://www.vrg.org/blog/2011/11/15/vegetarians-in-the-hospitalhow-to-make-the-most-of-your-stay-with-the-nutrition-you-need/.

Vermeir, I. & Verbeke, W. (2006). Sustainable food consumption: exploring the consumer "attitude – behavioural intention" gap. *Journal of Agricultural and Environmental Ethics* 19: 2, 169–194.

Vliegenthart, R., & van Zoonen, L. (2011). Power to the Frame: Bringing Sociology Back to Frame Analysis. *European Journal of Communication* 26: 2, 101–115.

Wahl, O. F. (1992). Mass media images of mental illness: A review of the literature. *Journal of Community Psychology* 20: Oct, 343–352.

Warren, C. A. B. (1980). Destigmatization of Identity: From Deviant to Charismatic. *Qualitative Sociology* 3: 1, 59–72.

Warrington, R. (2014). The good gut guide. *Sunday Times* 12 October, 70.

Watkins, S. C. (2001). Framing Protest: News Media Frames of the Million Man March. *Critical Studies in Media Communication* 18: 1, 83–101.

Wheeler, B. (2012). How the Daily Mail stormed the US. *BBC*, 27 January [online, cited on 21 October 2016]. Available from: http://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-16746785.

WHO (2016). *Obesity and overweight: Fact sheet* [online, cited on 15 April 2017]. Available from: http://www.who.int/mediacentre/factsheets/fs311/en/.

Williams S. J. (1995). Theorising class, health and lifestyles: can Bourdieu help us? *Sociology of Health and Illness* 17: 5, 577–604.

World Economic Forum (2013). *Sustainable Consumption: Stakeholder Perspectives* [online, cited on 14 April 2017]. Geneva: World Economic Forum. Available from: http://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_ENV_SustainableConsumption_Book_2013.pdf.

Zeisler, A. (2016). *We were feminists once: From Riot Grrrl to Covergirl®, the buying and selling of a political movement*. New York: PublicAffairs.

Ziemann. M. (2016). Vegaanivalmisruuista seuraava ilmiö – Ruokajätit taistelevat pahaa makua vastaan. *YLE*, 17 October [online, cited on 22 March 2017]. Available from: http://yle.fi/uutiset/3-9229057.

Essays

Fashionalising Sustainable Consumption in Lifestyle Media[4]

Outi Lundahl

University of Vaasa, Finland

Abstract:

The article explores how and why media promotes sustainable consumption as a fashion trend. The reasons include the profit-making logic of media and upholding the ideology of consumer culture. The trend seems to remain short lived, however, and even if sustained, it may be harmful as it promotes unnecessary consumption.

Acknowledgements: I would like to thank Dr. Henna Syrjälä, Dr. Hanna Leipämaa-Leskinen and Professor Harri Luomala for valuable feedback during the preparation of this article.

---

[4] Lundahl, O. 2014. Fashionalising sustainable consumption in lifestyle media. In J. Cotte, and S. Wood (Eds). *Advances in Consumer Research*, Vol. 42. Duluth, MN: Association for Consumer Research. 343–347.

INTRODUCTION

The trendiness or even the status-enhancing qualities of sustainable consumption have been noted in previous studies. To give just a couple of examples of this phenomenon, the concept of "eco-chic" has been popularised to refer to the idea that some products can be both eco-friendly and trendy so that consumers would not have to give up their sense of style to aim for sustainability (Elliott 2013). In the Independent, Fury (2013) also started his article about a new vegan store launch by saying: "Why is a fashion editor writing about veganism? Because it's fashionable … Vegan is in." In his article Fury refers to celebrity adherents such as Beyoncé and Gwyneth Paltrow, and Hollywood A-listers seem indeed to have become major promoters of sustainability (e.g. Boykoff, Goodman, and Littler 2010; Jill 2012; Gray 2011).

From the extant literature, I have identified three competing explanations for this phenomenon. The first one comes from the proponents of evolutionary psychology (e.g. Griskevicius, Cantú, and van Vugt 2012; Griskevicius, Tybur, and Van den Bergh 2010; Van Vugt and Hardy 2010). They argue that through conspicuous sustainable consumption a consumer is able to show that they are altruistic and that they can afford to spend money on the welfare of others. The second explanation is provided by Elliott (2013). With the help of Bourdieu (1984), she argues for a more subtle way of signalling status and taste. However, these studies offer a very static explanation for the status of sustainability: they do not account for the rise of sustainability and also seem to imply that interest in it will not wane either. Neither do they account for the active role of the market system or of cultural elites such as celebrities, apart from the notion by Griskevicius et al. (2010) that marketers should make eco-products more expensive to appeal to consumers. This notion is objectionable on many accounts such as making sustainability the purview of only the rich and privileged as well as potentially promoting unnecessary consumption (Elliott 2013; Owen 2012; Soron 2010).

The third explanation, the co-optation theory (Frank 1997; Heath and Potter 2004; Thompson and Coskuner-Balli 2007), does take the market system into account by arguing that market forces will eventually internalise and commodify radical and marginalised consumption phenomena. They are transformed into "a constellation of trendy commodities and depoliticized fashion styles" (Thompson and Coskuner-Balli 2007, 136). However, the theory does not explain in detail how and why certain previously stigmatised forms of consumption become fashionable (Sandicki and Ger 2010). In addition, the co-optation theory concentrates on marketers and thus largely ignores the role of media, apart from media being the site for advertising. But as the battle for and against social change is fought in the public sphere (Castells 2009) and as lifestyle media has become littered with messages about sustainability (Lewis 2008, 2012), this is a major gap in the literature.

The main contribution of this paper is then to provide a fourth, complementary explanation for the phenomenon by analysing how and why media institutions shape the market to give rise to a fashion trend of sustainable consumption. I have called this the fashionalisation of sustainable consumption to highlight the active involvement of a market actor. In relation to the previous studies, I argue against the view taken by the proponents of evolutionary psychology that there is something inherently status-enhancing about green products. Instead, I concur with Elliott (2013) that these meanings are historically emergent. Moreover, I argue that these meanings are shaped by the market system, and, in fact, created due to two interlinked motives: firstly, the profit-making logic of the media business and, secondly, upholding of the status quo and the ideology of ever increasing consumption for economic growth.

The second contribution of this paper is to highlight that the status and the trend of sustainable consumption seems to be short-term in nature due to the need for the lifestyle media to keep churning out new trends. This runs counter to what Elliott (2013) and the evolutionary psychologists seem to imply. But even if sustained over a long period of time, it may not guarantee environmental benefits: instead of limiting consumption, which would be necessary for true sustainability (Alexander & Ussher 2012; Kilbourne & Pickett 2008), this kind of commodified sustainability may lead to excesses and unnecessary consumption (e.g. Boykoff et al. 2010; Owen 2012).

In this study I use frame analysis. It is often associated with Goffman (1974) but I depart from the Goffmanesque frame analysis in that, as Tuchman (1978) argues, Goffman does not adequately explain the ideological functions or institutional mechanism of media (see also Vliegenthart and van Zoonen 2011). In this article, the classic study of Herman and Chomsky (1988; for a critical review see Klaehn 2002), Manufacturing Consent, is used to tie the media content to the context. In their model they argue that there are five filters which affect the media content. These are 1) the ownership and profit orientation of media corporations; 2) advertising as the primary source of funding; 3) the reliance on specialist, elite sources; 4) "flak" as a means of disciplining the media; and 5) "anti-communism" against the threat of enemies, of which the latter was later termed "otherness" by Chomsky (1998). Of these, the filters of profit orientation, advertising, sourcing and otherness are the most relevant for the current study. One may argue that flak from, for instance, governmental agencies is also an important factor in raising the profile of sustainability in the first place but discussing these forces is beyond the scope of this paper. The findings are then analysed with reference to the remaining four filters. Before proceeding with the detailed exploration of the two frames, however, I will briefly outline the methodology of this study.

METHODOLOGY

Women's magazines were chosen as, for instance, Elliott (2013) shows that being female increases the odds of finding green consumption desirable. As domestic consumers, women are also targeted to buy greener, particularly in their role as caregivers (MacGregor 2006). The aim was also to gain data from a broad spectrum of women's magazines. Consequently three Finnish women's magazines with differing target audiences were chosen: *Kaksplus* aimed at young mothers (readership 113 000, Otavamedia 2013b), *Eeva* aimed at mature, wealthier women (45+ years of age, readership 357 000, A-lehdet 2013) and *Anna* aimed at slightly younger women (35+ years of age, readership 324 000, Otavamedia 2013a) with a more modest budget. All the magazines have a wide circulation given that Finland has approximately 5.5 million inhabitants. The study has a time span of 5 years (2009–2013) and, all in all, 360 magazines were analysed (*Anna* having 48 issues a year whilst *Eeva* and *Kaksplus* have 12 issues a year).

The magazines were searched for articles, images, readers' letters and advertisements related to sustainability and sustainable consumption in its widest definition. This included environmental, social, cultural and economic sustainability but as environmental sustainability emerged as the most frequently promoted facet, the analysis focused on this. In addition to consumption stories, the data was also scanned for, for instance, political discourses, factual information and messages emanating from the environmental movement. However, these instances were rare. Instead, the majority of the data coded included products or consumption behaviours which were promoted as environmentally sustainable choices or had some reference to sustainability (e.g. the use of the prefix "eco") and, to a lesser degree, voices arguing against sustainable consumption.

The analysis in this study involved two steps which are in line with the critical frame research tradition: the first exploring the rhetorical strategies employed and the second examining the specific industrial processes that facilitate the production of the emerging frames (Watkins 2001). The rhetorical strategies include problem or issue definition, key words and images, sources and themes which highlight and promote specific facts and interpretations (Entman 1993; Gamson 1992; Tucker 1998; Watkins 2001). The frames can then be thought of as clusters of messages which deploy similar strategies and offer similar explanations and solutions to the problem at hand. Several rounds of iterations between the data and the proposed frames were made until the final two frames emerged. The second step, the contextualization of framing, was done in particular with the help of Herman and Chomsky's (1988) work which also stems from the critical theory tradition. In this critical view, then, frames are "the outcome of newsgathering routines by which journalists convey information … from the perspective of values held by political and economic elites" (D'Angelo 2002, 876). Through framing, media as an institution select some information

and intentionally omit other points of view to support the status quo (D'Angelo 2002, 876).

FINDINGS

"Eco-chic" frame

The first frame is labelled "Eco-chic" and it was present in all of the magazines. As explained above, eco-chic aims to combine sustainable living with trendiness, and the trendiness of sustainable consumption was indeed often stated in clear terms, such as naming sustainable consumption or organic food as "the trend" of the year. In addition, for instance, in the 11/2009 issue of Anna alone, the fashion section made bold statements in its headlines such as "Choose wisely–the green wave of fashion", "This week ecological values are in", "Nature power–eco beauty products for the spring pampering of the body and for maintaining inner peace" and "Only green in the wardrobe", to name but a few. Often sustainable consumption was promoted through product reviews which list various eco-products the reader should try out. Two of the main product categories promoted by the magazines were organic food and cosmetics but the list is, in fact, endless. Eco-boutiques were featured, new hybrid cars were reviewed and eco-products from eco-hoovers to eco-washing-up liquids and eco-sofas made regular appearances. At the height of the trend in 2011, Eeva even promoted "eco-art" exhibitions and music labelled as "organic".

Three important points are raised by these examples. Firstly, in all of the three magazines, sustainable consumption–or rather ostensibly sustainable consumption–was ubiquitous (see also Lewis 2008, 2012). Secondly, in line with the eco-chic ideology, ecological values can be combined with beauty, both on the inside and the outside, and that consumers preferring sustainable products are discerning and quality conscious. In fact, it seemed as though the word or prefix "eco" was often used as a short-hand for such qualities in the headline whereas the actual text may not even mention the ecological benefits of the product at all, which begs the question, what is the main motivation for such consumption behaviour. Thirdly, the sustainability promoted by the magazines was generally commodified in the form of various eco-products–although perhaps less so in Eeva which, in comparison, emphasised the taste and cultural values the readers should espouse more (Lewis 2008, 231). Furthermore, anti-consumption stories, factual arguments, political discourses and voices from the environmental movement were also silenced.

This ties in with the profit-making and funding filters (Herman and Chomsky 1988) of media. Firstly, the media content is biased as to protect the interests of the corporation. Lifestyle magazines, such as the current three, often revolve around fashion trends and they have also been dubbed the "dreamworld" of shopping (Stevens and Maclaran 2005). Their existence is therefore reliant on

maintaining an urgency around being fashionable and up-to-date and, to keep the readers coming back for more, there is a need to actively create consumption trends. Sustainability, when defined as reducing the amount of consumption (Alexander and Ussher 2012), is therefore a threat to the media as it would make this type of media redundant and would hence destabilise their profit-making logic. Commodified, fashionalised sustainability, however, is not a threat so long as it keeps consumers buying more and so long as it can be replaced by other trends once interest wanes. Secondly, magazines rely on advertisers for their funding but in order to attract advertisers they need a sizeable audience of the right kind–thus making the audience the commodity sold instead of the magazine itself. Hence, the content will take any form necessary to attract the audience. More importantly, content which is likely to put the audience off buying–in other words, anti-consumption stories–is marginalising or left out. Essentially, then, magazines are geared towards ever increasing consumption.

This is also where the filter "otherness" (Chomsky 1998) comes into play. The idea that enemies (i.e. the anti-consumption movement) are attacking us is promoted and thus we are encouraged to protect the dominant ideology of free capitalist markets. Here, then, the perpetuation of the sustainability trend can be seen as an offensive against the rising tide of anti-consumption voices. By promoting sustainability through consumption, it is possible to answer the call for sustainability but apply the rules of the dominant ideology to the game thus high jacking, or co-opting, the environmental movement. Taking a critical point of view Luke (2005), for instance, then argues that sustainable development is merely a social movement for greater commodification.

In this quest, images of celebrities are also evoked, which coincides with the overall trend of using celebrities in the media coverage of climate change (Boykoff et al. 2010). In many cultures, celebrities have become a special elite stratum. Many extraordinary qualities are attached to them (e.g. Goodman 2010; Lundahl 2014; McCracken 1989) and that is why they make such powerful cues to accentuate and give credence to the intended message of "sustainable consumption is trendy and fashionable." In the data, these celebrities included, but were not limited to, models, artists and actors. In issue 11/2010 *Anna*, for instance, argued that "The charming British actor Colin Firth is involved with the Eco-Age store … You may also spot Colin helping out behind the counter during a rush hour–which is a wonderful reason to nip over to London to be eco!" This quote shows how celebrities are evoked to prompt action. The main rationale here though is to be closer to the celebrity both physically and symbolically while from the ecological point of view the argument is, to say the least, flawed. In fact, one is reminded of the Jevons paradox (Owen 2012; Polimeni et al. 2008) where the purported sustainability of the product in fact increases the ecological strain of that consumption activity by seeming efficient and therefore more desirable.

Here, reference to Herman and Chomsky's (1988) filter "sourcing", is also prudent. They argue that media forms a symbiotic relationship with its trusted

sources out of economic necessity and reciprocity of interest. Good sources, for instance, provide a steady stream of news which are guaranteed to interest the audience. I argue that, especially for lifestyle media, celebrities are such sources. Media rely on celebrities to sell the magazines whilst celebrities rely on lifestyle media to build their brands thus forming a symbiotic relationship. What embeds celebrities even deeper into the institutions upholding the hegemony of consumption culture is that celebrities act as endorsers of brands (Erdogan 1999) and, as Brockington (2008) states, celebrities exist to facilitate ever-increasing consumption. Similarly, Brockington (2009, 10) argues that celebrity culture is the most pervasive in cultures where a greater inequality prevails. Celebrities therefore seem to have a pacifying effect, a new kind of "opium of the people" (Marx 1844). This ties in well with the aim of preserving the status quo.

"Free to choose" frame

The second frame, "Free to choose", was present especially in *Kaksplus* and, as time went on, in *Anna* whereas in *Eeva* sustainability discreetly dropped off the agenda in favour of other trends. This frame highlighted that sustainability will have to come second after more important shopping criteria and the readers do not appreciate being pressured into sustainable consumption. In *Kaksplus*, for instance, the conflict is created because young parents are torn between the demands of family and work, and the demands for sustainability only add to these pressures. Instead, then, the consumers should be free to choose, without any guilt, how they spend their money.

This conflict was often recognised by *Kaksplus*. The editor (issue 02/2009), for instance, acknowledged this pressure by saying that in 2005–2007 alternative and ecological parenting became "big things" but raising the issue brought about major arguments for and against. She writes: "I was surprised … how absolute [the readers] are at their worst." And whilst the trendiness of sustainable consumers was acknowledged, they were also often ridiculed and stigmatised for being too easily led by the fashion industry (e.g. issue 02/2010 "Hero mums" and issue 04/2010 "Top 10 parenting"; cf. hipsters e.g. Arsel and Thompson 2011). In fact, sustainability could even be seen to hurt the family:

> *[In issue 12/2012, there] was an interview of the mother of a vegetarian family. The whole family were vegetarians. And to top it all, the only creature that got meat was the dog! A vegetarian dog would be animal cruelty according to the mum! But only feeding a small child fodder is not?*
>
> *Use your common sense, young women … The world will not be any better for your fussing. (Reader's letter, Kaksplus 03/2013)*

Here, the filter "otherness" (Chomsky 1998) raises its head again. The radical voices of those who "fuss" about the environment are marginalised to protect the

dominant ideology of consumption culture, free choice and the rights of the individual. Read in this critical way, what one finds is that, in fact, the so-called dissident voices are aimed at upholding the status quo, in a similar fashion to the media and marketing institutions themselves.

The magazines also soon capitalised on these voices–again arguably because they need new trends to sustain themselves and because, due to the funding filter, antagonising the readers is not in the best interests of light-hearted lifestyle magazines. Anna's changed attitude is highlighted in issue 19/2012 in a short article titled "Climate change in memoriam":

> *Are you haunted by thoughts about global warming? Do you calculate your carbon footprint? Are you worried about the destruction of the world?*
>
> *Exactly, me neither. Anymore. Finns worry less about climate change, says a new survey. The same can be concluded based on general observations. Media is no longer filled with (guilt-inducing) stories about the ecological problems … (Anna 19/2012)*

In this cleverly written article, purportedly summarising the feelings of the nation, the writer then goes on to say that she would be more likely to still care about the environment if things which are out of the control of ordinary people had changed (e.g. cheaper electric and hybrid cards and organic food, public transport and recycling made easier). The article thus pushes the responsibility away from the consumers (cf. Lewis 2008; Moisander 2007; Moisander, Markkula, and Eräranta 2010) and hence justifies the on-going consumer culture.

This marked the end for the sustainability trend in Anna and similar downturn can also be detected in the other magazines. Instead the limelight was hijacked by other trends, such as the so-called superfoods (berries, seeds, and legumes etc. which are supposedly full of nutrients) and their use in beauty products. These products were framed in a similar fashion compared to sustainable consumption in that denotations of healthiness, trendiness, quality and discerning taste were emphasised but references to sustainability were dropped. This highlights the fact that sustainable consumption for the lifestyle media institutions is no more than another trend to churn out to keep the never-ending cycle of consumption going.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

The main thesis of this article has been that media has shaped the market to give rise to the sustainable consumption trend through the "Eco-chic" frame for profit-making reasons. At the same time, it upholds the hegemony of consumer culture. But the study has also highlighted that the trend of sustainable

consumption indeed seems to be short-term in nature. This is due to the fact that magazines, often dedicated to trends and fashion, have keep churning out new issues, and thus, new trends. However, even if sustained over a long period of time, it may not guarantee environmental benefits as commodified, fashionalised sustainability may lead to excesses and unnecessary consumption (e.g. Boykoff et al. 2010; Elliott 2013; Owen 2012).

This phenomenon must also be acknowledged by consumer research. Firstly, it is important to be critical about the so-called sustainable consumption consumers engage in and not merely applaud any new consumption trend disguised as such. Csutora's (2012) analysis in fact shows that the ecological footprint of "green" consumers does not differ significantly from that of the uninterested "brown" consumers.

Secondly, the fact that ecological problems are included in the media agenda nowadays does not necessarily mean that progress is being made. In fact, the underlying ideology perpetuated by lifestyle media seems to imply that true sustainability is unlikely to be achieved under these conditions as has been argued here and by commentators such as Lewis (2013). The hegemony of progress through consumption seems to be so ingrained that even the readers, as shown by the "Free to choose" frame, seem unable to question it. As Hall (1979, 1995) argues, the power of media lies in its ability to make certain representations of the world seem natural and as common sense.

On the other hand, even Herman and Chomsky (1988) do not subscribe to the view that media are monolithic or entirely void of dissent. It is therefore necessary to analyse the current understanding on an issue and the internal logic of the media to be able to contest the meanings and to transform the conceptions of the masses (Hall 1986, 20). This provides hope but also direction for future research. Media is at the heart of social change (Castells 2009), and change is possible. It will, however, require uncovering the hidden mechanisms of media institutions and is not a matter of couple of targeted media communications campaigns as is implied by, for instance, Kolandai-Matchett (2009). This article has aimed to be one step in that direction.

The current study is not without its limitations, however. The first one is that it was not possible to discuss the role of the government in this development. This is an important factor as, for instance, Alexander and Ussher (2012) argue that even governments are yet to accept the necessity to consume less and, instead, promote "sustainable development", in other words, continuing to pursue economic growth whilst aiming for efficiency. As argued above, this seems to be a flawed way of thinking (e.g. Owen 2012; Polimeni et al. 2008). Therefore, I concur with commentators such as Moisander (2007) in that sustainable consumption research should direct their gaze away from individual consumers and, instead, problematise the hegemony of "sustainable development" and of consumption culture, and investigate the forces which uphold this ideology.

Secondly, only women's magazines were analysed and further research is required in a wider range of publications. There is also a real danger of perpetuating the gendered view on sustainable consumption (Bourdieu 1984, 382; Elliott 2013). In addition, the context here was Finland which is arguably a small market. However, the basic principles of media business are the same in modern, capitalist countries. Cross-cultural comparisons would, however, be a fruitful avenue for future research. Other recommendations for future research include a more detailed analysis of the role of the celebrities in this process. The research could also include investigating the role of what Castells (2009) calls mass self-communication, in other words blogs and social media such as Twitter, whereby the celebrities can communicate with their followers directly and thus bypass mainstream media institutions.

REFERENCES

A-lehdet (2013), ”Eeva: Naistenlehtien Klassikko,” [Eeva: The Classic Women's Magazine] http://www.a-lehdet.fi/mediaopas/eeva.

Alexander, Samuel and Simon Ussher (2012), “The Voluntary Simplicity Movement: A Multi-national Survey Analysis in Theoretical Context,” *Journal of Consumer Culture*, 12 (1), 66–86.

Arsel, Zeynep and Craig J. Thompson (2011), “Demythologizing Consumption Practices: How Consumers Protect Their Field-Dependent Identity Investments from Devaluing Marketplace Myths,” *Journal of Consumer Research*, 37 (Feb), 791–806.

Bourdieu, Pierre (1984), *Distinction: A social critique of the judgement of taste*, London: Routledge.

Boykoff, Maxwell, Michael Goodman, and Jo Littler (2010), “‘Charismatic Megafauna’: The Growing Power of Celebrities and Pop Culture in Climate Change Campaigns,” *Environment, Politics and Development Working Paper Series,* Department of Geography, King's College London.

Brockington, Dan (2009), *Celebrity and the Environment: Face, Wealth and Power in Conservation*, London: Zed Books.

Brockington, Dan (2008), “Powerful Environmentalisms: Conservation, Celebrity and Capitalism,” *Media, Culture & Society*, 30 (4), 551–68.

Castells, Manuel (2009), *Communication Power*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Chomsky, Noam (1998), *Language and Politics*, ed. Carlos Peregin Otero, Montreal: Black Rose.

Csutora, Maria (2012), "One More Awareness Gap? The Behaviour-Impact Gap Problem," *Journal of Consumer Policy*, 35 (1), 145–63.

D'Angelo, Paul (2002), "News Framing as a Multiparadigmatic Research Program: A Response to Entman," *Journal of Communication*, 52 (4), 870–88.

Elliott, Rebecca (2013), "The Taste for Green: The Possibilities and Dynamics of Status Differentiation through 'Green' Consumption," *Poetics*, 41 (3), 294–322.

Entman, Robert M. (1993), "Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm," *Journal of Communication*, 43 (4), 51-8.

Erdogan, B. Zafer (1999), "Celebrity Endorsement: A Literature Review," *Journal of Marketing Management*, 15 (4), 291-314.

Frank, Thomas (1997), *The Conquest of Cool: Business Culture, Counterculture, and Hip Consumerism*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Fury, Alexander (2013), "Why I Won't be Shopping in the UK's First Veganz Supermarket," *Independent*, December 31, http://www.independent.co.uk/voices/comment/why-i-wont-be-shopping-in-the-uks-first-veganz-supermarket-9031947.html.

Gamson, William A. (1992), *Talking politics*, New York: Cambridge University Press.

Goffman, Erving (1974), *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience*, New York: Harper & Row.

Goodman, Michael K. (2010), "The Mirror of Consumption: Celebritization, Developmental Consumption and the Shifting Cultural Politics of Fair Trade," *Geoforum*, 41 (1), 104–16.

Gray, Louise (2011), "Elitist Celebrities Enough to Put You Off Your (Organic) Food," *Telegraph*, August 20, http://www.telegraph.co.uk/foodanddrink/foodanddrinknews/8712806/Elitist-celebrities-enough-to-put-you-off-your-organic-food.html.

Griskevicius, Vladas, Stephanie M. Cantú, and Mark van Vugt (2012), "The Evolutionary Bases for Sustainable Behavior: Implications for Marketing, Policy, and Social Entrepreneurship," *Journal of Public Policy & Marketing*, 31 (1), 115–28.

Griskevicius, Vladas, Joshua M. Tybur, and Bram Van den Bergh (2010), "Going Green to be Seen: Status, Reputation and Conspicuous Conservation," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 98 (3), 392–404.

Hall, Stuart (1979), "Culture, the Media and the 'Ideological Effect'," in *Mass communication and society*, ed. James Curran, Michael Gurevitch, and Janet Woollacott, Beverly Hills: Sage, 315–348.

Hall, Stuart (1986), "Gramsci's Relevance for the Study of Race and Ethnicity," *Journal of Communication Inquiry*, 10 (2), 5–27.

Hall, Stuart (1995), "The Whites of Their Eyes: Racial Ideologies and the Media," in *Gender, Race and Class in Media*, ed. Gail Dines and Jean M. Humez, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 18–22.

Heath, Joseph and Andrew Potter (2004), *Nation of Rebels: Why Counterculture Became Consumer Culture*, New York: HarperBusiness.

Herman, Edward S. and Noam Chomsky (1988), *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media*, New York: Pantheon Books.

Jill, Jodi (2012), "Eco-friendly Hollywood Stars who Drive Hybrid Cars," *Examiner*, April 19, http://www.examiner.com/article/earth-day-2012-list-of-hollywood-s-eco-friendly-stars-that-drive-hybrid-cars.

Kilbourne, William and Gregory Pickett (2008), "How Materialism Affects Environmental Beliefs, Concern, and Environmentally Responsible Behaviour," *Journal of Business Research*, 61 (9), 885–93.

Klaehn, Jeffery (2002), "A Critical Review and Assessment of Herman and Chomsky's 'Propaganda Model'," *European Journal of Communication*, 7 (2), 147–82.

Kolandai-Matchett, Komathi (2009), "Mediated Communication of 'Sustainable Consumption' in the Alternative Media: a Case Study Exploring a Message Framing Strategy," *International Journal of Consumer Studies*, 33 (2), 113–25.

Lewis, Justin (2013), *Beyond Consumer Capitalism: Media and the Limits to Imagination*, London: Polity.

Lewis, Tania (2008), "Transforming Citizens? Green Politics and Ethical Consumption on Lifestyle Television," *Continuum: Journal of Media & Cultural Studies*, 22 (2), 227–40.

Lewis, Tania (2012), "'There Grows the Neighbourhood': Green Citizenship, Creativity and Life Politics on Eco-TV," *International Journal of Cultural Studies*, 15 (3) 315–26.

Luke, Timothy W. (2005), "Neither Sustainable nor Development: Reconsidering Sustainability," *Sustainable Development*, 13 (4), 228–38.

Lundahl, Outi (2014), "Eco-consciousness of Celebrities: A Theoretical Exploration into How Celebrities Affect Sustainable Consumption," paper presented at the *European Marketing Academy Conference*, Valencia, Spain.

MacGregor, Sherilyn (2005), "The Public, the Private, the Planet and the Province: Women's Quality of Life Activism in Urban Southern Ontario," in *This Elusive Land: Women and the Canadian Environment*, ed. Melody Hessing, Rebecca Raglan, Catriona Sandilands, Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 169–87.

Marx, Karl (1844/1965), "Introduction to a Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right," in *Deutsch-französische Jahrbücher*, ed. Arnold Ruge and Karl Marx, Amsterdam: Editions Rodopi and Benjamins.

McCracken, Grant (1989), "Who is the Celebrity Endorser? Cultural Foundations of the Endorsement Process," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 16 (Dec), 310-21.

Moisander, Johanna (2007), "Motivational Complexity of Green Consumerism," *International Journal of Consumer Studies*, 31 (4), 404–09.

Moisander, Johanna, Annu Markkula, and Kirsi Eräranta (2010), "Construction of Consumer Choice in the Market: Challenges for Environmental Policy," *International Journal of Consumer Studies*, 34 (1), 73–79.

Otavamedia (2013a), "Lukijaprofiili: Anna 2013," [Reader Profile: Anna 2013] http://mediatiedot.kuvalehdet.fi/files/library/attachments/Lukijaprofiili%20pdf%202013/AN_lukijaprofiili_2013.pdf.

Otavamedia (2013b), "Lukijaprofiili: Kaksplus 2013," [Reader Profile: Kaksplus 2013] http://mediatiedot.kuvalehdet.fi/files/library/attachments/Lukijaprofiili%20pdf%202013/KP_lukijaprofiili_2013.pdf.

Owen, David (2012), *The Conundrum: How Scientific Innovation, Increased Efficiency, and Good Intentions Can Make Our Energy and Climate Problems Worse*, New York: Riverhead Books.

Polimeni John M., Kozo Mayumi, Mario Giampietro, and Blake Alcott (2008), *The Myth of Resource Efficiency: The Jevons Paradox*. London: Earthscan.

Sandikci, Özlem and Güliz Ger (2010), "Veiling in Style: How Does a Stigmatized Practice Become Fashionable?" *Journal of Consumer Research*, 37 (June), 15–36.

Soron, Dennis (2010), "Sustainability, Self-Identity and the Sociology of Consumption," *Sustainable Development*, 18 (3), 172–81.

Stevens, Lorna and Pauline Maclaran (2005), "Exploring the 'Shopping Imaginary': The Dreamworld of Women's Magazines," *Journal of Consumer Behaviour*, 4 (4), 282–92.

Thompson, Craig J. and Gokcen Coskuner-Balli (2007), "Countervailing Market Responses to Corporate Co-optation and the Ideological Recruitment of Consumption Communities," *Journal of Consumer research*, 34 (August), 135–52.

Tuchman, Gaye (1978), *Making News*, New York: Free Press.

Tucker, Lauren R. (1998), "The Framing of Calvin Klein: A Frame Analysis of Media Discourse about the August 1995 Calvin Klein Jeans Advertising Campaign," *Critical Studies in Mass Communication*, 15 (2), 141–57.

Van Vugt, Mark and Charlotte L. Hardy (2010), "Cooperation for reputation: Wasteful contributions as costly signals in public goods," *Group Processes Intergroup Relations*, 13 (1), 101–11.

Vliegenthart, Rens and Liesbet van Zoonen (2011), "Power to the Frame: Bringing Sociology Back to Frame Analysis," *European Journal of Communication*, 26 (2), 101–15.

Watkins, S. Craig (2001) "Framing Protest: News Media Frames of the Million Man March," *Critical Studies in Media Communication*, 18 (1), 83–101.

Celebrities and the media in the rise of veganism: Destigmatisation of veganism in the *Daily Mail*, 2008-2014[5]

Outi Lundahl

University of Vaasa, Finland

Maastricht University, the Netherlands

Abstract:

Recent years have seen a surge of interest in veganism and its portrayal in the media has undergone a transformation from a marginalised form of consumption to a celebrity trend, and then to a normalised diet. This paper therefore tracks the change in the framing of veganism and explores why veganism has been both destigmatised and turned into a fashion trend in the *Daily Mail* newspaper in the recent years (2008–2014, n=1275). The paper argues that the destigmatisation has taken place after veganism had become a celebrity trend. This paper then develops a theoretical, multilevel framework of why the portrayal of a previously stigmatised form of consumption is transformed by the media at this particular point in time. The study contributes to the destigmatisation literature by highlighting the role of the symbiotic relationship between celebrities and the media in destigmatisation.

Keywords: veganism; stigma; destigmatisation; media; celebrities

Acknowledgements: I would like to thank Petteri Puska and Dr. Robert Ciuchita for their valuable help with the data analysis, and Professor Harri Luomala for feedback during the preparation of this manuscript.

[5] Under referee process at *Consumption Markets & Culture*.

INTRODUCTION

Veganism is defined as "a way of living which seeks to exclude…all forms of exploitation of, and cruelty to, animals for food, clothing or any other purpose" (Vegan Society, 2014). The primary motivation for vegans has been animal rights whilst others include healthiness and environmental preservation (Greenebaum, 2012). These motivations certainly seem admirable. A more plant-based diet also has the blessing of many high-level institutions. The United Nations, for instance, has argued that a more plant-based diet would be highly beneficial for the environment (Carus, 2010). Vegans also tend to have a lower body mass index (Spencer et al., 2003) so one could speculate that a more plant-based diet would help in the current obesity crisis in the Western world.

Despite the good intentions, however, vegans have been the target of much ridicule and hostility. Veganism has had an image of "fanaticism" which "sucks out the joy" in life (Fury, 2013). Cole and Morgan (2011) also found that in 2007 media portrayal of vegans in the UK consisted of a derogatory and ridiculing attitude where vegans were essentially stigmatised with 74.3% of all articles being negative in tone.

But now, "[v]egan is in" (Fury, 2013). So claims, for instance, a fashion journalist for the Independent, Alexander Fury (2013), who writes "Why is a fashion editor writing about veganism? Because it's fashionable." The year 2014 was also declared "the year of the vegan" (Rami, 2014) as many celebrities such as Beyoncé, Jay Z and Gwyneth Paltrow jumped on the bandwagon (e.g. Fury, 2013; Rami, 2014; Walker, 2014). The trend is also seen among consumers. It is estimated that in 2012 less than 1% of the UK population were vegan (Public Health England, 2014). In 2014, however, it was reported that there had been a clear rise in the numbers for part-time vegans where consumers, for instance, try veganism for a limited time (Barford, 2014). It is also estimated that the number of individuals opting for a plant-based diet in the UK rose from 150,000 in 2006 to 542,000 in 2016 which makes this a 350% increase (Marsh 2016). Hence, the question guiding this study is, why has the media portrayal of veganism changed from a stigmatised to a normalised, destigmatised and even a fashionable form of consumption?

Destigmatisation is taken to mean the normalisation and acceptance of previously stigmatised groups by lessening the negative stereotypes related to these labels (e.g. Goffman, 1963; Warren, 1980). The aim is to dissolve the degree of separation between Us and Them, and to decrease the status loss and discrimination against these groups. However, by focusing on this strict binary of the deviant versus the normal, it has tended to ignore the possibility that destigmatisation can also take place after the consumption practice has become fashionable. Therefore, it seems that sometimes the stigma is not negated but, at least on the face of it, reversed so the previously stigmatised phenomenon is turned into something fashionable, something beyond normal. Once the

trendiness is established this can then be used to justify the destigmatisation of the practice when it is transformed for the majority.

This, I argue in this paper, is the route through which veganism has managed, in places, to shed the stigma previously attached to it. In this paper, I reach this conclusion after a longitudinal media analysis (2008–2014) of a large British newspaper, the *Daily Mail*. While there have been studies, which have noted the potential for a stigmatised group or practice to rise in status, the empirical findings are different in this instance. In comparison with Sandikci and Ger (2010), the process here is not merely the aestheticisation and commodification of the trend after the practice has become more mainstream. Moreover, in comparison with Warren (1980), the process is initiated by an outside force and new actors, namely, the media and celebrities, instead of a mere new found appreciation for some of the members of a stigmatised group. This trendiness of veganism is then derived from its association with new celebrity adherents, and it seems that celebrities were required for destigmatisation to emerge.

Approaching the issue through a different theoretical lens, through the concept of legitimacy, Humphreys (2010) also notes that casino gambling has become "cool" or, in other words, has gained cultural legitimacy. She argues that this "coolness" derives partly from its association with Hollywood movies and, thus, celebrities. However, the issue of celebrities, cultural references and, overall, cultural legitimacy is merely one strand of her overall thesis and I argue that the role of celebrities in the destigmatisation and normalisation of a previously marginalised consumption practice requires a more detailed analysis. Particularly it is necessary to dig deeper into the relationship between media and celebrities and their role in stigma relations. Furthermore, at least in this particular instance, the destigmatised framing also relied on a Us/Them binary against the celebrity vegans. Thus, it is also important to note that fashionable veganism or veganism as a celebrity fad, does not equate to destigmatisation.

The study then contributes to the destigmatisation literature by highlighting the role of the symbiotic relationship between celebrities and the media in destigmatisation. Instead of the celebrity merely making the stigmatised group more acceptable, the *Daily Mail* uses celebrities to hype up the trend of the vegan diet. After the celebrity trend is established by the media, it is then transformed for the ordinary readers. The media, then, is seen as a social sphere in which societal change is negotiated and through which meanings are spread, but also as a vested interest which uses celebrities to its own advantage and to uphold the status quo. Exploring the wider media context then reveals that it is particularly in conjunction with the wider macro level ideologies, and national and organisational contexts which makes the celebrity trend so potent at this particular time. In this way, the paper aims to respond to the call by Link and Phelan (2001) who argue that stigma research should be multilevel as well as multifaceted to address the many mechanisms of stigmatisation. In particular, as per the recommendations of Scrambler (2006), the aim is to build sociological

theory on destigmatisation which emphasises the causal importance of social structures for grasping stigma relations. Furthermore, the aim is to build theory which goes beyond the simple dichotomy of deviance/normalcy. First, then, it is necessary to outline how extant literature has conceptualised both stigma and destigmatisation.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Stigma

Since the publication of Goffman's (1963) seminal study, interest in stigma research has flourished as the concept has been applied to a range of contexts from urinary incontinence (Sheldon and Caldwell, 1994) to exotic dancing (Lewis, 1998). In this flurry of activity, stigma has been defined in various ways. Here, I mainly follow Link and Phelan's (2001) conceptualisation of stigma as it emphasises the ways that power shapes the distribution of stigma (see also Scrambler, 2006). According to Link and Phelan (2001), then, a stigma is a mark that links a person to undesirable characteristics or stereotypes, it divides groups of people into Us and Them, and leads to discrimination. This process is entirely contingent on access to social, economic, and political power. This power allows the identification of difference, the construction of stereotypes, the separation of labelled persons into distinct categories, and the full execution of disapproval, rejection, exclusion, and discrimination.

In this study it is not possible to ascertain the final component, the level of exclusion and discrimination of vegans, and the analysis will focus on the media representations of vegans and on the construction of the different stereotypes associated with veganism. However, stigma as defined by Link and Phelan (2001) was investigated by Bresnahan et al. (2015) who concluded that the stigma does exist. In addition, as noted in the introduction, it is estimated that the number of individuals opting for a plant-based diet in the UK has increased by 350% in 2006–2016 (Marsh, 2016) suggesting that the increasingly positive media representations reflect changes in actual consumer behaviour.

Conversely, then, destigmatisation is taken to mean the normalisation and acceptance of previously stigmatised groups by lessening or neutralising the negative stereotypes related to the Other, and decreasing the degree of separation between Us and Them. This assumption is so ingrained that destigmatisation is generally not even defined in destigmatisation literature but is made explicit by using binaries which equate stigma with deviancy and destigmatisation with normality (e.g. Goffman, 1963; Warren, 1980). Stigma therefore need not be permanent but the changes in it do reflect the interests of the powerful.

Warren (1980), however, makes an interesting observation in arguing that instead of a mere binary of normalcy and deviance, there exists a third dimension

as well – that of charisma which surpasses the normative. Destigmatisation can therefore happen by charisma, if for instance, a person belonging to a stigmatised group (e.g. a gambling addict) mends their ways or transcends the limitations of their handicap (e.g. a deaf, dumb and blind person achieving a college degree). Collectively a group can also try to claim super-normal status whereby a deviant collective can frame itself as moral superiors to the "normals", as a chosen people. However, the problem particularly with the first two types of charismatic destigmatisation is that the transformation only happens for certain individuals whilst leaving the original stigma untouched. Moreover, in this instance, the change in the portrayal of veganism appears to have been caused by an outside force, the celebrities, instead of the original movement managing to claim a super-normal status as in the collective transformation suggested by Warren (1980).

On the other hand, Warren (1980) argues that for all these deviants, the new identity is still not seen as normal and that the charismatic and the deviant are more closely related to each other than either is related to the normal. What this would then suggest is that stigma needs to be explored beyond the strict binary of the deviant/normal and that if veganism becomes fashionable, it does not necessarily mean that it has been destigmatised or that it is normal. However, this also implies that the processes suggested by Warren (1980) are not exhaustive.

As an alternative explanation to destigmatisation, one could also propose the co-optation theory (Frank, 1997; Heath and Potter, 2004; Thompson and Coskuner-Balli, 2007). The theory argues that previously marginal practices can become popular when the market appropriates, commodifies and depoliticises the consumption phenomena. However, as Sandikci and Ger (2010) argue, the co-optation theory does not explain in detail how and why certain previously stigmatised forms of consumption become fashionable nor the process by which co-optation actually happens. Furthermore, they argue that there could be other mechanisms besides co-optation through which change might happen. Lundahl (2014) concurs with them and suggests that media could be one such mechanism. She notes that the co-optation theory concentrates on marketers and thus largely ignores the role of media, apart from media being the site for advertising. Similarly, I agree with Lundahl (2014) and Humphreys (2010) in that as media has an important role in shaping cultural meanings of consumption, it should be included in the consumer research agenda in a much more serious fashion. In particular, I argue that media has an important role in stigma relations.

Media and celebrities in stigma relations

Most research on stigma has thus far focused on the coping strategies used to deal with the negative effects of stigma (e.g. Adkins and Ozanne, 2005; Argo and Main, 2008; Henry and Caldwell, 2006; Tepper, 1994), instead of the

destigmatisation process. When destigmatisation has been addressed, the focus has often been on the role of education and the promotion of contact (e.g. Corrigan and Penn, 1999). These are thought to improve knowledge of and attitudes towards the stigmatised groups in order to negate the stigma. Importantly, Heijnders and Van Der Meij (2006), for instance, suggest that this contact can also be indirect, such as through the media. Furthermore, as Dalal (2006) argues, attitudes are social and learnt, and as there are pressures towards uniformity, attitude change would then be rooted in the process of communication, for instance, through mass media.

Media has then been assumed to have an important role in the (de)stigmatisation of a phenomenon (Stout et al., 2004; Wahl, 1992) since it has extensive power in promoting and creating stereotypes, and since, through evocative language, metaphors and framing, it can attach deep felt emotions to issues. To be more specific, Humphreys (2010), for instance, argues that newspaper journalism shapes consumer perceptions by selecting the information, examples and sources to be included in the narrative, and by representing the object as (in)congruent with the prevalent cultural norms. Media thus has the power to represent it either as stigmatised or destigmatised, and media is shown to have an effect on public attitudes (e.g. Gamson and Modigliani 1989, Humphreys and LaTour 2013, Humphreys and Thompson 2014).

I argue that celebrities also work as important allies in this process. In fact, celebrities can simply be defined by their "well-knownness" (Boorstin 1961, 57), which arises from their visibility in the media. Thus, celebrities are to a large extent created by the media and the messages from celebrities are mediated to the public via the media (e.g. Boorstin 1961, 61; Fraser and Brown, 2002; Kerrigan et al. 2011), thus tying the two tightly together. More specifically, to a large extent, celebrities rely on the media to increase their visibility, status and earning power, whilst the media uses celebrities to increase the interest of the readers and, thus, higher sales.

One of the most overt ways in which a celebrity can then become involved in stigma relations is to become the spokesperson or the face of a stigmatised group. One recent example of this is Caitlyn Jenner's transition. Lovelock (2016) notes that the Anglo-American media's treatment of transgender women used to consist of a rhetoric of deviance and perversion, in other words, stigmatising discourse. However, in 2015, transgender women gained a new spokesperson. This is when the Olympic athlete and reality television star formerly known as Bruce Jenner officially confirmed, in a highly public manner, that she identified as a transgender woman (Lovelock 2016). Whilst the visibility of transgender people within the mainstream media had been steadily increasing and had become more positive since the mid-2000s, with examples such as the winner of the British reality show *Big Brother*, Nadia Almada (Lovelock 2016), Jenner arguably raised the profile and garnered a great deal more sympathy and understanding for transgender women from the general public.

The Jenner case is thus an instance where a celebrity has helped to increase the acceptability of a stigmatised group. In the case of veganism, however, the role of celebrities is not limited to attempts to neutralise the group or practice previously seen as deviant. Instead, I argue that the celebrity involvement in stigma relations is more indirect and involves the creation of a celebrity trend through the appropriation of an aspect of veganism, plant-based diet. This celebrity trend is then subsequently transformed as a consumption trend for the masses. Before exploring these notions, however, it is first necessary to detail the methodology of this study.

METHODOLOGY

The aim of this study was to understand why the portrayal of veganism in the UK media became increasingly positive and, therefore, a longitudinal analysis of the representation of veganism was conducted. The timespan of the study was 7 years, from 1 January 2008 to 31 December 2014. The reason for this choice was that as Cole and Morgan's (2011) study highlighted, veganism was still very much stigmatised in 2007 but, as noted above, by the beginning of 2014 mainstream media was making clear statements about the new-found status of veganism, for instance, declaring the year 2014 the year of the vegan. Therefore, the aim was to investigate what had happened for the portrayal to be transformed in such a dramatic fashion during this time period. In this study, I focus particularly on a British tabloid newspaper, the *Daily Mail*.

The Daily Mail

The British print media is known for the fact that each national newspaper has a fairly stable political leaning which affect the way news are covered. Of the broadsheets, for instance, the *Daily Telegraph* takes a conservative stance, whilst the *Guardian* is known for its left-leaning liberal views (BBC, 2009). Conversely, in this study, I focus on the tabloid *Daily Mail*. The *Mail* professes to represent the middle class (Baggini, 2013), and the term "Middle England" has become synonymous with it (e.g. Burrell, 2010). Middle England is a widely used, though often vaguely defined (e.g. Adams, 2005; Maconie, 2010; Easton, 2010), socio-political term. Stereotypically it refers to the middle or lower-middle class English people, presumably the deep majority, holding conservative or right-wing views and standing for respectability, the suburban nuclear family, conservatism, whiteness, middle age and the status quo (Reeves, 2007). Similarly, the *Mail* has been described as conservative, patriotic and Christian, emphasising the hard-working ordinary tax-paying families and it is said to be opposed to the "liberal intelligentsia" and the left-wing influence (Baggini, 2013: 20–21; Cole, 2007). While the term Middle England also has clear pejorative connotations (e.g. Burrell 2010; Reeves, 2007), it has, for instance, been hailed as

the place "where contemporary British elections are won and lost" (Reeves, 2007; see also Adams, 2005; Burrell, 2010; Maconie, 2010), making it a powerful segment of the society. The *Mail* was then chosen for this study as the aim of the study was to understand the normalisation of veganism, and the *Mail* professes to represent the middle of the market.

In addition, it has a wide circulation. The circulation is 1 679 000 to be precise which makes it the second largest daily newspaper in the UK (Guardian, 2014). A media outlet with such a wide circulation thus has the ability to affect the framing of issues for a large proportion of the society making it an important focus of analysis, particularly as this "Middle England" segment represents a formidable force both politically and in terms of spending power. On the other hand, the *Daily Mail* was deemed to be a more suitable newspaper for the present study compared to the biggest seller, the *Sun*, because the *Sun*'s readership is skewed towards the lower end of the socio-economic scale. Thus, according to the National Readership Survey (cited in Boykoff, 2008), the readership of the *Daily Mail* can best be described as consisting of 31% of consumers belonging to social grade A/B (upper [middle] class and middle class), 55% of consumers belonging to social grade C1/C2 (lower middle class and skilled working class), and 13% of consumers of social grade D/E (working class and underclass). It is also worth noting that according to Cole (2007), 40% of its readers are over 55, and 60% over 45, and that it has the highest proportion of women readers of any national paper.

In this study, the data was gathered using the online version of the newspaper, *MailOnline* (www.dailymail.co.uk/), and on this front the Mail arises in fact as the largest news outlet in the UK. In fact, during the time period under study, the Mail became the most visited online newspaper in the whole world attracting 45.3 million unique visitors a month (Greenslade, 2012; Wheeler, 2012). The emphasis was placed on the online version of the newspaper as in the recent years there has been an ever-increasing tendency for the readership to veer away from traditional print media towards online publications (Newman et al. 2016). In addition, the online version was chosen for ease of access and for a more detailed search (see also Cole and Morgan, 2011, for a discussion on the drawbacks of using databases such as LexisNexis).

Moreover, in Cole and Morgan's (2011) study, the *Daily Mail* had a higher than average frequency of using negative discourses related to veganism (89.1% versus the average of 74.3% of all 19 publications), and a lower than average proportion of neutral discourses (4.3% versus the average of 20.2%). These figures as well as the aforementioned, purported core values of the stereotypical "*Mail* reader" are another reason why the *Daily Mail* was chosen: on the face of it, it seems like an unlikely proponent of veganism. Thus, for the *Mail* to promote veganism later on, this represents a clear turn-around and is an indication that a change in the wider mediascape has also taken place.

The final sample consisted all in all of approximately 9750 pages of A4 sheets and of 1275 individual articles. These included all the articles found in the *Daily Mail* within this time period using keywords "vegan", "vegans" and "veganism" appearing anywhere in the article.

Frame analysis informed by radical structuralism

For the data analysis, frame analysis informed by radical structuralism (Tadajewski et al. 2014) was utilised. As Vliegenthart and van Zoonen (2011) note, "framing" has become one of the buzz-words in mass communication research despite not being ubiquitous in the field of consumer research. Frame analysis is also often associated with Goffman (1974) and much of frame analysis is either cognitive or, following Goffman, constructionist (D'Angelo, 2002). In this paper, I depart from these traditions in that, as Tuchman (1978) argues, Goffman does not adequately explain the ideological functions of media. Therefore, in this study, frame analysis informed by radical structuralism was used in an effort to bring the study of power back into frame analysis (see Vliegenthart and van Zoonen, 2011).

Here, I take the view, following Vliegenthart and van Zoonen (2011), that news frames are outcomes of social interactions between political and media actors and environments that are for the greater part routinised. The aim of frame analysis is then to analyse how news content promotes particular problem definitions but also to tie such problem definitions to an analysis of power. This kind of analysis requires a multilevel, sociological investigation into the organizational processes of news production, ideological leanings of the news organization, market constraints, differential power of social and political actors, and the national and international cultures and structures (Vliegenthart and van Zoonen, 2011).

The reason for choosing frame analysis over, for instance, discourse analysis is then that frame analysis also investigates the processes of the news production and hence assumes a more active involvement on the part of the news organisation in the coverage of the issue (e.g. Tucker, 1998). Thus, this kind of frame analysis also assumes that the representatives of the institution select some information and omit other points of view to support the status quo (D'Angelo, 2002) and overall to provide maximum benefit to the organisation (Herman and Chomsky, 1988). At the same time, in bringing issues of ideology and power into the analysis, frame analysis comes close to discourse analysis. Indeed, as Vliegenthart and van Zoonen (2011) point out, the work of Stuart Hall (e.g. Hall et al., 1978; Hall et al. 1980), for instance, though arising from Critical Discourse Analysis (van Dijk, 2001: 359), could just as well be seen as part of this kind of sociological frame analysis tradition despite the fact that he does not use the wording of frames. Similarly, discourse analysis, for instance, refers to frames

as part of the analysis (see e.g. Van Dijk, 2001: 360; D'Angelo, 2002). Therefore, the difference between discourse and frame analysis is indeed a fine one.

In practice, frame analysis informed by radical structuralism then involves, first, identifying clusters of messages which deploy similar rhetorical strategies (e.g. problem or issue definition, key words and images, sources and themes) which highlight and promote specific facts and interpretations of veganism (Entman, 1993; Tucker, 1998). In the case of contradictory rhetorical strategies within an individual article, the coding was based on what was deemed as the overall attitude of the article towards veganism. Then, as a second step, the framing is contextualised using extant literature (e.g. Watkins, 2001)

The operationalisation of the first frame, "Veganism as a sign of extremism and moral decay", largely followed Cole and Morgan's (2011) study in that framing was coded as stigmatised if it included the anti-vegan discourses such as ridiculing veganism, characterising it as asceticism, as difficult and/or impossible to sustain, and characterising vegans as oversensitive or as hostile. However, veganism as a fad, which Cole and Morgan (2011) identify as a stigmatising discourse, was more related to the celebrity trend as faddism claims mainly arose in reference to celebrities. Secondly, the second and third frames, "Veganism as a celebrity fashion" and "Veganism as a healthy diet", respectively, were operationalised and distinguished in the coding along six different facets: authority (celebrity lifestyle gurus versus doctors and the scientific community respectively), focus (aesthetics and weight-loss versus health), longevity and intensity (obsessive or fickle versus reasonable and flexible), politics (apolitical or "charismatic" politics versus apolitical), implied level of cultural capital (low versus high) and reference group (popular culture opinion leaders versus ordinary consumers).

In addition to qualitative frame analysis, a relatively crude quantitative analysis was conducted to quantify the changes in the framing as well as to highlight the increased attention veganism received. For the latter, the articles were thus categorised as negative, neutral or positive according to my interpretation of the overall tone of the article. This way it was also possible to compare the results with Cole and Morgan's (2011) study which, as noted above, focused solely on data from the year 2007. Therefore, similarly to Cole and Morgan (2011), "neutral" articles were those mentioning vegans or veganism in passing without evaluative comment, "positive" articles were those deemed to be favourable towards vegans or veganism, and "negative" articles those which deployed derogatory discourses as identified by Cole and Morgan (2011). Similarly, the final categorisation was made based on the author's interpretation as to the dominant discourse in the data. However, given that there are some differences in methodology, particularly print versus online media, and that the persons in charge of the categorisation are different, caution should be exercised when comparing these results.

In order to enhance the reliability of the coding, a recoding by an independent coder trained in qualitative analysis was conducted. The sample included all articles in the first month of every year under investigation (n=103). Krippendorff was assessed with the Kalpha macro (Hayes and Krippendorff, 2007) in IBM SPSS 23 with 5000 bootstraps. The Krippendorff's alpha reliability estimates of of .922 for the frame analysis and .848 for the sentiment analysis indicate very good intercoder reliability.

FINDINGS

Quantitative analysis

Already in quantitative terms it is clear that the interest in veganism had increased considerably. When in 2008, there had on average been 4.5 stories related to veganism a month, this had increased 9-fold to 40 stories a month in 2014. The number of pages on average in a month covering issues related to veganism also increased 23-fold from 2008 to 2014 as, for instance, a great deal more photographs of the new celebrity vegans were included, highlighting the importance that was placed upon the visual appearance of the new adherents. In addition, whereas Cole and Morgan (2011) found that in 2007, only 6.5% of the articles in the *Daily Mail* were positive and 89.1% were negative, by 2014 the tables had turned: only 14.7% of the articles were classified as negative, while an overwhelming majority of 76.7% of the articles were classified as positive. This development can be seen in Figure 1. Here, the figures from Cole and Morgan's (2011) study are also included, though it must again be stressed that the results are not entirely comparable.

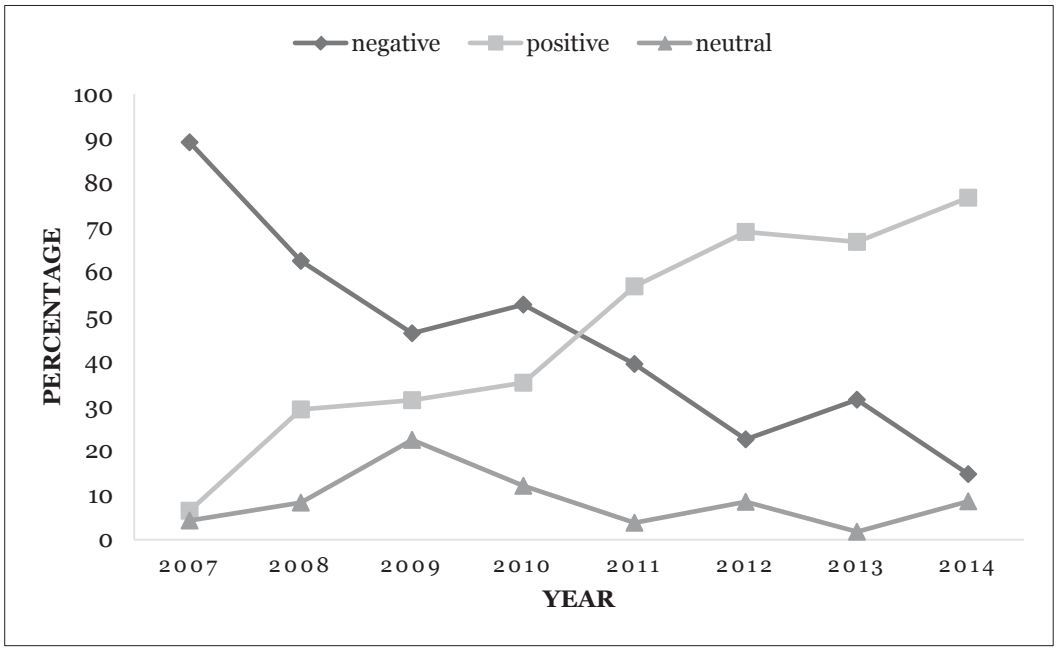

Figure 1: The percentage share of negative, positive and neutral coverage of veganism in the Daily Mail. *(NB: figures for 2007 as cited by Cole and Morgan, 2011.)*

However, this analysis does not, for instance, differentiate between the frames. Therefore, a further quantitative analysis tracking the changes in the frames was conducted. The results in Figure 2 show three interesting observations. Firstly, even though "Veganism as a healthy diet", which represents destigmatising discourse, increased its presence as the years went on, "Veganism as a sign of extremism and moral decay", in other words, the stigmatising framing, still persisted. Secondly, the destigmatising framing did not take over from the framing of "Veganism as a celebrity fashion". For instance, in 2014 63.2% of the framing consisted of celebrity fashion framing, 24% of destigmatising framing and 14.7% of stigmatising framing. Thirdly, the rise of the celebrity fashion frame precedes the rise of the destigmatising frame. Destigmatising framing remains fairly stable until 2011 and only then becomes more frequent – a year after a sharp increase in the celebrity fashion framing. This suggests that the destigmatising portrayal of veganism in the media may have been sparked by celebrity trend, and this proposition also seems to be supported by the qualitative analysis. The importance of these observations will also become more apparent during the discussion of the findings.

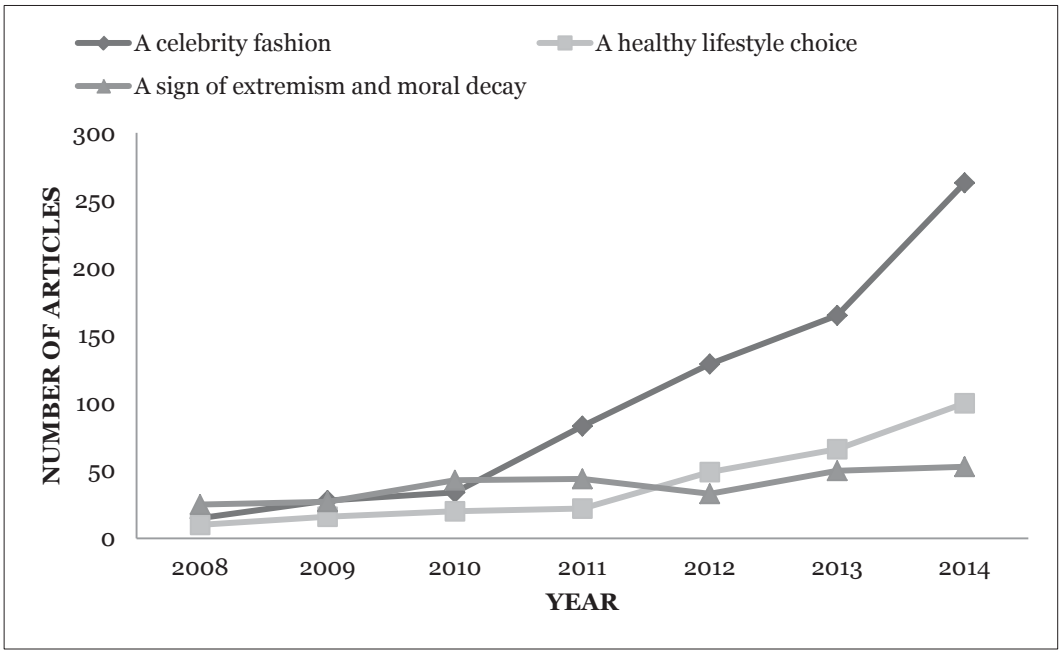

Figure 2: Frequency of the three frames regarding veganism in the Daily Mail.

Veganism as a sign of extremism and moral decay

Veganism certainly has not always had a high status as is evident, for instance, from Cole and Morgan's (2011) study. Based on a discourse analysis of the UK national newspapers for the calendar year of 2007, they concluded that speciesism and "vegaphobia" were still very much alive and promoted by the news outlets. Similarly, the stigmatising frame, which highlights veganism as a sign of extremism and moral decay, was particularly prevalent in the early years of the current data. This frame relied heavily on the construction of a divide between Us and Them through positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation (see e.g. Van Dijk, 2006). The aim of this framing is to preserve the values and lifestyle of the conservative, traditionalist middle classes and to elevate themselves by derogatory portrayal of the Other.

At the most extreme, in the first strand of this frame veganism was, for instance, associated with terrorists and criminals. These words are associated with vegan animal rights activists, for instance, in article titled "Animal rights extremist given 'vegan' work boots and 'ethical' make-up in jail (and guess who's footing the bill?)" (12 January 2010). In the article, it is noted that "A vegan prisoner labelled an 'urban terrorist' by a judge has been handed a pair of non-leather work boots funded by the taxpayer so she can work on a prison farm." In these articles, the *Daily Mail* then shows its disdain for the animal rights activists, who not only break the laws and norms of a civilised society, but also become an increasing financial burden on the ordinary, respectable tax payers due to their extremist views.

The serious threat posed by animal rights activists was highlighted by stories regarding the extensive undercover operations dedicated to bringing them down. An example of this is the string of articles regarding the case of undercover policeman, Mark Kennedy, "who posed as an eco-warrior for eight years" in order to "infiltrat[e] and bec[o]me a key member of [a] hardline group" (e.g. "'I'm the victim of smears': Undercover policeman denies bedding a string of women during his eight years with eco-warriors", 17 January 2011). Not only does this case highlight the police operation required to contain the threat of "domestic extremism" ("My life on the run: The police 'spy' lifts lid on eight years as eco-warrior", 17 January 2011), the case also allows the *Daily Mail* to present the movement from the inside, as a peek into the "vegan lifestyle" within these communities ("How undercover officers squandered millions of pounds, with flash cars, luxury flats and up to 14 hours' overtime a day", 23 January 2011). In one article, a *Daily Mail* columnist, for instance, portrays the vegan extremists as work-shy, lacking in personal hygiene and promiscuous by writing:

> *Mark Kennedy, who spent eight years posing as an eco-warrior, said free love was part of the culture and if he hadn't slept with the women his cover would have been blown. 'The world of eco-activism is highly promiscuous. --- Kennedy said casual sex was par for the course among the protesters. 'No one worked, so there was a party lifestyle, with 100 to 150 people passing through in two or three days. There would always be a big bowl of vegan condoms, because regular condoms can contain animal by-products.' --- Call me old fashioned, but my sympathies are with Kennedy. -- have you seen the state of some of these birds, caked in mud, looking as if they haven't been near a bath in months? Having sex with them is nothing less than heroic, way beyond the call of duty. (4 January 2012)*

One of the animal rights activists even appeared on FBI's "Most Wanted" list, for instance, in an article titled "FBI hunting Hawaii for top domestic terror suspect" (13 March 2014), which highlights the case of Daniel Andreas San Diego, "an animal rights extremist" who was "charged with exploding pipe bombs in front of two San Francisco Bay Area companies with ties to a lab that conducted animal experiments." The threat posed by San Diego, "a vegan who doesn't eat food containing animal products, according to the FBI", is highlighted by notions such as "San Diego is atop the FBI's list of most-wanted domestic terrorists, and the agency is offering a $250,000 reward for information leading to his arrest."

These stories clearly highlight that particularly early on veganism was associated with extremism and was not deemed suitable for respectable individuals. They imply that the animal rights movement, and by implication veganism, poses a serious danger against which caution must be exercised. The division to Us and Them is particularly achieved by referring to legal authority which represents what the society deems as just and right.

The second strand of this frame included warnings against the harmful effects of veganism including reports on criminal cases where a child had died due to

malnutrition on a vegan diet (see also Cole and Morgan, 2011). The threat here is that of being brainwashed into thinking that veganism is a healthy option. Thus, earlier on, harmfulness of veganism was highlighted by pointing out the various deficiencies veganism could lead to (e.g. B12, calcium, iron) and by linking it to different kinds of religious fanatics and eccentrics who believed in, for instance, natural healing practices instead of scientifically proven Western medicine. This attitude is exemplified by the following quote, which again refers to legal as well as scientific authority:

> *A vegan couple who solely fed mother's milk to their baby daughter before she died because of vitamin deficiency were facing life prison sentences today. --- Both [parents] are militant vegans whose diet forbids them eating any animal products whatsoever, and they only use alternative medicine. --- An autopsy then revealed that Louise had been suffering from a deficiency of vitamin A and B12 – both of which are essential to healthy growth in a child. It will rekindle the fierce debate about the health benefits of veganism--. (30 March 2011)*

The serious consequences of adopting a vegan diet did not only apply to those who had adopted the diet due to concerns for animal rights. Another article highlights the argument that even being highly conscious of nutritional needs and health and despite taking nutritional supplements, veganism would lead to deficiencies and a return to standards to be found in 19th century slums:

> *'We all ate exceptionally healthily, with plenty of vegetables, nuts and seeds.' The problem was that this was all the Paiges ate. They had a strict vegan diet, and ate only raw food. --- 'I was assured by the people who devised the diet that we would get all the protein we needed from nuts and seeds, and we also took a daily supplement to replace the nutrients found in animal foods. --- I thought we were on the most nutritious diet possible. --- I was so brainwashed that the fact our bodies were craving dairy products had passed me by.' --- 'I had let malnutrition in through the back door in the name of health,' she recalls now with horror. --- Alarmingly, Holly's is a far from unique case. Earlier this month, Glasgow's Royal Hospital for Sick Children reported a 12-year-old girl with a severe form of rickets. Her parents, 'well-known figures in Glasgow's vegan community', had unwittingly starved her of necessary nutrients found in fish and meat, causing her to develop the bone-wasting disease usually associated with 19th century slums. (14 August 2008)*

The third and final strand consists of vegan misfits, eccentrics (see also Cole and Morgan, 2011) and hate figures. These included, for instance, religious fanatics of other denominations such as druids and Seventh Day Adventists, including also some campaigns by PETA, People for the Ethical Treatment for Animals. These cases again used the rhetoric of Us versus Them in an attempt to separate the respectable *Daily Mail* readers from the misfits. While in this strand the vegans were not considered dangerous per se as in the first strand, they represented

ideas which were deemed inappropriate and outside the realm of a respectable and normal society.

The issue of education, class and income also raises its head here. As was highlighted in the quote regarding the Kennedy case, vegan activists were often portrayed as work-shy. This attitude was emphasised, for instance, in articles related to fracking protests. In one of them, titled "Benefits, a council house and non-stop partying. It's a tough old life being a fracking protester!" (24 August 2013), it was reported that a fracking protest had allegedly turned into a mere party on the government's expense. The story focused on a druid who was claimed to live his hippie lifestyle on various social benefits whilst causing severe problems to the local community, to the police and to the legitimate businesses. The article states that "at least half [of the] protesters are on benefits", highlighting the unemployed status of the protesters. Furthermore, the police are "complain site is becoming a 'free festival' after anarchists from Spain, France, Holland and Poland, among others, joined the party" and that the "[c]ost of policing operation already £2.3million - likely to end up at £3.7million", again highlighting how the protesters are draining the resources of the tax paying, respectable citizens both by failing to be employed and by creating a need for an extensive police operation. The article also notes that the "[m]ajority of local residents oppose fracking", but also highlights that a "growing number are tiring of the chaos", further creating a division between the activists and respectable citizens. While it is not claimed in the article that all the protesters would be vegan on a permanent basis, it is stated that the free meals consumed at the protest are vegan provided by a non-profit organisation called 'Veggies', implying that veganism is part and parcel of the lifestyle of these activists.

Moreover, in relation to issues such as fracking and badger culling (which was believed to stop the spread of bovine tuberculosis) the vegan protesters were often framed as having opinions about issues they did not understand thus showing a lack of education. For instance, in an article on 30 August 2013, a *Mail* reporter follows a "strictly vegan" saboteur in her war on the badger culls. In the article, it is said:

> *[A local farmer says:] 'These anarchists don't know the first thing about the countryside or animals.'*
>
> *Certainly, this seems true of eco-warrior Lynne. I ask her a series of questions as we patrol the 'cull-zone' — how long do badgers usually live; how many make up a typical family; do they hibernate? — to be met by a series of 'not sure' and 'I'll have to look that up'.*
>
> *Her ignorance was disconcerting. It added to the sense that the act of sabotage was an end in it itself, and the creatures she purported to defend scarcely mattered.*

Whilst this quote highlights the lack of knowledge of these protestors, it also frames vegan activists as attention seeking and vegans as promoting anarchism for anarchism's sake. Thus, the aims of the animal activist are also trivialised and their character called into question.

The most notable single case, however, was perhaps that of Heather Mills, the ex-wife of the Beatle Sir Paul McCartney (see also Cole and Morgan, 2011). In 2008–2011 the *Daily Mail* ran a total of 59 stories which connected her to veganism and in 2009 approximately a third of all vegan stories were about Mills. By 2008, she had become hate figure in the British press and reportedly the most hated celebrity whilst Sir Paul emerged as the most loved celebrity in Britain (Rohrer, 2008). Again, then, there is a clear divide between good and evil, Us (team "Macca") and Them (team "Mucca"). While in the *Mail*, Sir Paul is portrayed as a wholesome British icon and part of the cultural heritage, the newspaper portrayed Mills as a gold digging, fame hungry woman who used veganism to polish her tarnished image. Through the portrayal in the tabloid, Mills, with an alleged past as a prostitute and as a glamour model according to the *Mail*, however, came across as a fake and her veganism as a fad "serving to ridicule veganism by association" (Cole and Morgan, 2011: 144):

> *The love for this multi-millionaire was so powerful that, overnight, Lancashire hotpot-loving Heather discovered she had been a vegan all along! Heather is brilliant at faking it. (March 18, 2008, titled "Heather's no better than an escort girl")*

As noted above, in this study it is not possible to ascertain the final component of stigma, the level of exclusion and discrimination of vegans. Nevertheless, it is now time to return to the rest of Link and Phelan's (2001) definition of stigma. Thus, veganism here is the distinguishing label. The negative stereotypes associated with this label in this data abound: they were portrayed as terrorists and criminals, misfits and eccentrics and uneducated and ill-informed fanatics who were both harmful to themselves as well as those they were to protect. As has been detailed above, in this data, the separation between Us and Them was clear and the aim was to separate these harmful individuals from the in-group so as to protect the values of the group and to avoid contamination. The power here is in the hands of the media institution as it has access to particularly social power which allows the construction of stereotypes and the ability to distribute disapproval and rejection by its choice of topics, words and frames. The portrayal of veganism was, however, about to change as a whole host of celebrities appropriated veganism as a diet for aesthetic reasons.

Veganism as a celebrity fashion

The turning point in the framing can be placed between 2010 and 2011. This is the time period when the proportion of positive portrayal as well as the celebrity

fashion framing and the overall number of articles related to veganism increased in a significant fashion as can be seen from Figures 1 and 2. At the same time, the number of A-list celebrity vegans also exploded[6]. The trend of the vegan diet was then hyped up by rolling an ever increasing list of celebrity vegans on the pages of the *Mail* and by highlighting the explosion of the trend in no uncertain terms. Veganism is "Hollywood's hottest eating plan" (7 October 2014) and "Veganism is currently an on trend diet – Beyonce and Jennifer Lopez among celebrities ditching animal products" (10 November 2014), it was, for instance, announced. Drawing a clear line between the celebrity trend and the earlier portrayal of veganism, it was also reported that:

> *Once associated with extreme fussy eaters and devoted animal rights activists, veganism is now becoming cool thanks to a number of celebrities embracing the diet. (10 November 2014)*

This period thus saw a change from the Us/Them binary, into the world of Hollywood glitterati where patronising a "trendy", "celebrity hotspot" vegan restaurant became a paparazzi moment.

Despite a whole host of celebrities joining the movement, the most powerful celebrity endorsers were arguably singer Beyoncé and rapper Jay Z who went on a 22-day long plant-based diet at the end of 2013. Given that Beyoncé was ranked as the most powerful celebrity in the world with husband Jay Z following in 6th place (Forbes, 2014), this is by no means an inconsequential fad and the *Daily Mail* followed their every vegan step with 15 stories in December 2013 alone.

The framing of the stint did not highlight ethical or political reasons though. The first story in the data related to it, for instance, focuses entirely on the pair's appearance as they made their first visit to a vegan restaurant. The emphasis on the visual is also highlighted by the fact that the story includes no less than four paparazzi pictures which is in stark contrast with the sparse text, which focuses on detailing what the pair was seen wearing. Thus, in the article, titled "We'd recognise those legs anywhere! Beyoncé showcases her pins in tiny shorts as she goes vegan for 22 days with Jay Z" (4 December 2013), the focus is drawn to how to dress like them:

> *She may have a very famous face, but Beyoncé's fantastic legs are also impossible not to notice. And although she was enjoying a low-key meal after temporarily going vegan with her husband Jay Z, the singer drew attention to her long pins by putting them on display. Beyoncé dressed in a*

[6] Celebrities associated with veganism in the data all in all included actors Gwyneth Paltrow, Pamela Anderson, Natalie Portman, Portia de Rossi, Jared Leto, Samuel L. Jackson and Brad Pitt, musicians and singers Paul McCartney, Dave Grohl, Gwen Stefani, Morrissey and Jennifer Lopez, talk show host Ellen DeGeneres, models Christie Brinkley, Daisy Lowe, Miranda Kerr and Jourdan Dunn, reality star Kelly Osbourne, boxer Mike Tyson and former US president Bill Clinton, to name but a few. Note, however, that this does not necessarily mean that they are full-time, long-term vegans or that they are vegans for ethical reasons.

> *pair of teeny tiny black leather shorts, and lengthened her legs even further with matching platform boots for lunch in West Hollywood on Tuesday. The 32-year-old was also sporting a T-shirt under a black, white and red jacket in tweed and leather. The former Destiny's Child star wore her blonde locks tousled in a beach babe style and completed her look with several rings. --- [Jay Z], 43, was dressed in a navy shirt and beanie, black trousers and grey high-top trainers. The golden couple then piled in a car and sped off, presumably eager to get back to their daughter Blue Ivy. --- Jay Z revealed on his website that he and his wife would be practising veganism for just over three weeks.*

In this article, the focus is entirely on the aesthetics and on how the consumer can imitate the "golden couple" through consumption. The *Mail* portrays the couple as experts in lifestyle (Lewis 2007, 2010) and in consumption (Hackley and Hackley, 2015), thus urging the readers to follow their example. This consumerist orientation is further emphasised by the fact that the article was then followed by a follow-up story "Mix it up in a tartan and leather biker by Junya Watanabe" instructing the readers also how to get the look for less.

The portrayal of veganism has then changed clearly from its radical and political roots. Most notably, the change here has been from a moral lifestyle encompassing all aspects of life aimed at animal rights, to one of a plant-based diet which is aimed at aesthetic considerations. Indeed, the fact that Beyoncé wore fur and leather to dine at a vegan restaurant attracted a great deal of attention and speculation related to her knowledge about veganism.

In fact, Jay Z himself had called the stint "a spiritual and physical cleanse" (7 December, 2013), thus clearly distancing them from the political aims of the animal rights movement. Instead, what reportedly sparked the pair's interest in the vegan diet, was their friend and exercise physiologist Marco Borges, to whose latest venture "22 Days Nutrition" Jay Z (2013) directed the attention of his followers in his initial announcement of the diet. The 22 Days Nutrition (see https://www.22daysnutrition.com/) sells, for instance, plant-based protein shakes and bars, offers a meal delivery service, and sells cookbooks for a plant-based diet. The stint could then be seen as a publicity stunt to promote Borges's brand.

The celebrity endorsement, in fact, was not limited to Beyoncé and Jay Z. Singer Jennifer Lopez was also reportedly joining the movement. In another article, again abundant in pictures highlighting the singer's toned frame, titled "Wild thing! Jennifer Lopez shows off pert posterior in plunging jungle print leotard as she puts on high energy show at iHeartRadio gig", for instance, the emphasis is again on Lopez's toned body, which she had achieved partly through the vegan diet. In the article, the *Mail* focuses on her diet and exercise regime thus urging the readers to follow in her footsteps. Borges's products are also listed as a recommended aid in achieving an aesthetically pleasing body:

> *She recently dropped 10 pounds with a strict vegan diet and rigorous dance workouts. And Jennifer Lopez showed off the fruits of her labor in a plunging multi-coloured leotard with corset style detail as she took to the stage at the iHeartRadio Ultimate Pool Party in Miami Beach on Saturday night.-- When J-Lo's not dining on quinoa enchiladas, black-bean burgers, and zucchini 'pasta' - she indulges in Borges' 22 Days cherry chocolate bliss bar. (29 June 2014)*

The subsequent coverage of Beyoncé and Jay Z's stint as vegans also highlighted the weight-loss of the pair as well as other celebrities like Jessica Simpson and Kelly Osbourne, to name but a few. Veganism was also often listed on the diet comparisons around New Year's Eve. It thus became evident that veganism was mainly seen as a short-term weight-loss regime aimed at aesthetic considerations rather than an ethical, political or environmental choice, or even a long-term diet for a healthier life.

In addition to stories regarding veganism as a tool for honing the body, there were, of course, also some stories about animal rights and celebrity altruism. Among these cases were celebrities such as actress Pamela Anderson and rocker Morrissey. Both were generally portrayed as altruistic, long-term animal activists. But the main form of political activism (mostly) approved by the *Daily Mail* was PETA, People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals, even though as has been noted above, the Mail had had a rather antagonistic attitude towards PETA earlier.

Whereas before the organisation had been shunned due to its shock tactics in advertising and its fanatical outlook on animal rights issues, the strategy of using beautiful female celebrities, who were invariably practically naked in the promotional pictures, received the approval of the *Mail*. Whilst PETA did gain a great deal of positive publicity in this way, the flip side of this development was that often the vegan side of the story was merely used to hype up the given celebrity or to promote their latest venture, and the issue of veganism and animal rights was quickly subsumed with tangents about their other projects. Here, modelling for PETA merely seemed to be another reason to get one's name in the paper and PETA's radical message was diluted. Even in the case of animal activism, the media framing has thus effectively decoupled veganism from its political, "extremist", animal rights roots into consumption fashion which could not cause offense. Therefore, whilst PETA arguably is a political and at times extremist organisation at heart, it was accepted when it was packaged in an aestheticised fashion and allowed the magazine-like, human interest story (Cole, 2007) about the glitterati to dominate.

It should, however, be also noted that this framing included stories about "average" people as well, most notably the Youtube vlogger "Freelee the Banana Girl", who reportedly mainly ate bananas even during pregnancy. The reason for this is that whilst "Freelee the Banana Girl" started as an "average" person, she became a celebrity in her own right through her vlog and through the controversy

she created in the media. The controversy focused particularly on her obsessiveness in maintaining a slim figure through extreme measures even during pregnancy thus allegedly and potentially jeopardising not only her own health but also that of her unborn child. Thus, her advice also clearly contradicted the advice of the scientific, medical community, which emphasises the importance of a varied diet. The obsessiveness towards aesthetics, disregard for the recommendations of doctors and the scientific community, her cult status as a popular culture opinion leader and the lack of any political or ethical intent with regards to animal rights or environmental considerations, for instance, thus placed her firmly in this frame.

Veganism as a healthy diet

In comparison with veganism as a celebrity trend, the destigmatising framing portrayed veganism as a scientifically proven, healthy (supplement to a) diet (see also so-called health vegetarians in Beverland 2014), as opposed to a diet for aesthetic, weight-loss reasons which due to its connotations of faddism became the target of ridicule. Compared to both the stigmatising and celebrity fashion framing, it also highlighted the economic and cultural capital the new breed of vegans was seen to possess. In comparison with stigmatising portrayal of political veganism, it also emphasised veganism as an apolitical diet aimed at distinction and obligation to oneself.

The *Daily Mail* highlighted this normalisation of veganism in no uncertain terms. It was, for instance, reported that there were 40% more people pledging to go vegan for a month ("Veganuary") in the first two months of 2013 compared with the same period in 2012. Similarly, in a *Daily Mail* article on 10 April 2013 it is noted that "Google Trends reported that interest in veganism is at an all-time high."

This attempt at destigmatisation took place through framing veganism as a healthy diet. Thus, firstly, the *Mail* highlighted the rationality of veganism. This claim was backed up by several studies and scientific, expert information related to the health benefits of veganism (e.g. diabetes, cancer, metabolic syndrome, high cholesterol and high blood pressure, lower mortality, obesity). The claim was also supported by role models such as tennis star Venus Williams and former US president Bill Clinton who gave an aura of credibility to the diet. Both Clinton and Williams had opted for a vegan diet, albeit part-time veganism, under doctor's orders, in order to improve their health and to live a long, healthy life. Thus, in contrast with the celebrity fashion framing, which emphasised weight-loss and beauty, the destigmatised framing highlighted health. This can be seen to relate to the concept of healthism (Crawford, 1980; Skrabanek, 1994; Rose, 1999) which refers to the idea that neoliberalism has placed the problem of health and disease at the level of the individual, away from the shoulders of the

government. This responsibilisation happens particularly through advertising and other means of persuasion (Rose, 1999) such as the media.

In particular, in this frame, flexible part-time veganism was promoted in order to reap the benefits but to avoid the potential, harmful side effects. In fact, some experts again warned against long-term veganism.

> *However some nutritionists argue that veganism isn't necessarily the answer for a long, healthy life as it may lead to followers being deficient in protein, iron and other vitamins and minerals… [Instead] you can follow the plan for a set period, like Beyonce and Jay-Z, or on certain days of the week. (10 November 2014)*

Thus, whereas the stigmatised frame had highlighted malnutrition, lack of knowledge and being blinded by ethical convictions, and whereas celebrity fashion framing ignored the issue of health and focused instead on superficial and dangerous obsession with beauty, destigmatised framing highlighted scientific data, education and rational thought (see also Thompson and Hirschman, 1995). It framed veganism as a healthy diet or, perhaps more accurately, as a healthy supplement to a diet.

How this new found status translated into practical advice for readers included, for instance, recipe tips where vegan modifications were placed next to their "normal" variants, thus normalising this option. However, there were also articles, for instance, about luxury holidays, health retreats and spas, exclusive environmentally friendly schools, and restaurants and events which were vegan friendly. This highlights both cultural and economic capital and the distinction this new type of veganism confers.

Firstly, one had to have enough economic capital to afford these suggestions and, secondly, the cultural capital to appreciate and to blend into such establishments (see also Carfagna et al., 2014; Elliott, 2013; Laidley, 2013). In addition, the body is an important factor in gaining distinction as it is a symbol of differences in taste and class (Bourdieu, 1984) as well as a symbol of self-surveillance as regards to excess weight, in particular (Guthman, 2003; Price, 2000). Therefore, the distinction here is also made in relation to those consumers who do not have the self-control and the sensibilities to look after their bodies and their health. The issue of wealth, on the other hand, is highlighted particularly in comparison with the stigmatising framing. Whereas destigmatised framing focused on well-to-do professionals who could afford to exercise veganism through specialised home delivery services, restaurants and holiday retreats, the latter had an image of low cultural capital activists who were allegedly work shy and lived in eco communes, as was highlighted, for instance, by the Kennedy case. By using reason to promote the diet again highlighted the fact that destigmatised veganism was intended to appeal to readers of higher cultural capital and educational level (see Holt, 1997).

The issue of cultural capital also raises its head in relation to what distinguishes destigmatised framing from the previous framing of veganism as a celebrity fashion. There were several instances where the celebrity adherents were used to justify the new-found "acceptability" of veganism:

> *The diet gained popularity after singer Beyoncé and rapper Jay-Z went vegan for 22 days… The increasing acceptability of a vegan diet has been fuelled by a number of celebrities admitting they have adopted it. (22 January 2014)*

Quotes such as this therefore suggest that, indeed, certain types of veganism were now becoming normalised and destigmatised, and that this destigmatisation arose due to the celebrity fashion. Particularly, it seems that the increasing number of male vegans such as Bill Clinton and even the former heavyweight boxing champion Mike Tyson now also helped to solidify the image of veganism.

> *[P]eople, especially men, used to be macho in their desire to eat meat but that many influential men are now admitting they believe a vegan diet is healthier…making the diet more socially acceptable. (22 January 2014)*

This is significant as meat consumption has traditionally been associated with notions of power, distinction, control, and wealth, whereas those opting for plant-based diets have been seen in oppositional terms, as deviant, weak, and poor (e.g. Adams, 2010; Stevens, Kearney, and Maclaran, 2013; Beverland, 2014). Deriving from this binary, meat consumption has been associated with masculinity (Adams, 2010; Stevens et al. 2013; Beverland, 2014), whereas plant-based diets have been deemed as inappropriate for men. Furthermore, as Cole and Morgan (2011) argue, faddism claims are frequently associated with women's subculture as a trivialisation strategy. Similarly, the discourse of the "over-sensitive" vegan plays to a gendered (female) stereotype of sentimentality. However, when there is an increasing number of male role models, especially men with connotations of raw manliness (Tyson) or power and rationality (Clinton), this dissolves some of the feminine faddism and over-sensitivity connotations and helps to break some of the traditional connotations of opting for a plant-based diet as a sign of weakness or femininity.

On the other hand, there was also a clear sense of following celebrities mindlessly as being "a bit common" and silly, particularly in reference to celebrities who were not seen as representing rationality and authority. Actress and self-appointed lifestyle guru Gwyneth Paltrow, for instance, was often picked out as an example for faddism claims, again highlighting the gendered nature of this strategy. This corresponds well with the notion by Üstüner and Holt (2010) that, unlike consumers with high cultural capital, consumers with low cultural capital often refer to celebrities as their role models and copy their consumption styles. Therefore, the issue of rationality was also highlighted again in relation to the celebrity fashion framing. It was argued that celebrity trends often do not last very long and can be taken to an unhealthy and ridiculous extreme. For instance,

on 18 December 2013 an article, referring to scientific authority, was very critical about following self-appointed celebrity lifestyle gurus:

> *A paper published in the Christmas edition of The British Medical Journal said celebrity medical advice can be a health hazard… The researchers also believe that consumers want to buy into public figures' 'social capital' in the belief that owning the same products and taking celebrity advice allows them to rise in social status and buy into their lifestyle. The study has called on doctors to warn their patients about the dangers of following celebrity advice. … Steven J Hoffman, lead author of the study, said: …'[The power of the celebrities] can be harnessed to disseminate information based on the best available research evidence, or it can be abused to promote useless products and bogus treatments.'*

The article does not claim that veganism is unhealthy but does urge the readers to exercise caution and common sense and frowns upon celebrity emulation, as celebrity advice cannot always be trusted or can be taken to the extreme. This is also why I argue that the celebrity fashion framing does not mean destigmatisation but is still seen as something deviant and abnormal despite its connection to the glitterati. A separate destigmatising frame was thus required for veganism to be appeal to the sensible, respectable and quality conscious readers.

The final aspect of the destigmatisation framing to be discussed is its relation to political action. As noted above, fashionalised framing turned veganism into an apolitical, aestheticised form of consumption, which seemed to bear very little resemblance to the political, moral lifestyle choice highlighted by the stigmatised framing, and the destigmatised framing upheld this trend. With only a few exceptions to the rule, almost all instances of animal rights and environmental arguments promoting veganism appeared in the stigmatised framing, or alternatively, as part of celebrity driven, "charismatic" PETA campaigns. The attention was diverted away from animal rights or environmental activism, protests, political festivals and rallies which had featured quite heavily in the stigmatised framing of veganism, even when they had been ridiculed and trivialised.

Instead, the main promotional claims for veganism in the destigmatised framing were health aspects. Thus, the emphasis here was on obligation to oneself (Johnston, 2008) through consumption, not on political action aimed at the good of the commons (Johnston, 2008) or at a major upheaval of the current moral order. Even if one were to argue that health-motivated veganism is an entry point into global ethical issues (Johnston, 2008), the part-time nature of it and lack of connotations of political resistance to the exploitation of animals or the environment seem distanced from the original aim of veganism and more like a niche market where specialised goods allow privileged consumers to achieve distinction (Johnston, 2008). Vegan fare thus seems to have taken its place as the new "yuppie chow" (Guthman, 2003), as a medium to show their class position

through fresh, healthy ingredients, the air of asceticism, the exclusivity and good karma, and its potential as a medium for self-surveillance.

DISCUSSION

Why would the media in general or the *Daily Mail* in particular then first portray veganism as stigmatised, and then as destigmatised and even fashionable at this particular moment and what is the role of celebrities in the process? The theoretical framework of the destigmatisation of veganism in the *Daily Mail* presented in Figure 1 aims to explain this.

Of particular interest here is the important symbiotic relationship between celebrities and media, which is why it is placed at the heart of the framework. Indeed, this relationship is built in to the very definition of celebrities. Boorstin (1961, 57), for instance, simply defines celebrities by their "well-knownness", which arises from their visibility in the media. Similarly, Driessens (2013) relies on Bourdieu's field theory when he argues that a celebrity can be defined as someone who possesses so-called celebrity capital, by which he means recognisability resulting from media visibility. Thus, celebrities are to a large extent created by the media and the messages from and about celebrities are delivered to the public through it (e.g. Boorstin, 1961: 61; Cocker et al. 2015; Fraser and Brown, 2002; Kerrigan et al. 2011). In fact, to a large extent, celebrities rely on media to increase their visibility, and thereby their status and earning power. As Kerrigan et al. (2011: 1505) argue, celebrities carefully construct "celebrity activity and stage celebrity spectacle, which makes for media product." Thus, they state that "Celebrity, spectacle, and media interests live in entangled relation, feeding off and energising one another symbiotically. Celebrity culture makes news." Similarly, Cocker et al. (2015) show how the celebrity responds to the media portrayal and how the celebrity actively creates his or her identity in and through the media. Indeed, it may well be that, a celebrity retains his or her status only as far as he or she is able to maintain an interesting, novel and exciting narrative as judged by the media, and ultimately, the audiences (Cashmore 2010). Thus, this relationship is mutually beneficial: while celebrities rely on media to build their brands, the media, in turn, uses celebrities to increase the interest of the readers and, thus, higher sales.

This symbiotic relationship is thus the basis of how celebrities become entangled in stigma relations. This relationship is most obvious in the organisational context. However, the relationship radiates outwards to the other levels as well. Media organisations, for instance, use celebrities to link veganism with larger ideologies. In addition, the importance of celebrities seems to depend on the national context to an extent. I will therefore explore every level of analysis in detail next.

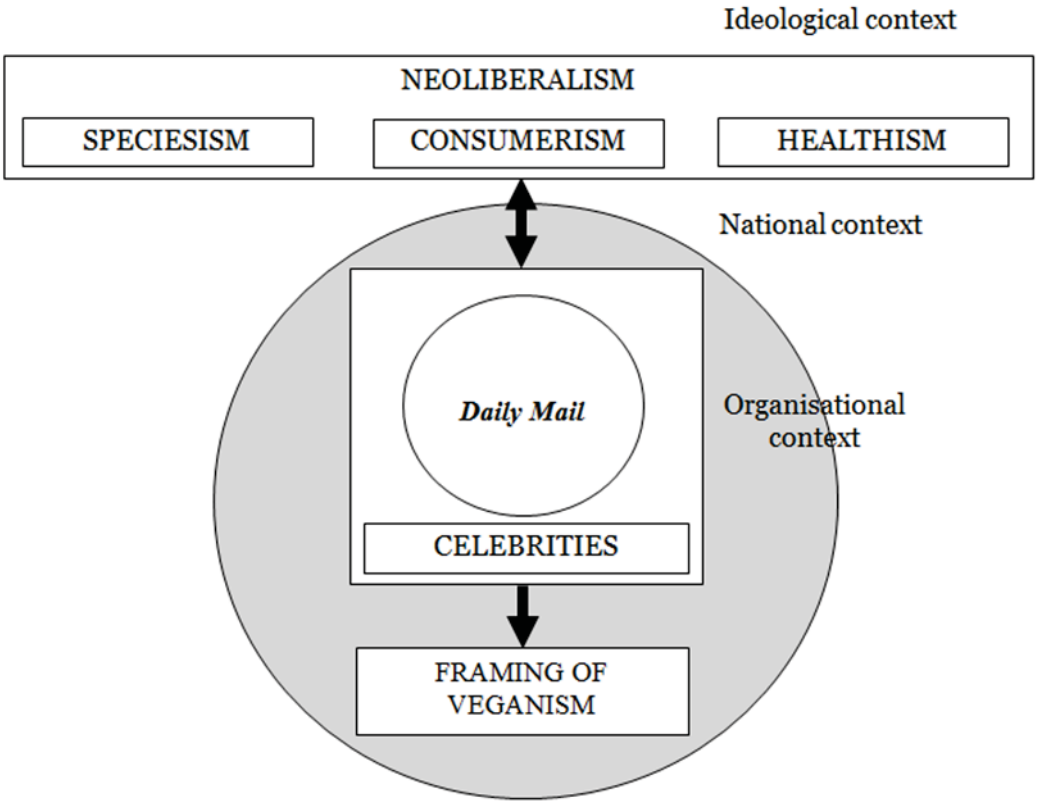

Figure 1: A theoretical framework of the destigmatisation of veganism in the Daily Mail

Firstly, one must understand why traditionally the *Daily Mail* has attempted to stigmatise veganism. From the perspective of the ideological context, the reason for this lies in the aims of the animal rights movement. Politically motivated veganism as practiced by the animal rights movement is essentially aimed at bringing down the ideology of speciesism – a form of prejudice against nonhuman animals, analogous to sexism and racism, which shows a disregard for the discriminated group (Ryder 1983). Thus, veganism, for instance, questions the basic ideas regarding the omnivorous diet and the place of the human at the top of the food chain.

However, as extant literature (e.g. Link and Phelan, 2001) has explained, stigmatisation protects the interests of the powerful. Therefore, the marginalisation of political veganism, can be seen as a way to protect the status quo from the challenge to the ideology of speciesism (see also Cole and Morgan, 2011). If speciesism was overthrown, this would, for instance, have serious real life consequences for many industries which rely on animal-based products, from meat and dairy industries to fashion, to name but a few. Similarly, it would threaten the individuals' freedom to choose from free markets, which is a key tenet of neoliberalism (Ayo, 2012). As, for instance, Herman and Chomsky (1988) argue, media as an institution protects the right-wing elitist and corporate interests, it is unlikely to propose such major upheavals which would destroy

many industries. However, as has been shown above, there was a clear shift in the framing, and veganism became portrayed as a vehicle for health and weight-loss. I argue that the reason for this is that the media, via celebrities, has been able to harness veganism to uphold the ideologies of consumerism and healthism both of which are linked to the overall neoliberal project (e.g. Ayo 2012, Rose 1999). Together, they make the current context such fertile ground for veganism.

Firstly, the self-surveillance as regards to one's health is a direct link to healthism which, Rose (1999) argues, links the public objectives for the good health and good order with the desire of individuals for health and well-being. Healthism assigns a key role to experts as it is experts who can tell us how to conduct and improve ourselves (Ayo, 2012; see also Lewis, 2008). These expert sources include, for instance, nutritionists and personal trainers as well as official expert guidelines such as the "Five a day" mantra promoted by the UK Department of Health regarding the amount of fruit and vegetables an individual should consume. This is shown in the data particularly through the reference to scientific authorities.

In addition, as Rose (1999) argues the seduction to healthism which takes place through advertising and media. More specifically, media has framed celebrities as experts in lifestyle (Lewis, 2007, 2010), consumption (Hackley and Hackley, 2015) and, moreover, health (Hoffman and Tan, 2013) by framing celebrity lifestyle as aspirational. By framing celebrity lifestyle as aspirational and by framing consumption as a way to emulate the celebrity lifestyle, the media perpetuates consumerism and thus the neoliberal project (see Ayo, 2012) via the celebrities. Whilst this may not be intention of the individual celebrities, the celebrity culture combined with the media logic upholds the status quo.

These trends seem heightened by both the national and the organisational context. The national context means accounting for the heightened neoliberal tendencies in the UK (Harvey, 2005) which arguably emphasise the other related trends. This time period also saw the economic crash of 2008 and the subsequent Eurozone crisis and austerity measures in the UK. As Guthman (2003) argued, the rise of what she has termed "yuppie chow" coincided, among other things, with the asceticism which derived from the newly found awareness of international poverty. It would not be too much of a stretch to then argue that the new wave of "back to basics" trends of Slow Food, veganism and organic food among other things would also be related to the economic times – after all, asceticism was one of the stereotypes previously attached to veganism, according to Cole and Morgan (2011). The tough times highlighting tightening of the belt can be seen to have led to the re-emergence of "cocooning" (Popcorn, 1991) behaviour whereby people seek comfort and enjoyment in the creature comforts of everyday life when life outside the house gets too tough. The link between this and return to "authentic" "good old times" and non-industrial food (see also Guthman 2003), for instance, is easy to see. Interestingly, Brockington (2009)

also argues that, as the income inequalities are heightened in the UK, this leads to a higher propensity for celebrity obsession.

At the organisational level, it seems that the turn around, in which veganism has been appropriated and changed from representing the layabout other to the symbol of leanness, self-monitoring and success, seems to be related to the same core values which at first made the *Mail* seem so opposed to veganism. It is an ardent proponent of neoliberalism and taking charge of one's life. Therefore, again, the neoliberal tendencies and the associated trends seem heightened here through the promotion of lower taxes and the responsibilities of individuals and lobbying for less government control. Hence, the *Mail* is for instance likely to take a harsh view on what it deems to be individuals who live off the money of the respectable tax payers', as was highlighted in the findings section regarding the first frame. On the other hand, it is also likely to promote healthism in which the individual has to take responsibility for their own actions. Veganism seems to fit this bill very well.

Furthermore, at the organisational level the symbiotic relationship between the media organisation and celebrities seems heightened. As Cole (2007) argues, the *Mail* was "the first to realise how much newspapers could learn from magazines, particularly the technique of applying a current news story about a celebrity, a fashion or a fad to "ordinary" *Mail* readers." These magazine-like techniques then highlight the role of celebrities for the *Mail*'s profit-making logic. However, this technique is not only restricted to the *Mail*. In fact, Rojek's (2001) concept of the celetoids highlights the important relationship between celebrities and tabloids. To him, celetoids then are individuals who attain intense bursts of fame within media. The term itself is an amalgamation of "celebrity" and "tabloid" emphasising the importance of this type of media in both the creation of this type of celebrities but also their important role to the media content and, thus, to the profit-making logic of the media organisation.

CONCLUSION

In this study I have described how the *Daily Mail* uses celebrities to hype up the trend of the vegan diet. After the celebrity trend is established by the *Mail*, it is then transformed for the ordinary readers. The media, then, is seen as a vested interest which uses celebrities, through their symbiotic relationship, to its own advantage and to uphold the status quo.

Thus, whilst veganism was first portrayed as stigmatised in order to protect the status quo from the challenge to speciesism which the animal right presented, a change was imminent. Veganism then became a vehicle for health and weight-loss. Via celebrities, the media has then been able to harness veganism in a bid to uphold the ideologies of consumerism and healthism both of which are linked to the overall neoliberal project (e.g. Ayo, 2012). Together, they make the current

context such fertile ground for veganism. These macro level ideologies are then further emphasised by the national and organisational contexts.

These are the forces which have made the ground fertile for veganism to rise at this particular time in this particular context. However, I argue that it is particularly the symbiotic relationship between media and celebrities which has actively propelled the rise of veganism. This relationship is most obvious on the organisational level. Celebrities rely on media to keep their names in people's minds to build their own brands. As celebrity news sell, media is also drawn to the celebrities. However, the celebrities also need to keep providing the media with new stories whether it is related to their consumption habits, professional projects or personal trials and tribulations. This symbiotic relationship then fuels the need for new celebrity stories and trends, such as veganism. The relationship then radiates outwards to the other levels as well so that celebrities in fact become vehicles in the reinforcement of existing structures and power imbalances.

It is not unknown for celebrities to become involved in destigmatisation efforts, as, for instance, the Jenner case exemplified. Therefore, understanding the different ways celebrities can become involved in stigma relations is an important avenue of exploration to uncover the many different mechanisms of stigmatisation (see also Link and Phelan, 2001; Scrambler, 2006). Here, however, the process seems more indirect in that the celebrities have appropriated only one facet of veganism (veganism as a diet or the so-called plant-based diet) without any reference to the original aims of the animal rights movement. Thus, instead of becoming the face for veganism by joining the movement thus aiming to lessen the stigma, through their role as experts in consumption and lifestyle, they have created a parallel consumption trend which is then hyped up by the media.

This, I would argue, is not an isolated incident. One could, for instance, argue that the rise of feminism as described by Zeisler (2016) also shows similar tendencies. She notes that the recent increase in the celebrities proclaiming themselves as feminists have merely given rise to a fashion which can be commercialised and which seems distanced from the original feminist movement. Understanding the role of celebrities in destigmatisation is thus important as their effects are felt in various different social movements. Furthermore, it is necessary to build theory which goes beyond the simple dichotomy of deviance/normalcy to understand the different nuances of the process. In particular, I argue that it is necessary to build theory which takes into account the symbiotic relationship between celebrities and the media as celebrities do not exist nor influence the wider public without media.

It is also important to note that the talk about destigmatisation can divert attention away from the fact that stigmatising portrayal of veganism is still prevalent and that, in fact, framing of veganism as a celebrity fashion was still by far the most dominating frame. In 2014, 63.2% of the coverage consisted of

celebrity fashion framing, whilst 24% of the coverage was destigmatising and 14.7% stigmatising. With its connotations of faddism, extreme weight-loss and beauty and lack of political intent, I argue that veganism still has a long way to go to become an accepted form of consumption as important aspects of veganism still remain stigmatised. This is problematic at least in that due to its connotation of (feminine) celebrity faddism and crash dieting, it can fall out of favour as soon as new, fashionable diets become available. In fact, as Warren (1980) argues about charismatic destigmatisation, despite appearing as beyond normal, the charismatic individuals or here the celebrity fashion version of veganism, still lies closer to stigmatised than to the destigmatised end of the spectrum. Therefore, the framing of celebrity fashion should not be confused with destigmatisation.

All in all, what this implies is that there has not in fact been significant changes to the representation of veganism, which would suggest that the status quo has remained intact. This development, both the changes and the lack of changes to the framing of veganism, I argue to be reflection of the ideological forces at play in that veganism is accepted or utilised as long as it fits the ideological status quo or if it fits in with the profit-making aims of the media. In fact, it seems that the original message of the radical, political animal rights movement is transformed into a buzz word to uphold neoliberalism.

Admittedly, there are some limitations in the current study, in that the study relies on a single media source. Thus, future research could include comparative research across different media sources and across a longer time period. It, for instance, seems that veganism is still currently fashionable but it remains to be seen how its status continues to develop. Avenues for future research could also include comparative work across national contexts where, for instance, neoliberal tendencies are not so strong and where lesser income inequality prevails. This is important as Brockington (2009) argues that, as the income inequalities are heightened in the UK, this leads to a higher propensity for celebrity obsession, and this may have an effect on the findings of the study.

Another possible avenue for future research would be to consider the issue from the point of view of institutional theory and, for instance, consider the role of the different institutional entrepreneurs in more detail. One could, for instance, explore the role of animal rights organisations in the process. As noted above, PETA, for instance, has attracted a great deal of attention with its publicity stunts and with its collaboration with celebrities. One could then argue PETA to be an institutional entrepreneur in the legitimisation of veganism, and its role could be explored in more detail.

REFERENCES

Adams, C. L. 2010. *The Sexual Politics of Meat: A Feminist-Vegetarian Critical Theory*. 20th Anniversary Edition. London, UK: Continuum.

Adams, T. 2005. This green and pleasant land. *Observer*, 10 April. Available at: http://www.theguardian.com/uk/2005/apr/10/britishidentity.features (accessed 22 November 2015).

Adkins, N. R., and J. L. Ozanne. 2005. Critical Consumer Education: Empowering the Low-Literate Consumer. *Journal of Macromarketing* 25 (2): 153–162.

Argo, J. J., and K. J. Main. 2008. Stigma by Association in Coupon Redemption: Looking Cheap because of Others. *Journal of Consumer Research* 35 (Dec): 559–572.

Ayo, N. 2012. Understanding health promotion in a neoliberal climate and the making of health conscious citizens. *Critical Public Health* 22 (1): 99–105.

Baggini, J. 2013. *A Very British Populism*. London: Counterpoint. Available at: http://counterpoint.uk.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/09/507_CP_RRadical_UK_Web.pdf (accessed 22 November 2014).

Barford, V. 2014. The rise of the part-time vegans. *BBC*, 17 February. Available at: http://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-25644903 (accessed 30 November 2014).

BBC. 2009. The politics of UK newspapers. *BBC*, 30 September. Available at: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_politics/8282189.stm (accessed 26 October 2015).

Beverland, M.B. 2014. Sustainable Eating: Mainstreaming Plant-Based Diets In Developed Economies. *Journal of Macromarketing* 34(3): 369-382.

Boorstin, D.J. 1961. *The Image: A Guide to Pseudo-Events in America* (50th Anniversary Edition). New York: Vintage Books.

Bourdieu, P. 1984. *Distinction: A social critique of the judgement of taste*. London: Routledge.

Boykoff, M.T. 2008. The cultural politics of climate change discourse in UK tabloids. *Political Geography* 27 (5): 549–569.

Bresnahan, M., J. Zhuang, and X. Zhu. 2015. Why Is the Vegan Line in the Dining Hall Always the Shortest? Understanding Vegan Stigma. *Stigma and Health* 1 (1): 3-15.

Brockington, D. 2009. *Celebrity and the Environment: Face, Wealth and Power in Conservation*. London: Zed Books.

Burrell, I. 2010. Linda Grant: The 'Mail' turns on the charm. *Independent*, 3 June. Available at: http://www.independent.co.uk/news/media/linda-grant-the-mail-turns-on-the-charm-449694.html (accessed 22 November 2015).

Carfagna, L.B., E. A. Dubois, C. Fitzmaurice, M. Y. Ouimette, J. B. Schor, M. Willis, and T. Laidley. 2014. An emerging eco-habitus: The reconfiguration of high cultural capital practices among ethical consumers. *Journal of Consumer Culture* 14 (2): 158–178.

Carus, F. 2010. UN urges global move to meat and dairy-free diet. *Guardian*, 2 June. Available at: http://www.theguardian.com/environment/2010/jun/02/un-report-meat-free-diet (accessed 1 December 2014).

Cashmore, E. 2010. Buying Beyoncé. *Celebrity Studies* 1 (2): 135-150.

Cole, P. 2007. Why middle England gets the Mail. *Guardian*, 20 August. Available at: http://www.theguardian.com/media/2007/aug/20/mondaymediasection.pressandpublishing (accessed 30 November 2014).

Cocker, H.L., Banister, E.N. & Piacentini, M.G. 2015. Producing and consuming celebrity identity myths: unpacking the classed identities of Cheryl Cole and Katie Price. Journal of Marketing Management 31 (5-6): 502-524.

Cole, M., and K. Morgan. 2011. Vegaphobia: derogatory discourses of veganism and the reproduction of speciesism in UK national newspapers. *The British Journal of Sociology* 62 (1): 134–153.

Corrigan, P. W. and D. L. Penn. 1999. Lessons From Social Psychology on Discrediting Psychiatric Stigma. *American Psychologist* 54 (9): 765-776.

Crawford, R. 1980. Healthism and the medicalization of everyday life. *International Journal of Health Services* 10 (3): 365–388.

Dalal, A. K. 2006. Social interventions to moderate discriminatory attitudes: The case of the physically challenged in India. *Psychology, Health & Medicine* 11 (3): 374 – 382.

D'Angelo, P. 2002. News Framing as a Multiparadigmatic Research Program: A Response to Entman. *Journal of Communication* 52 (4): 870–88.

Driessens, O. 2013. Celebrity capital: redefining celebrity using field theory. *Theory and Society* 42 (5): 543-560.

Easton, M. 2010. In search of Middle England. *BBC*, 6 March. Available at: http://www.bbc.co.uk/blogs/thereporters/markeaston/2010/10/in_search_of_middle_england.html (accessed 22 November 2015).

Elliott, R. 2013. The Taste for Green: The Possibilities and Dynamics of Status Differentiation through 'Green' Consumption. *Poetics* 41 (3): 294–322.

Entman, R. M. 1993. Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm. *Journal of Communication* 43 (4): 51–58.

Forbes. 2014. *The World's Most Powerful Celebrities*. Available at: http://www.forbes.com/celebrities/list/#tab:overall (accessed 20 November 2014).

Fraser, B.P. and W.J. Brown. 2002. Media, Celebrities, and Social Influence: Identification With Elvis Presley. *Mass Communication & Society* 5(2): 183–206.

Fury, A. 2013. Why I won't be shopping in the UK's first Veganz supermarket. *Independent*, 31 December. Available at: http://www.independent.co.uk/voices/comment/why-i-wont-be-shopping-in-the-uks-first-veganz-supermarket-9031947.html (accessed 30 November 2014).

Gamson, W.A., and A. Modigliani. 1989. Media Discourse and Public Opinion on Nuclear Power: A Constructionist Approach. *American Journal of Sociology* 95(1): 1–37.

Goffman, E. 1963. *Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall.

Goffman, E. 1974. *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience*. New York: Harper & Row.

Greenebaum, J. 2012. Veganism, Identity and the Quest for Authenticity. *Food, Culture & Society* 15 (1): 129–144.

Greenslade, R. 2007. Making the link between the Mail and Middle England. *Guardian*, 21 May. Available at: http://www.theguardian.com/media/greenslade/2007/may/21/makingthelinkbetweenthema (accessed 22 November 2015).

Greenslade, R. 2012. Mail Online goes top of the world. *Guardian*, 25 January. Available at: https://www.theguardian.com/media/greenslade/2012/jan/25/dailymail-internet (accessed 21 October 2016).

Guardian. 2014. ABCs: National daily newspaper circulation August 2014. *Guardian*, 5 September. Available at: http://www.theguardian.com/media/table/2014/sep/05/abcs-national-newspapers (accessed 15 September 2014).

Guthman, J. 2003. Fast food/organic food: reflexive tastes and the marking of 'yuppie chow'. *Social & Cultural Geography* 4 (15): 45–58.

Hackley, C., and R. A. Hackley. (2015). Marketing and the cultural production of celebrity in the era of media convergence. *Journal of Marketing Management* 31 (5/6): 461–478.

Hall, S., C. Critcher, J. Clarke, B. Roberts, and J. Tony. 1978. *Policing the Crisis: Mugging, the State, and Law and Order*. London: Macmillan.

Hall, S., D. Hobson, A. Lowe, and P. Willis. 1980. *Culture, Media, Language: Working Papers in Cultural Studies, 1972–79*. London: Hutchinson.

Harvey, D. 2005. *A brief history of neoliberalism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hayes, A. F., & Krippendorff, K. 2007. Answering the call for a standard reliability measure for coding data. *Communication Methods and Measures* 1, 77-89.

Heijnders, M., and S. Van Der Meij. 2006. The fight against stigma: An overview of stigma-reduction strategies and interventions. *Psychology, Health & Medicine* 11 (3): 353–363.

Henry, P. C., and M. L. Caldwell. 2006. Self-Empowerment and Consumption: Consumer Remedies for Prolonged Stigmatization. *European Journal of Marketing* 40 (9–10): 1031–1048.

Herman, E. S., and N. Chomsky. 1988. *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media*. New York: Pantheon Books.

Hoffman, S & Tan, C. 2013. Following celebrities' medical advice: meta-narrative analysis. *The BMJ* 347: 7151.

Holt, D. 1997. Distinction in America? Recovering Bourdieu's theory of tastes from its critics. *Poetics* 25 (2/3): 93–120.

Humphreys, A. 2010. Semiotic Structure and the Legitimation of Consumption Practices: the Case of Casino Gambling. *Journal of Consumer Research* 37 (Oct): 490–510.

Humphreys, A. and K.A. LaTour. 2013. Framing the Game: Assessing the Impact of Cultural Representations on Consumer Perceptions of Legitimacy. *Journal of Consumer Research* 40(4): 773–795.

Humphreys, A. and C.J. Thompson. 2014. Branding Disaster: Reestablishing Trust through the Ideological Containment of Systemic Risk Anxieties. *Journal of Consumer Research* 41 (Dec): 877–910.

Jay Z (2013) 22 Days Challenge. *Life and Times*, available online: http://lifeandtimes.com/22-days-challenge.

Johnston, J. 2008. The citizen-consumer hybrid: Ideological tensions and the case of Whole Foods Market. *Theory and Society* 37 (3): 229–270.

Kerrigan, F., D. Brownlie, P. Hewer and C. Daza-LeTouze. 2011. 'Spinning' Warhol: Celebrity brand theoretics and the logic of the celebrity brand. *Journal of Marketing Management* 27 (13–14): 1504–1524.

Laidley, T. 2013. Climate, class and culture: political issues as cultural signifiers in the US. *The Sociological Review* 61 (1): 153–171.

Link, B. G., and Phelan, J. C. 2001. Conceptualizing Stigma. *Annual Review of Sociology* 27 (1): 363–85.

Lewis, J. 1998. Learning to strip; the socialization experiences of exotic dancers. *Canadian Journal of Human Sexuality* 7 (1): 51–66.

Lewis, T. 2010. Branding, celebritization and the lifestyle expert. *Cultural Studies* 24 (4): 580–598.

Lovelock, M. 2016. Call me Caitlyn: making and making over the 'authentic' transgender body in Anglo-American popular culture. *Journal of Gender Studies*. Advance online publication. DOI: 10.1080/09589236.2016.1155978.

Lundahl, O. 2014. Fashionalising sustainable consumption in lifestyle media. In J. Cotte, and S. Wood (Eds). *Advances in Consumer Research*, Vol. 42. Duluth, MN: Association for Consumer Research. 343–347.

Maconie, S. 2010. Stop knocking Middle England. *Mirror*, 19 March. Available at: http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/stop-knocking-middle-england-209179 (accessed 22 November 2015).

Marsh, S. (2016). The rise of vegan teenagers: 'More people are into it because of Instagram'. *Guardian*, 27 May 2016. Available at: http://www.theguardian.com/lifeandstyle/2016/may/27/the-rise-of-vegan-teenagers-more-people-are-into-it-because-of-instagram?CMP=fb_gu.

Newman, N., Fletcher, R., Levy, D.A.L. and Nielsen, R.K. 2016. *Reuters Institute Digital News Report 2016*. Available at: https://reutersinstitute.politics.ox.ac.uk/sites/default/files/Digital-News-Report-2016.pdf

Popcorn, F. 1991. *The Popcorn Report: Faith Popcorn on the Future of Your Company, Your World, Your Life*. New York: Doubleday.

Price, P. L. 2000. No pain, no gain: bordering the hungry new world order. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 18 (1): 91–110.

Public Health England. 2014. *National Diet and Nutrition Survey*. Available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/310995/NDNS_Y1_to_4_UK_report.pdf (accessed 1 December 2014).

Rami, T. 2014. Veganism in Seven Decades. *New York Magazine*, 12 January. Available at: http://nymag.com/news/intelligencer/vegan-celebrities-2014-1/ (accessed 19 September 2014).

Reeves, R. 2007. Middle England. They're nicer than you think. *New Statesman*, 25 October. Available at: http://www.newstatesman.com/politics/2007/10/middle-england-class-social (accessed 22 November 2015).

Rohrer, F. 2008. Does this picture make you angry? *BBC*, 16 May. Available at: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/magazine/7402907.stm (accessed 25 November 2014).

Rojek, C. 2001. *Celebrity*. London: Reaktion Books.

Rose, N. 1999. *Powers of Freedom: Reframing Political Thought*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ryder, R. 1983. *Victims of Science: The Use of Animals in Research*. London: National Anti-Vivisection Society.

Sandikci, Ö., and G. Ger. 2010. Veiling in Style: How Does a Stigmatized Practice Become Fashionable? *Journal of Consumer Research* 37 (June): 15–36.

Scrambler, G. 2006. Sociology, social structure and health-related stigma. *Psychology, Health & Medicine* 11 (3): 288–295.

Sheldon, K., and L. Caldwell. 1994. Urinary incontinence in women: implications for therapeutic recreation. *Therapeutic Recreation Journal* 28 (4): 203–212.

Skrabanek, P. 1994. *The Death of Humane Medicine and the Rise of Coercive Healthism*. Suffolk: The Social Affairs Unit.

Spencer, E. A., P. N. Appleby, G.K. Davey, and T.J. Key. 2003. Diet and body mass index in 38000 EPIC-Oxford meat-eaters, fish-eaters, vegetarians and vegans. *International Journal of Obesity and Related Metabolic Disorders* 27 (6): 728-34.

Stevens, L., M. Kearney, and P. Maclaran. 2013. Uddering the Other: Androcentrism, Ecofeminism, and the Dark Side of Anthropomorphic Marketing. *Journal of Marketing Management* 29 (1-2): 158–174.

Stout, P.A., J. Villegas, and N. A. Jennings. 2004. Images of Mental Illness in the Media: Identifying Gaps in the Research. *Schizophrenia Bulletin* 30 (3): 543–561.

Tadajewski, M., Chelekis, J., DeBerry-Spence, B., Figueiredo, B., Kravets, O., Nuttavuthisit, K., Penaloza, L. & Moisander, J. 2014. The discourses of marketing and development: towards 'critical transformative marketing research'. *Journal of Marketing Management* 30 (17–18): 1728–1771.

Thompson, C. J., and G. Coskuner-Balli. 2007. Countervailing Market Responses to Corporate Co-optation and the Ideological Recruitment of Consumption Communities. *Journal of Consumer research* 34 (Aug): 135–152.

Thompson, C. J., and E. C. Hirschman. 1995. Understanding the Socialized Body: A Poststructuralist Analysis of Consumers' Self-Conceptions, Body Images, and Self-Care Practices. *Journal of Consumer Research* 22 (Sept): 139–153.

Tepper, K. 1994. The Role of Labeling Processes in Elderly Consumers' Responses to Age Segmentation Cues. *Journal of Consumer Research* 20 (March): 503–519.

Tuchman, G. 1978. *Making News*. New York: Free Press.

Tucker, L. R. 1998. The Framing of Calvin Klein: A Frame Analysis of Media Discourse about the August 1995 Calvin Klein Jeans Advertising Campaign. *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 15 (2): 141–157.

Üstüner, T., and Holt, D. B. 2010. Toward a Theory of Status Consumption in Less Industrialized Countries. *Journal of Consumer Research* 37 (1): 37–56.

Van Dijk, T. A. 2001. Critical Discourse Analysis. In Schiffrin, Deborah, Tannen, Deborah & Hamilton Heidi E, *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis*. Oxford: Blackwell, pp. 352–371.

Van Dijk, T. A. 2006. Discourse and manipulation. *Discourse & Society* 17 (3): 359–383.

Vegan Society. 2014. *Definition of veganism*. Available at: http://www.vegansociety.com/try-vegan/definition-veganism (accessed 1 December 2014).

Vliegenthart, R., and L. van Zoonen. 2011. Power to the Frame: Bringing Sociology Back to Frame Analysis. *European Journal of Communication* 26 (2): 101–115.

Wahl, O. F. 1992. Mass media images of mental illness: A review of the literature. *Journal of Community Psychology* 20 (Oct): 343–352.

Walker, H. 2014. Relax, it's no longer weird to be a vegan. *Guardian*, 4 January. Available at: http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2014/jan/04/vegan-fad-meat-dairy-health-option (accessed 15 February 2016).

Warren, C. A. B. 1980. Destigmatization of Identity: From Deviant to Charismatic. *Qualitative Sociology* 3 (1): 59–72.

Watkins, S. C. 2001. Framing Protest: News Media Frames of the Million Man March. *Critical Studies in Media Communication* 18 (1): 83–101.

Wheeler, B. 2012. How the Daily Mail stormed the US. *BBC*, 27 January. Available at: http://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-16746785 (accessed 21 October 2016).

Zeisler, A. (2016) *We were feminists once: From Riot Grrrl to Covergirl®, the buying and selling of a political movement*. New York: PublicAffairs.

Celebrities in the co-optation of veganism

Outi Lundahl, University of Vaasa (Finland), Maastricht University (Netherlands)

Alexander Henkel, Open University (Netherlands)

Abstract:

In this paper, we uncover the two-fold role of celebrities, with the help of media institutions, have played in the rise of veganism in the UK. Through longitudinal, media analysis which is informed by radical structuralism and which employs mixed methods, we show that the co-optation of veganism has taken place via the celebritisation of a parallel movement – environmentalism. Whilst the scientific and political discourse of the environmental movement then legitimised veganism in the media to an extent, it was the celebrity involvement which diluted the message. Later, the persistent celebrity involvement associated veganism – or more accurately, plant-based diet – with health and weight-loss aligning it with the ideology of healthism. Through this new framing and new vocabulary veganism severed its ties with both the animal rights and environmental movement thus finally co-opting veganism. We illustrate this through a novel stage model of co-optation which highlights the consecutive processes of co-optation and celebritisation in the vegan movement. In this way, co-optation theory is further developed in the light of celebrity involvement.

Keywords: Co-optation, veganism, celebritisation, healthism, climate change, media

Acknowledgements: The authors would like to thank Dr Henna Syrjälä and Professor Harri Luomala for their valuable feedback in the preparation of this manuscript.

INTRODUCTION

Co-optation can be defined as the process by which a more powerful group subsumes a weaker or a challenging group. It does so by replicating the aspects that they find appealing without adopting the full programme or ideals thus protecting the status quo (see e.g. Frank 1997, Heath & Potter 2004, Thompson & Coskuner-Balli 2007). However, extant literature has tended to focus more on understanding how a subcultural group resists and negotiates mainstreaming rather than how co-optation actually happens (Sandikci and Ger 2010). Thus, in this paper, we investigate co-optation of veganism in the UK through media analysis in order to provide a detailed, step-wise description of the co-optation process. Specifically, we focus on the role of celebrities in the process as their role has been neglected in extant literature. Veganism was chosen as the context of this study for two reasons. Firstly, celebrities seem to have been important actors in the rise of veganism. Secondly, the rise of veganism has been very recent and rapid, and the contained co-optation process makes it easier to explicate the individual stages and steps.

The portrayal of veganism has indeed gone through a swift and noticeable transformation. As late as 2007, the media portrayal of veganism was still very hostile and according to Cole and Morgan (2011) amounted to "vegaphobia". Now, however, "[v]egan is in" and "fashionable" (Fury 2013). The year 2014 was also declared "the year of the vegan" (Rami 2014) as many A-list celebrities such as Beyoncé associated themselves with the consumption practice (e.g. Fury 2013). To investigate the rise of veganism, we then set out to conduct a longitudinal frame analysis (2000–2015) which was informed by radical structuralism (Tadajewski et al. 2014). The data consisted of seven national, daily newspapers in the UK, where automated quantitative content analysis was used to support the qualitative frame analysis. The analysis revealed that as veganism gained more visibility, veganism became increasingly framed as a diet for health and aesthetic reasons. Concurrently, the political and moral roots of veganism were forgotten. Therefore, we argue that veganism has become co-opted.

This study builds on Coy and Hedeen's (2005) study where the authors develop a detailed stage model of co-optation. Similarly, we develop a stage model where we explicate the co-optation process of veganism stage by stage, accounting for the individual steps therein. However, in contrast with Coy and Hedeen's (2005) model as well as the wider extant co-optation literature, our main contribution is to detail the role of celebrities and media as an institution in the process. In fact, we argue that celebrities have been major drivers of the co-optation process. First, celebrities, through celebritisation, dilute the environmental arguments for veganism. Then, in their role as experts in health (Hoffman & Tan 2013), lifestyle (Lewis 2007, 2010) and consumption (Hackley & Hackley 2015), celebrities are used to tie co-opted veganism to the wider ideology of healthism. Thus, the attention is driven away from the political and radical message of the animal rights movement which essentially is aimed at the abolishment of speciesism. In

this way, the media, a vested interest, helps to protect the status quo from challenges presented by the countermovement.

The contribution of this study then is to uncover the two-fold role which celebrities, with the help of media institutions, have played in the rise of veganism in the UK, and illustrate this through a novel stage model of co-optation. The model highlights the consecutive processes of celebritisation and co-optation in the vegan movement. In this way, co-optation theory is further developed first in the light of celebritisation and, then, more general celebrity involvement. Before exploring these arguments, however, it is necessary to delve deeper into co-optation literature, the context as well as the different key actors within the process.

CO-OPTATION AND VEGANISM

Conceptualising co-optation

The term co-optation can be seen to have been coined by Herbert Marcuse (1969), a philosopher and sociologist associated with the Frankfurt School, and therefore its origins also have close ties with the neo-Marxist tradition of radical structuralism (Tadajewski et al. 2014). In its current usage, co-optation is based on the premise that countercultures represent "symbolic challenges to a [dominant] symbolic order" (Hebdige 1979, 92) which threaten the status quo. In order to neutralise this threat, the dominant culture responds by converting these expressions of countercultural opposition into commodified forms which can be cut off from their radical roots (Thompson & Coskuner-Balli 2007). Therefore, co-optation can be defined as the process by which a more powerful group subsumes a weaker or a challenging group by attempting to replicate the aspects that they find appealing without adopting the full programme or ideals thus protecting the status quo. In the field of consumer research, co-optation theory (Frank 1997, Heath & Potter 2004, Thompson & Coskuner Balli 2007) thus argues that market forces will eventually internalise and commodify radical and marginal consumption phenomena whereby they are transformed into "a constellation of trendy commodities and depoliticized fashion styles" (Thompson and Coskuner-Balli 2007, 136).

As noted above, however, co-optation research tends to focus more on understanding how a subcultural group resists and negotiates mainstreaming (Sandikci and Ger 2010, e.g. Bengtsson et al. 2005, Kozinets 2001, Thompson & Coskuner-Balli 2007, Schiele & Venkatesh 2016, Cronin et al. 2014) rather than how co-optation actually happens. Nevertheless, there are some exceptions to this rule. Hebdige (1979), for instance, links youth subcultures with class divisions within the British society. Similarly, Frank (1997) argues that the quest for authenticity was created by the marketing industry (cf. Binkley 2003). However, as these studies focus on the role of the marketers, they lose sight of an

important intermediary – the news media. Particularly in Frank's (1997) conceptualisation, the role of media is limited to it being the site of advertising. In addition, interest in the role of celebrities in the co-optation process has been rather cursory. In her recent book, Zeisler (2016) does account for the role of celebrities such as Emma Watson and Beyoncé in her exploration of the rise of feminism. However, she also essentially argues that market feminism has become another marketing gimmick created by advertisers, and fails to analyse the role of celebrities in detail.

An important exception to extant literature is Coy and Hedeen's (2005) study which explores co-optation in the context of community mediation in the United States. The strength of their study arises from the fact that they present a detailed four-stage model of how legitimisation attempts end in co-optation. In contrast with, for instance, Frank's (1997) or Zeisler's (2016) analyses, which try to tackle large ideological movements, such as the quest for authenticity or feminism, they take a more focused viewpoint. Thus, by focusing on a fairly contained and recent phenomenon, they are able to provide greater understanding of the specific events, particular processes, and the individual decisions which have led to the co-optation of community mediation.

In their model, Stage 1 then involves inception of the countermovement which demands change and may establish alternative institutions. The vested interests then perceive a need for reform. This perceived need for change then leads to Stage 2, which involves the appropriation of the language and technique of the challenging movement by the vested interests. In the process, the values of the countermovement are, however, dismissed and the vested interests redefine the countermovement's terms, some of which are applied to antithetical practices.

In particular, Coy and Hedeen (2005) argue that there are three major tactics which are used by the co-opting agents in this stage. These are channeling, inclusion/participation, and salience control. By channeling Coy and Hedeen (2005) mean efforts to undermine and redirect the challenging movement toward more modest reforms by formalising communications and negotiations into channels that are controlled by the vested interests. The countermovement's representatives may also be included in the process of design and implementation of new policies, while the substantive power still continues to be withheld. Finally, salience control, Coy and Hedeen (2005) argue, is usually achieved as a result of the previous two tactics. It refers to the appeasement of the countermovement over critical issues by making it appear that such concerns are being adequately addressed and, hence, no longer need to be a top priority for the movement. These concerns then decrease in priority, even though they have not, in fact, been resolved.

In Stage 3, there is an assimilation of challenging movement's leaders and participants as the vested interests start to develop parallel operations on their own terms and draw some of the leaders from the countermovement to support the new operations. However, this leads to a transformation of the programme

goals as the vested interests are able to set the priorities and goals. Countermovement then restructures to meet the goals of the vested interests. Finally, Stage 4 involves regulation of the newly legitimised processes and the countermovement's response to these changes. The vested interests routinise, standardise and regulate the new practices, and the newly institutionalised practice becomes the norm. In response to this co-optation, however, Coy and Hedeen (2005) note that the remaining countermovement then develops institutions to support, maintain and protect its own goals.

The focused and detailed approach adopted by Coy and Hedeen (2005) is laudable, and in this article our aim is similar. The context of Coy and Hedeen's (2005) study, however, is very different in that what they describe is a highly regulated and codified context: the justice system. Conversely, the context of consumer culture and veganism as a movement is very fluid. There are no all governing vested interests, for instance, which would dictate, regulate and codify the meanings related to veganism. Neither are there codified channels through which negotiations would take place, even though media does act as a kind of nexus for these conversations and as a platform on which the battle for and against social change is fought (Castells 2009). Instead, these meanings arise from a dialogue between different movements, actors and interests, albeit that some of them have more power to define the terms. From this arises another important caveat of Coy and Hedeen's (2005) model when applied to a consumption context: they consider the co-optation process as a simple dichotomy between two opposing views without considering the involvement of other actors. Thus, the model requires modification in order to apply to the consumption context.

Therefore, one important way in which we extend Coy and Hedeen's (2005) stage model is that we account for the role of different actors in the process. In this context, for instance, political discourse surrounding climate change and, as outlined in the introduction, celebrities appear as the key actors driving the changes in the framing of veganism. In particular, our stage model explores the concurrent processes of celebritisation of a parallel movement (environmentalism) and the co-optation of veganism. Furthermore, as these meanings are developed and contested in the media, we argue that it is also important to account for the role of media as an institution in this process. These actors and forces are explored in more detail next, after we have introduced the phenomenon under study.

Veganism

The Vegan Society (2016) defines as veganism "a way of living which seeks to exclude…all forms of exploitation of, and cruelty to, animals for food, clothing or any other purpose". Hence, as a moral ethos, it encompasses all walks of life where animals might be exploited and, according to extant literature, the key

motivations for modern day vegans include animal rights, healthiness and environmental preservation (Greenebaum 2012).

Davis (2012) traces the history of ethical veganism to 1811, to John Frank Newton's book *Return to Nature*. However, the word vegan was not coined until 1944 by Donald Watson who also founded the Vegan Society in England (Davis 2012). Even though veganism had been practiced long before this date, this point can be seen as the beginning of modern day veganism as here a clear distinction was drawn between "mere vegetarianism" and veganism, and vegans organised themselves under a distinct movement through the Vegan Society. On the other hand, Simonson (2001), for instance, argues that the modern animal rights movement, of which veganism is obviously a major part, was not born until 1975 when Peter Singer published his influential book Animal Liberation.

The discourses and meanings related to veganism over the course of time have, however, changed. Extant literature has found that vegans have been the target of much ridicule and hostility and, therefore, veganism has been marginalised in the society. Cole and Morgan (2011), for instance, found that 74.3% of all articles related to veganism in the UK press in 2007 included anti-vegan discourses of ridiculing veganism; characterising veganism as asceticism; describing veganism as difficult or impossible to sustain; describing veganism as a fad; characterising vegans as oversensitive; or characterising vegans as hostile. They interpret these derogatory discourses as evidence of the cultural reproduction of speciesism–a form of prejudice against nonhuman animals, analogous to sexism and racism, which shows a disregard for the discriminated group (Ryder 1983). Hence, politically motivated veganism as practiced by the animal rights movement is essentially aimed at bringing down the ideology of speciesism. Veganism, for instance, questions basic ideas regarding the omnivorous diet and the place of the human at the top of the food chain. Veganism then also threatens the many industries which rely on animal-based products. Reproduction of speciesism and marginalisation of politically and morally informed veganism can then be seen as a way to protect the status quo.

Lately, these meanings and discourses have, however, changed a great deal. Now, mainstream media is claiming that "[v]egan is in" and "fashionable" (Fury 2013). The year 2014 was also declared the "the year of the vegan" (Rami 2014) as many A-list celebrities attached themselves with the movement (e.g. Fury 2013). This media attention has also been transformed into real life interest by the public. The number of individuals opting for a plant-based diet in the UK rose from 150,000 in 2006 to 542,000 in 2016 which makes this a 350% increase in 10 years (Marsh 2016). There was also a clear rise in the number of part-time vegans, trying out the diet for a limited time, which the media as well as the Vegan Society attributed to a great extent to celebrities (e.g. Barford 2014, Vegan Society 2014). The Vegan Society (2014), for instance, notes:

> *[By] the end of 2013, the national and international press was covering veganism more regularly and more positively than in the past… Some of*

> *this was admittedly more about the plant-based diet than veganism, for example, the popularity of Mark Bittman's book Vegan Before 6 and the well-publicised interest in plant-based diets by celebrities Beyoncé and Jay-Z at the end of 2013. Whichever way you look at it, the profile of veganism is on the rise; the diet now being presented – on the whole – as something aspirational and healthy. This was a sudden change for the mainstream media, who had previously often portrayed vegans and vegan diets negatively.*

Here, the Vegan Society notes that as the status of veganism suddenly rose, the meanings of veganism changed as well. There is a transformation from veganism as an all-encompassing moral lifestyle, which follows the Vegan Society's (2016) official definition, to a plant-based diet aimed at addressing health concerns. Moreover, they argue that celebrities and media have been at the heart of this change. Thus, the keys to explaining the co-optation of veganism seem to be threefold: celebrities, media and health.

Celebrities, media and health in the rise of veganism

Celebrities can simply be defined by their "well-knownness" (Boorstin 1961, 57), which arises from their visibility in the media. Thus, celebrities are to a large extent created by the media, and it is through media that the messages from and about celebrities are delivered to the wider public (e.g. Boorstin 1961, 61, Fraser & Brown 2002, Kerrigan et al. 2011). Celebrities are also a stable part of the consumption culture (see e.g. Rojek 2001, Turner 2010, Couldry 2015). In fact, Hackley and Hackley (2015), for instance, argue that celebrities shape and control mass consumer tastes as, in the media, celebrities are portrayed as experts in consumption and, hence, act as sources of cultural capital for consumers who are able to mimic their consumption styles. However, their influence is not limited to simple celebrity endorsement (see Erdogan [1999] for a review) of, for instance, individual brands, clothing styles or even latest fad diets. Celebrities also become tangled up with questions of politics and ideology. This can happen both voluntarily and involuntarily.

As for the former, Meyer and Gamson (1995), for instance, argue that a celebrity without a cause has become almost anomalous. Celebrities have, therefore, become increasingly active in politics and in societal issues (see e.g. Lim & Moufahim 2015, see also Hopkinson & Cronin 2015, Preece 2015). Boykoff et al. (2010) then conclude that climate change in particular has become one of the "hottest" causes for celebrities. Their examples include documentary films such as Al Gore's *An Inconvenient Truth* and Leonardo DiCaprio's *11th Hour*, some of the biggest names in pop music performing at the *Live Earth* concerts, as well as being involved in the dedicated "Green issue" of *Vanity Fair*. As environmental concerns have been one of the key motivations for veganism, it is prudent to

assume that this celebrity influence would also have a spill-over effect on the rise of veganism as well.

This kind of voluntary and direct involvement in societal issues and politics is called celebritisation (cf. Thompson et al. 2015). Essentially, then, celebritisation is a mediatised (Driessens 2013), cultural process whereby the boundaries of different spheres of life begin to blur. As Lewis (2010) explains, traditionally, scientific experts and politicians, on the one hand, and celebrities, on the other, have been thought of as existing in markedly different spheres of public life and linked to very different sets of values and logics. Experts are associated with high culture and rational knowledge, whereas celebrities tend to be linked with popular and consumer culture. In this public sphere, entertainment is privileged over information and affect over meaning. Yet, due to celebritisation, the line between the state and commercial/popular culture has become increasingly difficult to draw as the popular media sphere becomes the pre-eminent site for questions of politics and citizenship (Lewis 2010). Traditional figures of authority and expertise have then found themselves competing for media airtime with a range of other figures who have as much or more authority within the media sphere (Lewis 2010, see also Navarro 2015). This also means that qualitatively politics becomes increasingly personified and emotionalised (cf. Driessens 2013) instead of "hard facts".

Therefore, not only are celebrities influential in the realm of consumption culture, they have also become increasingly influential from a political point of view (e.g. Lewis 2010, Driessens 2013, Boykoff & Goodman 2009) often contributing to the merging of these two worlds so that sustainability, for instance, becomes commodified through the purchase decisions of the individual (see also Boykoff et al. 2010, Meyer & Gamson 1995). In terms of Johnston (2008), we then understand celebritisation as moving away from political discourse aimed at obligation to commons to promoting the "citizen-consumer" hybrid. This hybrid, Johnston (2008) argues, implies a social practice – "voting with your dollar" – that can satisfy competing ideologies of consumerism (an idea rooted in individual self-interest) and citizenship (an ideal rooted in collective responsibility to a social and ecological commons).

In addition, celebrities become tangled up in questions of politics and ideology in a more involuntary and indirect way. To separate this from celebritisation, which has clear political motivations, we call this celebrity involvement. This celebrity involvement takes place through their role as experts in health (Hoffman & Tan 2013), lifestyle (Lewis 2007, 2010) and consumption (Hackley & Hackley 2015). This role is assigned to them by the media (Hackley & Hackley 2015) and is leveraged, for instance, in celebrity endorsement in advertising. By framing celebrity lifestyle as aspirational and by framing consumption as a way to mimic the celebrity lifestyle, the media then perpetuates consumerism and thus the neoliberal project (see Ayo 2012) via the celebrities. Whilst this may not be intention of the individual celebrities, the celebrity culture combined with the

media logic upholds the status quo. More specifically, by adopting veganism as a diet for weight-loss purposes, for instance, celebrities indirectly divert the meanings related to veganism, but on a more societal level, these meanings can then be harnessed to uphold larger ideologies, in particular that of healthism. Healthism is then an ideology which links the public objectives for the good health and good order with the desire of individuals for health and well-being (Rose 1999). As Rose (1999) argues, this seduction to healthism happens particularly through advertising and other means of persuasion such as the media.

In contrast with the citizen-consumer hybrid, then, the focus here moves even more markedly away from any remnants of motivations towards the good of the commons. Instead, the emphasis here is on the obligation to oneself (Johnston 2008). Hence, we argue that while celebritisation is a step in this direction and leaves the movement open for co-optation, the move to obligation to oneself is the point, where co-optation has been completed. These three stages, the different emphases in discourses, objects of obligation and the ideologies under contention are also summarised in Table 1. These assertions are explored in more detail in the findings section. First, however, it is necessary to outline the methodology of this study.

Table 1: Co-optation, celebritisation and political discourse in the context of veganism

	Politics	**Celebritisation**	**Co-optation**
Type of discourse	Political and rational	"Voting with one's dollar"	Commercialisation, link to politics lost
Object of obligation	Obligation to commons	Citizen-consumer able to combine obligation to commons and oneself through market place transactions	Obligation to one-self
Ideology under contention	Speciesism	Neoliberalism	Healthism

METHODOLOGY

Data and frame analysis informed by radical structuralism

The aim of this study was to understand the process by which veganism has risen in the UK and, thus, the reasons for the change in the meanings related to

veganism. As media is a public sphere in which the battle for and against social change is fought (Castells 2009), we opted for longitudinal media analysis. The data included a large cross section of the British mediascape with four broadsheets – the *Times* and the *Daily Telegraph* which tend to take a conservative stance, and the *Independent* and the *Guardian* which represent a more liberal line (Newton & Brynin 2001) – as well as three tabloids – the *Sun*, *Daily Mail* and the *Mirror*. These newspapers were searched using the ProQuest Central database using the keywords "vegan", "vegans" and "veganism" appearing anywhere within the article within the time period of 2000–2015. This specific time period was chosen under investigation as it represents a key period in the rise of veganism. Indeed, Cole and Morgan (2011) found veganism to be very much marginalised in the UK media in 2007 so, in order to capture the origins of these changes, we went back in history to delve into the early contributors of the transformative processes. All in all, the data consisted of 6,623 articles with a staggering 500 % increase in the number of articles related to veganism from the year 2000 (181 articles) to 2015 (984 articles). Therefore, the number of articles also supports the notion that there has been a clear rise in the interest regarding veganism.

The mode of analysis is frame analysis which is informed by radical structuralism (Tadajewski et al. 2014) and which is employed by combining qualitative and quantitative analysis. Frame analysis is often associated with Goffman (1974) and, thus, is constructionist in nature (D'Angelo 2002). However, frame analysis informed by radical structuralism departs from Goffmanesque analysis in that, as Tuchman (1978) argues, Goffman does not adequately explain the ideological functions or institutional mechanisms of media. Therefore, we take the view, following Vliegenthart and van Zoonen (2011), that the aim of frame analysis is to analyse how news content promotes particular problem definitions but also to tie such problem definitions to an analysis of power.

In practice, to frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text in order to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and to offer solutions to a particular issue (Entman 1993). The frames can then be thought of as clusters of messages which deploy similar strategies (such as key words and images, sources and themes which highlight and promote specific facts and interpretations) and offer similar explanations and solutions to the problem at hand (Entman 1993, Tucker 1998). Frames also select and call attention to particular aspects of the reality, which means that frames also direct attention away from other aspects (Entman 1993). Therefore, it is necessary to investigate not only the inclusions but also the omissions in the text.

Frames, semantic categories and the custom dictionary used for quantitative analysis

In this study, the frame analysis was mainly qualitative in nature. However, in order to increase the credibility of the initial qualitative analysis, triangulation through quantitative techniques was deemed necessary in order to obtain corroborating evidence (Onwuegbuzie & Leech 2007). In practice, we then conducted an automated quantitative content analysis of the data using the computer programme Linguistic Inquiry and Word Count (LIWC, Pennebaker, Francis & Booth 2007). In order to explain the procedure for the quantitative triangulation, however, it is first necessary to briefly explore how the frames and the semantic categories arose from the qualitative data, as this directed the construction of the custom dictionary for LIWC as well as the time periods used in the quantitative analysis.

We thus started our analysis qualitatively, identifying recurring themes in the data. The qualitative analysis revealed that the main themes corresponded to the three main motivations for veganism identified in extant literature, namely, animal rights, environmental motivations and health reasons (Greenebaum 2012). However, the analysis also revealed that these themes corresponded to different frames so that different themes were highlighted in different time periods. This resulted in three separate frames: the animal rights movement, environmentalism and, finally, health and weight-loss.

After the main themes were identified, a more in-depth qualitative analysis of the emerging frames was conducted focusing particularly on the key words and actors associated with each theme or frame. This second level of analysis then formed the semantic categories associated with each theme. The analysis, for instance, revealed that the animal rights movement was generally portrayed in a negative and radical light associating the movement with both activism and, as a result, with crime. In addition, veganism itself was associated with ill health and malnutrition instead of positive effects on one's body.

Once a semantic category associated with a frame was established, it was then possible to create a custom dictionary which corresponded to a semantic category. The two authors indicated whether each word should be included or excluded from the dictionary category and were free to offer any suggestions for additional words. In case of a disagreement as to whether a word should be included, the final decision was the lead author's based on a discussion with the co-author. These categories as well as examples of the dictionary words used to measure these categories are included in Table 2.

Table 2: Frames, categories and examples of the dictionary words used for quantitative analysis

Frame	**Category**	**Examples**
Animal rights movement	Animal rights	animal rights, ethical, animal cruelty, animal welfare, animal liberation
	Ill health	deficiency, malnourished, starving, ill, weak
	Activism	activist, protest, political, radical, demonstration, anarchist
	Crime	militant, terror, crime, police, prison, sabotage
Environmentalism	Environmental	environment, climate change, global warming, pollution, greenhouse effect, carbon footprint
Health and weight-loss	Weight-loss	weight loss, slender, slim, detox, cleanse
	Health benefits	nutrition, health, active, athletic, fitness
	Celebrities	celebrity, paparazzi, Hollywood, star, A-list, model, actor, pop, movie, music

The qualitative analysis also revealed the lack of environmental motivations in the animal rights movement framing. Instead, these issues rose on the media agenda in the second framing. Thus, the second frame consists of environmentalism and environmental motivations and, again, a custom dictionary for the semantic category of "environmentalism" was constructed based on the steps introduced above. Finally, qualitative analysis also revealed that in the later years of the data veganism became associated with health and weight-loss through increasing celebrity involvement. These form the three semantic categories associated with the final frame, and a custom dictionary was constructed for each category. Examples of the words used for each semantic category are again shown in Table 2.

Finally, it was necessary to establish the time frames for each of the frames. Firstly, based on the qualitative analysis, it was clear that the animal rights movement was most prevalent in the data in the early years of the data. However, the qualitative analysis also revealed that veganism also became more associated with environmental motivations as the general discourse of sustainable development gained momentum in the media around 2006. This change coincided with the overall rise in the climate change coverage in the UK media

which Boykoff and Mansfield (2008) place around 2005-2006. Thus, this was also deemed as the point where the environmentalist frame took over. However, the enthusiasm of these couple of years died down soon and the discourse turned increasingly negative. In 2011, for instance, Simon Fairlie gained a great deal of publicity with his book *Meat: A Benign Extravagance*, which argues that eating meat is in fact good for the environment. At the same time, a whole host of celebrities began associating themselves with veganism changing the meanings of veganism away from environmental discourse to veganism as a vehicle for health and weight-loss, as a means for obligation to oneself. Based on the qualitative analysis, this turning point was placed around 2010-2011. Thus, the time frames for the media frames were set at 2000-2005 for the animal rights movement framing, 2006-2010 for the environmentalist framing and, finally, 2011-2015 for the health and weight-loss framing.

The results of the quantitative analysis support the findings from the qualitative analysis. They show that an ANOVA with the three time periods of 2000 – 2005 (period 1), 2006 – 2010 (period 2), 2011 – 2015 (period 3) as independent variable and the percentage of words from the animal rights movement library (consisting of a dictionary from four separate semantic categories, see Table 2) as dependent measure was significant ($F(2,191) = 13.58$, $p < .001$). Contrasts revealed that the newspaper articles contained significantly more animal rights movement words in period 1 than in period 2 ($M_{2000\text{-}2005} = .37$ vs. $M_{2006\text{-}2010} = .30$, $p < .05$), which again was significantly more coined by animal rights movement than period 3 ($M_{2011\text{-}2015} = .23$, $p < .05$). Thus, there was a continuous decline in use of animal rights movement words during the three time periods under investigation.

An ANOVA with the environmentalism library (consisting of a dictionary from one semantic category, Table 2) as dependent variable was significant ($F(2,191) = 44.31$, $p < .001$). Contrasts confirmed that the mean for environmentalism words was significantly higher during period 2 ($M_{2006\text{-}2010} = .25$) versus period 1 ($M_{2000\text{-}2005} = .12$, $p < .001$), or period 3 ($M_{2011\text{-}2015} = .12$, $p < .001$). Again, an ANOVA on health and weight-loss related words (from three separate categories, Table 2) was significant ($F(2,191) = 11.09$, $p < .001$). Contrasts revealed that indeed the mean for health related words was significantly higher for period 3 ($M_{2011\text{-}2015} = .79$) than for periods 1 and 2 ($M_{2000\text{-}2005} = .68$, $M_{2006\text{-}2010} = .68$, both $p < .001$).

Finally, qualitative analysis was again used to enable interpretation of these frames. We also contextualised these frames and the changes therein using historical analysis as described by Smith and Lux (1993) and particularly situating the changes within the wider context of the environmental movement. Based on the findings, a stage model of co-optation is then developed in the discussion section.

FINDINGS

2000–2005: Animal rights movement framing

Our findings provide further support to Cole and Morgan's (2011) findings regarding "vega-phobia". Veganism was thus ridiculed, characterised as asceticism, as difficult or impossible to sustain and as a fad, whilst vegans were characterised as oversensitive or even hostile. Moreover, one can conclude that, whilst in the early years vegans were predominantly associated with the animal rights movement, the media portrayal was mainly negative in tone. Thus, veganism was, for instance, associated with terrorists and criminals with notions such as "militant vegan" being rife in the data (e.g. De Lisle 2000, Hattenstone 2000, *Daily Telegraph* 2003). Examples of this framing include, for instance, the case of the Animal Liberation Front who targeted Huntingdon Life Sciences due to their animal testing practices and claims of animal cruelty taking place at their laboratories:

> *The extremist core of the animal welfare movement --- operate in small, self-sufficient cells and have become almost paranoid about infiltration. A prison sentence is taken as a guarantee that the terrorist is committed and not a police officer. Many are known to Special Branch units around the country because of their convictions. Police and MI5 have intensified operations in the 1990s following an upsurge in violence including the bombing of scientists' cars. --- Their political views often tend to be anarchist and all are vegans---. (Tendler 2001)*

The seriousness of the issue is highlighted by noting how determined the police, and even the MI5 and the Special branch (which deals with issues of national security and intelligence in the British police force) are in responding to this threat. Another one of the most prominent as well as extreme cases which highlight this connotation is the murder of a Dutch politician Pim Fortuyn by an animal rights activist and vegan Volkert van der Graaf. This case received a great deal of attention in the media in 2002, and the media portrayal highlights the fanaticism and single-mindedness vegans are presumed to have for their cause. Hence, one of the key themes was the discrepancy between van der Graaf's values as a vegan, which urges compassion for all living creatures, and the violent act of murder, and particularly the murder of a man whose media portrayal started to gain almost saintly proportions:

> *The man charged yesterday with assassinating Pim Fortuyn, 54, was a fanatic who did not care about human beings at all, a farmer who knew him well has said. "It was animals, animals, animals," Peter Olofson said. --- The image is of a supervegan killing the man who aspired to become the country's first gay Prime Minister, a man so compassionate that he would "protect the fleas on a dog", --- coolly pumping five bullets into a human's head and chest from point blank range. The victim, moreover, was a man whose single most endearing trait was the love of his two pet*

> *dogs, Kenneth and Carla. --- Mr Olofson --- remembers [van der Graaf] as intense and humourless -a short, pale, scrawny man who lived off welfare, dressed scruffily and eschewed even milk and honey." (Fletcher 2002)*

Even when no criminal acts were involved, vegans were often seen as misfits and eccentrics (see also Cole & Morgan 2011). Veganism was also seen as a sign of unhealthy extremism in contrast with the mainstream which would find the golden middle way and would show restraint in their life. American stand-up comedian Bill Hicks, for instance, was described in the following manner:

> *Onstage and off, he was a creature of extremes. Sometimes he was vegan, detoxed, studying Zen and doing yoga; or he would marinade himself in Jack Daniels and stay roaring drunk for weeks, vacuuming drugs (magic mushrooms were his favourite) and chain-smoking. As one of his oldest friends put it, "I can't figure out if he is near enlightenment or a black beast. He's a genius and a putz and a child and a Master all in one." (Murray 2002)*

In the earlier years, while celebrity involvement was still marginal, musician and DJ Moby was, for instance, also often used to highlight a connection between vegans, on the one hand, and eccentrics and misfits, on the other. Whilst hailed as a genius particularly after the release of his album *Play* in 2000, media did not forget to highlight his contradictory past and extremist views, of which veganism was one. The headline of one article (Smith 2000), for instance, reads: “Moby: 'I was a rigid punk rock Marxist. Then I was a rigid vegan dance music Christian.' Today, he's loosened up and become one of the world's hottest pop stars.” Whilst Moby reportedly has not given up on his views on veganism, the title implies that in order to be mainstream and successful, one has to abandon extremist views such as veganism.

Furthermore, in comparison with the later framing, where veganism was portrayed as a healthy diet, in the earlier years it was seen as detrimental to one’s health. The harmfulness of veganism was highlighted by pointing out the various deficiencies veganism could lead to (e.g. B12, calcium, iron). The most severe examples of this theme include cases where a baby had died of severe deficiencies due to strict vegan diet. The following quotes, referring to legal authority to emphasise the seriousness of the cases, bring attention to this sentiment:

> *Yet last July her daughter Areni died of severe malnutrition at the age of nine months. A policeman said her body looked like that of "an African famine victim". (Branigan 2001)*

> *A vegan couple have been convicted of manslaughter after the death of their baby son. They believed he could survive on the same meagre diet as themselves. Just goes to prove - vegetarianism is bad for you. (Furbank 2002)*

Taken together, this frame shows how politically and morally informed veganism was still very much marginalised. In addition, the environmental benefits of veganism were not included in the discussion. However, the environmental movement of the later years began to change the framing of veganism into a sign of rationalism.

2006–2010: Environmentalism framing

As noted above, environmental reasons have been one of the key motivations for "going vegan". Thus, it is not surprising to find the environmental considerations become more prevalent within the data despite the fact that they were largely missing from the animal rights movement framing of the earlier years. The rise of the environmental framing here is not a coincidence as this is the time period where the media coverage of climate change grew overall as well. In their study of UK tabloid newspapers Boykoff and Mansfield (2008), for instance, note that 2005 and 2006 included major peaks in the number of articles related to climate change. It therefore seems that a frame bridging (Snow et al. 1986) has taken place. Via frame bridging, ideologically congruent but structurally unconnected frames or movements are brought together.

There were several key events, reflected in the data, which took place in the second half of the 2000s. These events helped to emphasise the environmental motivations for veganism, and to a large extent highlighted political and rational discourse based on the good of the commons (see Johnston 2008). In 2006, for instance, the UN released a study called *Livestock's Long Shadow*, which emphasised the connection between meat consumption and climate change. In the same year, Al Gore, the former US Vice President, starred in a documentary film called *An Inconvenient Truth* (see also Boykoff & Mansfield 2008). The film, directed by Davis Guggenheim, won an Oscar for Best Documentary in 2007 and later Gore also went on to write the book *An Inconvenient Truth: The Planetary Emergency of Global Warming and What We Can Do About It*. In 2007 Al Gore also won the Nobel Peace Prize together with the United Nations Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC). With the tide of sustainability discourse in the media, grass root activist campaigns such as the Camp Climate protest against the proposed third runway at the Heathrow airport also gained visibility in 2007. Similarly, the release of the so-called *Stern Review* (see also Boykoff & Mansfield 2008), a 700-page report released by the British government which discusses the effect of global warming on the world economy, also guided the environmental framing. In 2008, the discourse also centered on meat consumption a great deal as Dr Rajendra Pachauri, chair of the IPCC, made headlines recommended eating less meat to curb climate change.

This does not mean that the message was universally accepted. In fact, the stigmatised, "vegaphobic" attitudes towards vegans persisted, as is evident from Cole and Morgan's (2011) study which focused on all national newspapers in the

UK in 2007. However, there was a clear change in the discourse towards environmental factors. *Daily Mail* columnist Liz Jones (2008), for instance, adopts political and scientific discourse when she writes:

> *UN scientists say the meat and dairy industries generate more greenhouse-gas emissions than all the cars, trucks, 4x4s, ships and planes in the world combined. Research at Chicago University found switching to a vegan diet is 50 per cent more effective in counteracting global warming than switching from a BMW convertible to a Toyota Prius. Nitrous oxide and methane, of which billions of tons are produced by farmed animals, are, respectively, 300 times and 20 times more effective than CO2 at trapping heat in the atmosphere. If every American substituted just one vegetarian meal a week for a meat one, the reduction in CO2 emissions would be equivalent to removing half a million cars from the road. (Jones 2008)*

However, the enthusiasm of these couple of years died down soon and the discourse turned increasingly negative. In 2011, for instance, Simon Fairlie gained a great deal of publicity with his book *Meat: A Benign Extravagance*, which argues that eating meat is in fact good for the environment.

But what made the sustainability discourse rise on the media agenda in the first place in comparison with the earlier time period? We argue that this change is partly due to celebrities. In 2007, for instance, the celebrities jumped on the bandwagon with great zeal with the *Live Earth* concerts which took place around the globe. Actor Leonardo DiCaprio also released his documentary film *11th Hour* about the climate change. Across the pond in the United States, *Vanity Fair* also released its dedicated "Green issue". Similarly, Boykoff and Goodman (2010), for instance, find that there was an increasing trend of involving celebrities as part of the climate change or global warming discussion and this trend in the media peaks around 2007.

However, the year 2007 is only the peak of the iceberg, so to speak, as for a long time before this date, celebrities had become major spokespeople for sustainability issues and media had attempted to pique the interest of the general public in sustainability issues by using celebrities as role models in said issues. It was, for instance, reported that:

> *Celebrities have developed a mania for all things ecologically sound. --- [P]robably the single most crucial factor in helping to encourage this cultural sea-change [regarding sustainability issues] is the celebrity take-up of green zeal. (Millard 2006)*

This "green zeal" was used to explain how sustainability issues are not only for consumers adopting an alternative lifestyle but are now rational, mainstream concerns. Being sustainable could even be fashionable:

> *Not long ago, ethical choices were regarded as the idiosyncrasy of people who opted out of consumer society. Helped by celebrity endorsement, dramatic climate change, publicity for poverty, and recognition that saving the planet can save money, they are now mainstream fashion. (The Observer 2006)*

This is an instance of celebritisation (Boykoff & Goodman 2009, Driessens 2013, Goodman 2010). However, whilst celebrities can raise awareness on sustainability (Boykoff et al. 2010) and whilst they can excite consumers to support causes, there are some serious caveats. While consumers should take responsibility of their own environmental impact, individualisation of sustainability (e.g. Goodman 2010, Boykoff et al. 2010, Soron 2010, Seyfang 2005) is said to overburden the individuals. Celebrities as "heroic individuals" combined with the neoliberal environment lead to a situation where climate change and sustainability issues become the overwhelming responsibility of the individual rather than of governments or regulators who might affect significant policy changes (Boykoff et al. 2010), thus linking celebritisation firmly with the overall neoliberal project. In practice these tendencies have meant an emphasis on commodified solutions to environmental degradation. This tendency is shown clearly by the following excerpt from an article which justifies sustainable consumption particularly with a reference to celebrities:

> *For the in-crowd, it's no longer about what you wear but about how it was made. So is it time to start shopping with a conscience like Sienna Miller, Cameron Diaz and Julia Roberts --- Consumers have become the new eco-warriors and the latest must-have accessory is a social conscience. --- This generation of protesters may not be making placards and taking to the streets --- Buying the right thing is the latest way to do the right thing. And it's fashionable to be seen doing it. (Goldberg 2006)*

What this exemplifies is the parallel between the concepts of celebritisation and that of the citizen-consumer, as introduced above. The political, rational discourse highlights obligation to commons and the necessity for intergovernmental, macro level agreements, whilst celebritisation individualises the issue. Consumers are called to "vote with one's dollar" and, thus, to fulfill obligation to both commons and to oneself through market place transactions (Johnston 2008). However, the co-optation process was not complete until the final framing which disassociated veganism from both the animal rights movement as well as environmental reasons.

2011–2015: Health and weight-loss framing

The final framing portrayed veganism as a healthy (supplement to a) diet as well as a diet for aesthetic, weight-loss reasons. The rationality of apolitical veganism was backed up by several studies and scientific, expert information related to the

health benefits of veganism (e.g. diabetes, cancer, metabolic syndrome, high cholesterol and high blood pressure, lower mortality, obesity). However, what this type of veganism seems to lack are any of the previous connotations of animal rights or environmental concerns. Instead, the main promotional claim for veganism was health and weight-loss aspects. Veganism was promoted as a diet which could be utilised to attain a healthy, slim and toned body.

This turn can be linked to the dramatic increase in the number of A-list celebrity vegans adopting the diet around this time period. An ever increasing list of celebrity vegans was included in the media. Drawing a clear line between the celebrity trend of a plant-based diet and illegitimate veganism, it was, for instance, reported that:

> *[T]here are growing signs that 2014 could be the year that veganism - often viewed as the preserve of hippies, animal activists and health obsessives - stops being a niche dietary choice and gains new followers, and not just because of soon-forgotten resolutions. This year will see the German supermarket chain 'Veganz - We Love Life' opening its first branch in the UK, offering over 6,000 vegan products. The store is hoping to take advantage of increasing interest in non-meat, non-dairy food, with celebrities such as Jay Z and Beyonc (sic) among those to have reportedly tried adopting veganism. (Molloy 2014)*

> *You can't swing a nut roast right now without hitting something to do with veganism - whether it's the arrival from Germany of the first all-vegan supermarket chain, Veganz, or the 22-day no meat, no dairy diet that Beyonce and Jay-Z have just celebrated the end of (well you would, wouldn't you?). Then there's the vegan couple in their 60s who have just completed a year of running marathons every day, eating only bananas; the trendy vegan blogger and chef Isa Chandra Moskowitz, who has a new book out and 30,000 Twitter followers, not to mention Tal Ronnen, the guru behind Oprah's vegan cleanse, Ellen DeGeneres' vegan wedding, and the first vegan dinner at the US Senate. And that's just the famous ones. (Walker 2014)*

Indeed, despite a whole host of celebrities joining the movement, the most powerful celebrity endorsers were arguably singer Beyoncé and rapper Jay Z. At the end of 2013 the couple decided to go on a 22-day long plant-based diet. At the time Beyoncé was ranked as the most powerful celebrity in the world and husband Jay Z following in 6th place (Forbes 2014), meaning that this was by no means an inconsequential fad. The framing of the stint did not highlight ethical reasons though and, indeed, the fact that Beyoncé wore fur and leather to dine at a vegan restaurant attracted a great deal of attention and speculation related to her knowledge about veganism. In fact, in the announcement regarding the diet, Jay Z (2013) himself had called the stint “a spiritual and physical cleanse”. Instead, the coverage focused to a large degree on their weight-loss:

> *Her Grammys performance with husband Jay Z wasn't the only reason that fans' jaws dropped on Sunday night. In fact, when Beyonce walked the red carpet, the main focus was on just how much weight she has lost. And now [the designer], has revealed that the formerly bootylicious singer is now a size 2... "She looks amazing..." Beyonce is said to have lost an incredible 7olbs over the past six months after embarking on a vegetarian diet before making the decision to try out the now famous 22 -day vegan diet. (Sunne 2014)*

> *In January, Beyonce encountered a universal wardrobe puzzler: outfit-wise, how slutty is too slutty, when you've just finished 22 days of vegan living and your ass has never looked better? Her answer? Pretty damn slutty (three cheers for that). (Croft et al. 2014)*

In fact, veganism became increasingly framed through celebrities without a reference to environmental or ethical reasons, or the animal rights movement. Instead, flexible, part-time veganism was promoted in order to reap the benefits but to avoid the potential, harmful side effects.

This also highlights the transformations of language. In particular, there is the introduction of the term "plant-based diet" (e.g. Hardgrave, 2014, Griffiths 2015, *Daily Mail* 2015, McMahon 2015), presumably as this is how Jay Z (2013) himself referred to veganism in his announcement regarding the adoption of the diet. This emphasises the fact that veganism is reduced to a diet, instead of an all-encompassing moral lifestyle, which would also restrict the use of animals "for food, clothing or any other purpose" (Vegan Society 2014). In fact, "taking the 'virtue' out of vegan and giving the diet a tasty new makeover" (Hardgreave 2014) is even touted as a selling point. Similarly, it was stated that "The great thing is that it's no longer being seen as a cause but a lifestyle choice" (Conner 2014). In addition, the notion of "part-time" veganism is also introduced, for instance, in order to follow in the footsteps of Beyoncé and Jay Z (e.g. Betts 2014). Readers are also recommended the "Vegan before 6:00" diet (e.g. Betts 2014), which allows the consumption of meat and other animal-based products after 6 pm. Former US President Bill Clinton was also referred to as "vegan poster boy" (Warrington 2014) when, in reality, he admitted to eating fish or eggs once a week (Rentoul 2014). Therefore, veganism had turned into flexible veganism.

Thus, what this framing highlights is veganism as an apolitical diet aimed at obligation to oneself (Johnston 2008), without any links with obligation to commons or to the notion of a citizen-consumer. Veganism had, in other words, been co-opted and turned into a "depoliticized fashion style" (Thompson & Coskuner-Balli 2007). However, it is important to note that despite the trendiness of this particular strand of veganism, or more accurately plant-based diet, aspects of veganism still remained marginalised and stigmatised:

Vegans can be many things: rigorous, dogged, disciplined, obsessive-compulsive label scrutinisers, more than a little joyless and fundamentally hungry --- Po-

faced extremes of behaviour are fundamentally unsexy, whether in politics, religion, hair-shirtedness - or the combination of all three in veganism. (Betts 2014)

Thus, overall, the vegan movement had become divided into two in the media. The apolitical consumption trend lead by celebrities was separated from the stigmatised, political and moral lifestyle.

DISCUSSION

How this change has happened in practice is shown in the stage model of co-optation in Table 3. Similarly to Coy and Hedeen (2005), then, Stage 1 involves the formation of the countermovement (CM) to address social problems and to demand social change for the good of the commons. As noted above, veganism has a long history (see Davis 2012), but the inception of veganism as a movement can be argued to have taken place in 1944 when the term was first coined – even if the word did not become a household name immediately. However, in contrast with Coy and Hedeen's (2005) model, the vested interests (VI), here the media, are yet to exhibit signs of change as veganism is still marginalised and framed in negatives terms.

Table 3: Stage model of the co-optation of veganism

	Stage 1: Inception	**Stage 2: Celebritisation and frame bridging**	**Stage 3: Appropriation of language, transformation of program goals and marginalisation**
Step 1	CM forms to address social problems	Celebritisation of a parallel movement	Separation from parallel movement through new actors and new framing
Step 2	CM demands change	Frame bridging	VI appropriate language; dismisses values; changes goals and definitions
Step 3	VI marginalise CM	VI attracted to the extended/modified frame	Original CM movement becomes marginalised; new actors take over

Through the marginalisation of political veganism, the challenge by the countermovement to the ideology of speciesism (see also Cole & Morgan 2011)

and, arguably, to the ideology of neoliberalism is annulled. This is the dominant symbolic order (Hebdige 1979) which the counterculture of veganism and animal rights movement threatens. As noted earlier, speciesism is a form of prejudice against nonhuman animals, analogous to sexism and racism, which overlooks the similarities between the discriminator and those discriminated against (Ryder 1983). In practice, there would be many serious consequences for many industries if speciesism was overthrown. These industries would range from meat and dairy industries to fashion, to name but a few. On a more ideological level, it would also threaten another key tenet of neoliberalism: individuals' freedom to choose from free markets (Ayo 2012). Media is unlikely to propose such major upheavals which would destroy many industries as, for instance, Herman and Chomsky (1988) argue that media as an institution protects corporate interests and the status quo.

As has been shown above, the framing of veganism did, however, become more positive. Yet, instead of the animal right movement pushing their message through, like in Coy and Hedeen's (2005) model, the impetus for this change came from a related but a separate field and due to new actors: the environmental movement and celebrities. Therefore, Stage 2 is markedly different to Coy and Hedeen's (2005) model as it emphasizes the role of a new group of actors who enter the conversation. In our model, frame bridging and celebritisation are, therefore, included as its own separate stage. Thus, from the point of view of the mainstream media, the environmental movement developed separately. When the movement became celebritised, these two movements were then brought together through frame bridging (Snow et al. 1986).

Importantly, then, it would seem that celebrities were required for the media to become attracted to the new ideas as they raise the profile of the movement in the first place (see e.g. Boykoff et al. 2010, Meyer & Gamson 1995, Kerrigan et al. 2011). This is related to the journalistic norm of personalization which refers to the tendency to forego the bigger social, economic, or political picture in favor of the human interest story (Boykoff & Boykoff 2007) where the personality with the greatest charisma gains the greatest amount of attention. In practice, however, this also means that celebritisation dilutes down the message of the environmental movement. Celebrities thus bring incentives to commodify, individualise and depoliticise movements.

All in all, what this means is that celebritisation helps to protect from the threat to the neoliberal order (see Ayo 2012). As the emphasis is on commodified and individualised solutions in the form of various eco products, for instance, this supports the notion of "sustainable development", in other words, continuing to pursue economic growth whilst aiming for efficiency (Alexander & Ussher 2012). This is problematic because it is argued to be a flawed way of thinking as true sustainability would require more radical policies (e.g. Alexander & Ussher 2012, Kilbourne & Pickett 2008, Brown & Kasser 2005, see also Geels et al. 2015). Again, however, questioning the feasibility of sustainable development would

lead to several upheavals within the neoliberal order and the consumer culture which is, arguably, why it is still perpetuated by both governments and the media (see e.g. Alexander & Ussher 2012) through notions such as the citizen-consumer hybrid. Thus, we argue, again, that the citizen-consumer hybrid is promoted because media as an institution protects the right-wing elitist and corporate interests (Herman & Chomsky 1988) and that the celebrities are powerful allies in this project. Through the citizen-consumer hybrid it is then possible to pay lip service to the requirements of environmental issues whilst keeping the cogs of consumerism turning (see Johnston 2008 for a more detailed critique of the concept).

Once the threat to the neoliberal order is annulled, the emphasis moves to strengthening the status quo as the co-optation process is completed. Thus, in Stage 3, the original movement is separated further from the parallel movement and a divide between the old and new breed of vegans deepens. Instead of inclusion and participation, or the general animal rights movement becoming more accepted, the limelight is high-jacked by new actors who adopt, appropriate and help to diffuse new imagery. Similarly to Stage 2, these new actors are also celebrities but a different set of them, a set which uses the plant-based diet merely for aesthetic and health-related reasons. This highlights the difference between celebritisation, which has political motivations, and mere celebrity involvement.

Through celebrity involvement the imagery related to veganism then changes. The media thus accepts veganism but only to the extent that it can be seen as a diet which could be utilised to attain a healthy, slim and toned body. Following from this, similarly to Coy and Hedeen's (2005) model, the stage involves the transformation of programme goals and redefinition of terms. Through this final frame, veganism is turned into a vehicle through which obligation to oneself (Johnston 2008) can be achieved.

This obligation to self is a direct link to healthism which, Rose (1999) argues, links the public objectives for the good health and good order with the desire of individuals for health and well-being. Healthism assigns a key role to experts as it is experts who can tell us how to conduct and improve ourselves (Ayo 2012, see also Lewis 2008). These expert sources include, for instance, nutritionists and personal trainers as well as official expert guidelines such as the "Five a day" mantra promoted by the UK Department of Health regarding the amount of fruit and vegetables an individual should consume. However, we argue, similarly to Lewis (2007, 2010), that celebrities have also become such lifestyle experts particularly when it comes to issues of self-improvement, health, lifestyle and consumption. This makes them powerful vehicles also in the seduction to healthism which takes place through advertising and media (Rose 1999). Furthermore, healthism is also linked to the rise of neoliberalism (e.g. Ayo 2012) thus tying the two major ideologies together and showing how the co-opted veganism can help to strengthen both.

CONCLUSIONS

The aim of this paper was to explore the detailed process by which veganism has become co-opted in the UK. It builds on Coy and Hedeen's (2005) study where the authors develop a detailed stage model of co-optation. Similarly, we have developed a stage model where we explicate the co-optation process of veganism stage by stage, accounting for the individual steps therein. However, in contrast with Coy and Hedeen's (2005) model as well as the wider extant co-optation literature, our main contribution has been to detail the role of celebrities and the media as an institution in the process.

The model argues that veganism and the wider animal rights movement was first marginalised to protect the status quo from the threat posed against the ideology of speciesism. The portrayal of veganism did become more positive with time. However, instead of the animal rights movement pushing through its message, the change came from celebrities. First, celebrities, through celebritisation, are used to dilute the environmental arguments for veganism in order to protect the ideology of neoliberalism. Then, in their role as experts in health, lifestyle and consumption, celebrities are used to tie co-opted veganism to the wider ideology of healthism. In this way, the attention is driven away from the political and radical message of the animal rights movement. Simultaneously, the media, with the help of celebrities, protects the status quo from challenges presented by the countermovement.

This study then highlights the importance of understanding both the role of celebrities and the media in the co-optation process – a factor which has gained only cursory attention in extant literature. The theoretical contributions of this study include developing the understanding of co-optation by exploring the connections between the concepts of celebritisation and co-optation, and detailing the two different roles celebrities have in the co-optation process.

It is, however, important to note that the stage model proposed above does not aim to be representative of co-optation in all contexts. In particular, the aim is not to claim that co-optation always necessitates the celebritisation of a parallel movement and a frame alignment with said movement. However, it would indeed seem that celebrities were required for the media to become attracted to the new ideas as they raise the profile of the movement in the first place and, thus, their influence in the co-optation process should not be underestimated. Moreover, as a celebrity without a cause has become anomalous (Meyer & Gamson 1995), celebritisation is an issue for many countermovements. Furthermore, even when the celebrity motivations are not overtly political, celebrity involvement may be harnessed to help in the co-optation process. Thus, we argue that future studies should pay more detailed attention to the role of celebrities in the co-optation process as the same logic is likely to be generalisable to various contexts.

In addition, what the model does highlight is the need for a more dynamic understanding of co-optation. Co-optation does not happen in an instant, for

instance, at the whim of a group of marketers (cf. Frank 1997). Nor is co-optation merely a battle between two opposing forces – counter movement and vested interests. Instead, co-optation involves many different, competing and even internally contradictory forces with their own motives – which sometimes lead to unintended consequences. Therefore, this study aims to be a step in the direction of a more nuanced understanding of the co-optation process. Comparisons between the co-optation processes of various different social movements would thus be a fruitful avenue for future research.

REFERENCES

Alexander, S. & Ussher, S. (2012). The Voluntary Simplicity Movement: A Multi-national Survey Analysis in Theoretical Context. *Journal of Consumer Culture*, 12(1), 66–86.

Ayo, N. (2012). Understanding health promotion in a neoliberal climate and the making of health conscious citizens. *Critical Public Health*, 22(1), 99–105.

Bengtsson, A, Ostberg J & Kjeldgaard D. (2005). Prisoners in Paradise: Subcultural Resistance to the Marketization of Tattooing. *Consumption Markets & Culture*, 8(3), 261-274.

Binkley, S. (2003). Cosmic profit: Countercultural commerce and the problem of trust in American marketing. *Consumption Markets & Culture,* 6(4), 231-249.

Boykoff, M.T. & Boykoff, J.M. (2007). Climate change and journalistic norms: A case-study of US mass-media coverage. *Geoforum*, 38, 1190–1204.

Boykoff, M.T. & Goodman, M.K. (2009). Conspicuous redemption? Reflections on the promises and perils of the 'Celebritization' of climate change. *Geoforum*, 40(3), 395–406.

Boykoff, M.T. Goodman, M.K. & Littler, J. (2010). 'Charismatic megafauna': The growing power of celebrities and pop culture in climate change campaigns. *Environment, Politics and Development Working Paper Series*, number 28. London: King's College.

Boykoff, M.T. & Mansfield, M. (2008). 'Ye Olde Hot Aire'*: reporting on human contributions to climate change in the UK tabloid press. *Environmental research letters*, 3(2), 1–8.

Brown, K.W. & Kasser, T. (2005). Are psychological and ecological well-being compatible? The role of values, mindfulness, and lifestyle. *Social Indicators Research*, 74: 2, 349–368.

Castells, M. (2009). *Communication Power*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Cole M. & Morgan, K. (2011). Vegaphobia: derogatory discourses of veganism and the reproduction of speciesism in UK national newspapers. *The British Journal of Sociology*, 62(1), 134–153.

Coy, P.G. & Hedeen, T. (2005). A stage model of social movement co-optation: Community Mediation in the United States. *The Sociological Quarterly*, 46, 405–435.

Cronin, J.M., McCarthy, M.B. & Collins, A.M. (2014). Covert distinction: how hipsters practice food-based resistance strategies in the production of identity. *Consumption Markets & Culture*, 17(1), 2-28.

D'Angelo, P. (2002). News Framing as a Multiparadigmatic Research Program: A Response to Entman. *Journal of Communication*, 52(4), 870–888.

Davis, J. (2012). *World Veganism: Past, Present and Future*. Retrieved from: http://www.ivu.org/history/Vegan_History.pdf.

Driessens, O. (2013). The celebritization of society and culture: Understanding the structural dynamics of celebrity culture. *International Journal of Cultural Studies*, 16(6), 641–657.

Entman, R. M. (1993). Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm. *Journal of Communication*, 43(4), 51–58.

Featherstone, M. (1982). The body in consumer culture. *Theory, Culture and Society*, 1(2), 18–33.

Forbes (2014). *The World's Most Powerful Celebrities*. Retrieved from: http://www.forbes.com/celebrities/list/#tab:overall.

Frank, T. (1997). *The Conquest of Cool: Business Culture, Counterculture, and Hip Consumerism*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Fury, A. (2013, December 31). Why I Won't be Shopping in the UK's First Veganz Supermarket. *Independent*. Retrieved from: http://www.independent.co.uk/voices/comment/why-i-wont-be-shopping-in-the-uks-first-veganz-supermarket-9031947.html.

Geels, F.W., McMeekin, A., Mylan, J. & Southerton, D. (2015). A critical appraisal of Sustainable Consumption and Production research: The reformist, revolutionary and reconfiguration positions. *Global Environmental Change* 34: Sept, 1–12.

Goffman, E. (1974). *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience*. New York: Harper & Row.

Goodman, M.K. (2010). The mirror of consumption: Celebritization, developmental consumption and the shifting cultural politics of fair trade. *Geoforum*, 41(1), 104–116.

Greenebaum J. (2012). Veganism, Identity and the Quest for Authenticity. *Food, Culture & Society*, 15(1), 129–144.

Hackley, C., & Hackley, R. A. (2015). Marketing and the cultural production of celebrity in the era of media convergence. *Journal of Marketing Management*, 31(5-6), 461–478.

Heath, J. & Potter, A. (2004). *Nation of Rebels: Why Counterculture Became Consumer Culture*. New York: HarperBusiness.

Hebdige, D. (1979). *Subculture: The Meaning of Style*. Taylor & Francis.

Herman, E. S., & Chomsky N. (1988). *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media*. New York: Pantheon Books.

Hoffman, S & Tan, C. (2013). Following celebrities' medical advice: meta-narrative analysis. *The BMJ*, 347, 7151.

Hopkinson, G.C. & Cronin, J. (2015). 'When people take action ….' Mainstreaming malcontent and the role of the celebrity institutional entrepreneur. *Journal of Marketing Management*, 31(13-14), 1383–1402.

Jay Z (2013). 22 Days Challenge. *Life and Times*. Retrieved from: http://lifeandtimes.com/22-days-challenge.

Johnston, J. (2008). The citizen-consumer hybrid: ideological tensions and the case of Whole Foods Market. *Theory & Society*, 37(3), 229–270.

Kerrigan, F., Brownlie, D. Hewer, P., Daza-LeTouze C. (2011). 'Spinning' Warhol: Celebrity brand theoretics and the logic of the celebrity brand. *Journal of Marketing Management*, 27(13–14), 1504–1524.

Kilbourne, W. & Pickett, G. (2008). How Materialism Affects Environmental Beliefs, Concern, and Environmentally Responsible Behaviour. *Journal of Business Research*, 61(9), 885–893.

Kozinets, R.V. (2001). Utopian Enterprise: Articulating the Meanings of Star Trek's Culture of Consumption. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 28(June), 67–88.

Lewis, T. (2007). "He Needs to Face His Fears With These Five Queers!": Queer Eye for the Straight Guy, Makeover TV, and the Lifestyle Expert. *Television & New Media*, 8, 285–311.

Lewis, T. (2008). Transforming citizens: green politics and ethical consumption on lifestyle television. *Continuum*, 22(2), 227–240.

Lewis, T. (2010). Branding, celebritization and the lifestyle expert. *Cultural Studies*, 24(4), 580-598.

Lim, M. & Moufahim, M. (2015). The spectacularization of suffering: an analysis of the use of celebrities in 'Comic Relief' Uk's charity fundraising campaigns. *Journal of Marketing Management*, 31(5-6), 525–545.

Marcuse, H. (1969). Repressive Tolerance, in *A Critique of Pure Tolerance*, eds. Robert Paul Wolff, Barrington Moore, Jr., & Herbert Marcuse, Boston: Beacon Press, pp. 95–137.

Meyer, D.S. & Gamson, J. (1995). The Challenge of cultural elites: Celebrities and social movements. *Sociological Inquiry*, 65(2), 181–206.

Navarro, B. (2016). Creative industries and Britpop: the marketisation of culture, politics and national identity. *Consumption Markets & Culture*, 19(2), 228–243.

Newton, K. & Brynin, M. (2001). The National Press and Party Voting in the UK. *Political Studies*, 49, 265–285.

Onwuegbuzie, A. J. & Leech, N. L. (2007). Validity and qualitative research: An oxymoron? *Quality & Quantity: International Journal of Methodology*, 41, 233–249.

Pennebaker, J. W., Francis, M.E. & Booth, R.J. (2007). *Linguistic Inquiry and Word Count (Liwc): Liwc2007*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Preece, C. (2015). The authentic celebrity brand: unpacking Ai Weiwei's celebritised selves. *Journal of Marketing Management*, 31(5-6), 616–645.

Rami, T. (2014). Veganism in Seven Decades. *New York Magazine*, 12 January. Retrieved from: http://nymag.com/news/intelligencer/vegan-celebrities-2014-1/.

Reeves, R.A., Baker, G.A. & Truluck, C.S. (2012). Celebrity worship, materialism, compulsive buying, and the empty self. *Psychology and Marketing*, 29(9), 674–679.

Rose, N. (1999). *Powers of Freedom: Reframing Political Thought*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ryder, R. (1983). *Victims of Science: The Use of Animals in Research*. London: National Anti-Vivisection Society.

Sandikci, Ö & Ger, G. (2010). Veiling in Style: How Does a Stigmatized Practice Become Fashionable? *Journal of Consumer Research*, 37(June), 15–36.

Schiele, K. & Venkatesh, A. (2016). Regaining control through reclamation: how consumption subcultures preserve meaning and group identity after commodification. *Consumption Markets & Culture*, 19(5), 427–450.

Simonson, P. (2001). Social noise and segmented rhythms: News, entertainment, and celebrity in the crusade for animal rights. *The Communication Review*, 4, 399–420.

Smith, R.A. & Lux, D.S. (1993). Historical Method in Consumer Research: Developing Causal Explanations of Change. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 19(March), 595–610.

Snow, D.A., Rochford, E.B. Jr., Worden, S.K. & Benford, R.D. (1986). Frame Alignment Processes, Micromobilization, and Movement Participation. *American Sociological Review*, 51(4), 464–481

Seyfang, G. (2005). Shopping for sustainability: Can sustainable consumption promote ecological citizenship? *Environmental Politics*, 14(2), 290–306.

Soron, D. (2010). Sustainability, self-Identity and the sociology of consumption. *Sustainable Development*, 18(3), 172–181.

Tadajewski, M., Chelekis, J., DeBerry-Spence, B., Figueiredo, B., Kravets, O., Nuttavuthisit, K., Penaloza, L. & Moisander, J. (2014). The discourses of marketing and development: towards 'critical transformative marketing research'. *Journal of Marketing Management*, 30(17–18), 1728–1771.

Thompson, A., Stringfellow, L., Maclean, M., MacLaren, A. & O'Gorman, K. (2015). Puppets of necessity? Celebritisation in structured reality television. *Journal of Marketing Management*, 31(5-6), 478–501.

Thompson, C.J. & Coskuner-Balli, G (2007). Countervailing Market Responses to Corporate Co-optation and the Ideological Recruitment of Consumption Communities. *Journal of Consumer research*, 34(August), 135–152.

Tuchman, G. (1978). *Making News*. New York: Free Press.

Turner, G. (2010). Approaching celebrity studies. *Celebrity Studies*, 1(1), 11–20.

Vegan Society (2016). *Definition of veganism*. Retrieved from: http://www.vegansociety.com/try-vegan/definition-veganism.

Vliegenthart, R., & van Zoonen, L. (2011). Power to the Frame: Bringing Sociology Back to Frame Analysis. *European Journal of Communication*, 26(2), 101–115.

Zeisler, A. (2016). *We were feminists once: From Riot Grrrl to Covergirl®, the buying and selling of a political movement*. New York: PublicAffairs.

ARTICLES

Betts, H. (2014, March 15). Can a vegan ever be sexy? *Daily Telegraph*, p. 1.

Branigan, T. (2001, September 20). Health: The parents who cared too much: A baby girl died of malnutrition after her mother and father insisted on rearing her on a 'healthy' vegan, raw-food diet. *Guardian*, p. 2.14.

Conner, M. (2014, June 15). Observer Magazine: The winners: Sustainable Fashion Award: Beyond Skin. *Observer*, p. 25.

Daily Mail (2015, November 10). Backlash as vegan Ella puts meat on the menu. *Daily Mail*, p. 34.

Daily Telegraph (2003, March 12). Ramsay gets a dressing down over cream suit. *Daily Telegraph*, p 27.

De Lisle, T. (2000, February 72). Moby dives into the blue Rock 2000. *Mail on Sunday*, p. 72.

Fletcher, M. (2002, May 9). Accused vegan was 'a fanatic who cared only for animals'. *Times*, p. 3.

Furbank, K. (2002, June 7). Kevan Furbank Column: Vegan. *Daily Mirror*, p. 17.

Goldberg, S. (2006, June 5). Eco chic. *Daily Mail*, p. 35.

Griffiths, C. (2015, December 6). Kate does for Niko what she'd never do with Jamie... *Mail on Sunday*, p. 20.

Hardgrave, C. (2014, August 24). Not just a load of old tofu, *Sunday Times*. p. 23.

Hattenstone, S. (2000, December 30). The Guardian Profile GF Newman: Natural lawman: His groundbreaking TV dramas attacked police brutality, yet he believes that victims of crime, prejudice and ill-health did something to deserve it in previous lives. His work once prompted questions in parliament, but is the pioneering writer and producer going soft? *Guardian*, p. 6.

Joffe-Walt, B. (2006, May 4). People. *Guardian*, p. 14.

Jones, L. (2008, March 15). A green Budget? Just tax meat eaters and leave my BMW alone. *Daily Mail*.

Mail on Sunday (2013, December 29). Give your body the star treatment in 2014. *Mail on Sunday*, p. 68.

McMahon, B. (2015, October 31). What eating too much meat is really doing to your health. *Times*, p. 4.

Millard, R. (2006, August 27). Green is the new black, darlings. *Sunday Times*, p. 3.

Molloy, A. (2014, January 1). No meat, no dairy, no problem: is 2014 the year vegans become mainstream? *Independent*. p. 10.

Observer (2006, March 5). So how are we getting on at saving the planet? Could do better. *Observer*, p. 30.

Pemberton, M. (2014, January 27). Why no one needs a 'detox'. *Daily Telegraph*, p. 26.

Rentoul, J. (2014, January 4). Why whip up a frenzy when the facts speak for themselves? *Independent*, p. 41.

Smart, G. (2011, March 25). Times are tough for Big Brother no-mark Chantelle Houghton. *Sun*, p. 16.

Smith, A. (2000, October 2000). Life: Interview: Definitely: Moby: 'I was a rigid punk rock Marxist. Then I was a rigid vegan dance music Christian.' Today, he's loosened up and become one of the world's hottest pop stars. Andrew Smith finds out what makes Moby go. *Observer*, p. 12.

Murray, C.S. (2002, March 12). Tuesday Book: Life is just a ride. A very scary one. *Independent*, p. 5.

Sunne, H. (2014, January 29). Beyonce is shrinking to a size 2, says designer. *Daily Mail*, p. 24.

Tendler, S. (2001, April 5). Tiny secret army where prison is badge of commitment. *Times*, p. 3.

Walker, H. (2014, January 4). Comment: The revenge of the vegans: Suddenly, it's cool to eat only bananas. Do we need to reassess our ideas about weirdness? *Guardian*, p. 31.

Warrington, R. (2014, October 12). The good gut guide. *Sunday Times*, p. 70.

The Beyoncé Diet: Media meta-capital and celebrity in changing taste regimes[7]

Outi Lundahl

University of Vaasa, Finland

Maastricht University, the Netherlands

Abstract:

The aim of this conceptual paper is to explore how celebrities, via the media, contribute to a change in taste regimes. The paper thus develops a theoretical framework for the role media meta-capital (Couldry 2003) and celebrity influence in the rise of veganism. It is through media meta-capital that media has the power to define what constitutes different forms of capital within a field and it explains how media messages are spread across various fields, thus providing a more nuanced account of celebrity influence in societal change compared to traditional models of paid celebrity endorsement. The process is then illustrated through the case of veganism and the so-called Beyoncé Diet.

Keywords: celebrities, media meta-capital, Bourdieu, veganism, taste regime, celebrity endorsement

Acknowledgements: I would like to thank Professor Dannie Kjeldgaard, as well as Dr Henna Syrjälä, and Tanja Herranen for valuable feedback during the preparation of this manuscript.

---

[7] Under referee process at the *Journal of Marketing Management*.

INTRODUCTION

Veganism is defined as "a way of living which seeks to exclude…all forms of exploitation of, and cruelty to, animals for food, clothing or any other purpose" (Vegan Society, 2016). Thus, as a political and moral ethos, it encompasses all walks of life where animals might be exploited and, according to extant literature, the key motivations for vegans include animal rights, healthiness and environmental preservation (Greenebaum, 2012). For a long time, however, veganism remained marginalised to the extent that the media portrayal of veganism could be seen to amount to "vegaphobia" (Cole & Morgan, 2011).

Recently, however, a considerable change has taken place. This change can at least partly be attributed to celebrities and to Beyoncé in particular. The reason for this is that at the end of the year 2013, pop princess Beyoncé along with her husband, rapper and producer Jay Z decided to go vegan for 22 days, and the internet and the lifestyle media went wild. The year 2014, for instance, was claimed to become the "year of the vegan" due to this stunt (Rami, 2014), which is now commonly known as the "Beyoncé Diet" or the "22-day diet". The media attention was also transformed into real life interest by the public. The number of individuals opting for a plant-based diet in the UK rose from 150,000 to 542,000 in 2016 which makes this a 350% increase (Marsh, 2016). There was also a clear rise in the number of part-time vegans, trying out the diet for a limited time, which the media as well as the Vegan Society attributed to a great extent to Beyoncé (e.g. Barford, 2014, Vegan Society, 2014). Reporting for the British tabloid the *Daily Mail* on the rise of part-time vegans, Innes (2014), for instance, writes that "The diet gained popularity after singer Beyoncé and rapper Jay-Z went vegan for 22 days at the end of 2013".

How should one understand this change theoretically? Furthermore, what is the role of media in promoting these new meanings of veganism through Beyoncé? As for the former, one possibility would be to refer to the meaning transfer model of celebrity endorsement proposed by McCracken (1989). Focusing on paid celebrity endorsement, McCracken (1989) argues that the meanings attached to the celebrities are formed in the roles they become known for. This meaning is then transferred onto the product through endorsement, and finally onto the consumer through the consumption of the product.

However, there are several problems with utilizing McCracken's (1989) model here. Firstly, celebrity culture is all around, and it is questionable whether the model, developed for the context of paid advertising, is applicable to the myriad of ways in which celebrities endorse brands, consumption styles and causes. More importantly, McCracken's (1989) model (see also McCracken, 1986) arises

from object signification approach (Holt, 1997b), which does not allow for the possibility that consumers may vary in terms of how they understand and use consumption objects. Therefore, it implies that there is a one-to-one correspondence between consumption objects and social meanings. Moreover, it neglects the structural forces which guide consumers (for critique see Holt, 1997b). Following Askegaard and Linnet (2011), I argue this to be a serious flaw.

Thus, it is proposed here that Bourdieusian theory is more apt at explaining societal changes in consumption behaviour. In particular, the conceptual paper suggests an alternative framework for explaining celebrity influence on the macro level and outside the advertising context. In contrast with extant literature (cf. Cocker et al. 2015), it also accounts for the active role of media in the process by suggesting Couldry's (2003) notion of media meta-capital as the missing link between celebrities and the consumers. It is through media meta-capital that media has the power to define what constitutes different forms of capital within a field and it explains how media messages are spread across various fields. By accounting for the role of different fields and taste regimes within a society, it also provides a more nuanced account of celebrity influence compared to the so-called trickle-down explanations (cf. Hackley & Hackley, 2015) which imply that consumers merely imitate those higher in status. The process is then illustrated through the case of veganism and the so-called Beyoncé Diet. In this way, the aim is to move marketing thought on celebrity further beyond improving the effectiveness of celebrity endorsement (Kerrigan et al., 2011; Keel & Nataraajan, 2012), the tradition of which will be outlined briefly next.

PRIOR CONCEPTUALISATIONS OF CELEBRITY INFLUENCE

Considerable research effort has been devoted to celebrity influence within the literature on advertising effectiveness (see Erdogan [1999] for a review). As noted in the introduction, one of the most influential models is McCracken's (1989) meaning transfer model of celebrity endorsement which is based on the idea that celebrities have a shared cultural significance in the eyes of consumers. The meanings attached to the celebrities are formed in the roles they become known for, for instance, through typecasting. These meanings include distinctions of status, class, gender and age as well as personality and lifestyle types. This meaning is then transferred onto the product when the celebrity endorses it in an advertisement. Celebrities therefore add a layer of symbolic meanings to the brands. In the final stage, as the consumer consumes the product, the meaning then moves from the product onto the consumer's own construction of the self.

McCracken (1989) thus proposed that the effectiveness of a celebrity is determined by the cultural meanings with which they are endowed.

Another strand of research focuses on the identification with the celebrity, which Basil (1996) also argues to be linked with McCracken's (1989) model in that the greater the identification, the more likely the viewer will see important attributes in the celebrity. This identification can happen both in personal as well as mediated relationships, also known as parasocial relationships (Horton & Wohl, 1956). Thus, individuals, who are exposed to a media personality over time, are believed to develop a sense of intimacy and identification with that celebrity. This is because the audiences think or feel as if they know the media personalities to which they are exposed, even if this exposure is merely via the media (Rubin & McHugh, 1987). Strong levels of identification are the result of an ongoing relationship with that celebrity, and high levels of identification, in turn, are expected to be more likely to result in the adoption of thoughts, feelings, and behaviors advocated by that celebrity (Basil, 1996). Conversely, low levels of identification make the adoption of those thoughts, feelings or behaviors less likely (Basil, 1996).

Tudor (1974: 80) also constructs a typology of audience/star relationship where identification with the celebrity is a key. He argues that the relationships which have consequences for the audience outside the "watching-the movie situation" (Tudor 1974: 80), for the wide range of aspects of the fan's life, are imitation and projection. Imitation means that the fan takes the star as some sort of a model for themselves as they aim to imitate the physical and behavioural characteristics such as "clothing, hairstyle, kissing, and the like" (Tudor, 1974: 80–81). Conversely, projection is the more extreme version of imitation. Here, the star-conception, Tudor (1974) argues, is a product of both the projected image of the star and whatever characteristics the individual projects into their own conception. The star therefore becomes a receptacle for the projected desires, frustrations and pleasures of the fan (see also Cushman's [1990] notion of the empty self). He then goes on to argue that both imitation and projection are more common primarily among the young as it is during adolescence that audiences are more likely to reach to the stars as a way of forming a sense of identity and a social reality.

However, there are problems with applying both of these strands of research into the current context. Firstly, it is questionable whether models developed for the context of advertising effectiveness are enough to capture the myriad of ways in which celebrities directly and indirectly endorse products, brands, consumption practices and causes. In fact, attempting to broaden the horizons of advertising

effectiveness literature, Davies and Slater (2015) also ponder about the impact of unpaid celebrity messages. However, even though they include celebrity news in their analysis, in their model the positive news coverage of the sports stars is used as moderator for the effectiveness of the paid endorsement campaign. In other words, they investigate whether the successes of the stars in their sporting careers will make the endorsement ads also more effective. Conversely, in this study, I am interested in how news of celebrity (consumption) choices, without any paid advertising campaigns, impact the consumer behavior of their audiences.

Secondly, focusing on identification with the celebrity, particularly in Tudor's (1974) typology, seems to divert attention to fandom and to the micro level. However, celebrities are a stable part of the consumption culture (see e.g. Rojek, 2001; Turner, 2010; Couldry, 2015), and their influence also extends beyond those individuals who identify themselves as fans or identify themselves with the celebrity in a meaningful way.

Thirdly, as Holt (1997b) argues, a further problem with object signification models such as the one proposed by McCracken (1989) is that it does not allow for the possibility that consumers may vary in terms of how they understand and use consumption objects. Therefore, it implies a one-to-one correspondence between consumption objects and social meanings. Recognising this problem with McCracken's (1989) conceptualization, Banister and Cocker (2014) in fact then extend the original meaning transfer model by trying to understand consumers as co-creators of meaning. However, this kind of an approach again focuses the attention on the micro level and ignores the structures which guide consumers (for critique see Holt, 1997b). Similarly to Askegaard and Linnet (2011), I argue this to be a serious flaw.

Departing from this tradition, in this paper, I suggest a Bourdieusian framework. In fact, Bourdieusian analysis has already been harnessed in an attempted to explain celebrity emulation, though mainly in passing. Hackley and Hackley (2015), for instance, argue that celebrities shape and control mass consumer tastes as, in the media, celebrities are portrayed as experts in consumption and, hence, act as sources of cultural capital for consumers who are able to mimic their consumption styles.

This interpretation is reminiscent of a Veblenian "trickle down" models of status consumption (see also Trigg, 2001; Üstüner & Holt, 2010). Veblen (1899/1970) famously theorised about conspicuous consumption and showed how the wealthy use expensive goods and services as pecuniary symbols. Simmel (1904/1957) further argued that the desire for these status symbols then trickles down the

class hierarchy as each class seeks to emulate the class above. Similarly, for Lowenthal (1961) stars have become "idols of consumption", models of consumption for everyone in a consumer society.

However, there are many problems with such simplistic explanations. Firstly, these kinds of accounts seem to imply that all audiences are equally susceptible to celebrity emulation. In practice, for instance, Üstüner and Holt (2010) argue that, at least in the context of less industrialised countries, it is the consumers of low cultural capital who are more susceptible to celebrity emulation. Conversely, Tudor (1974) argues that it is particularly the young who practice celebrity imitation. Therefore, a more nuanced account of this process seems necessary. More importantly, as Holt (1997a) argues, to reduce Bourdieu's writings to a simple Veblenian emulation is to misunderstand his theory.

Similarly, Cocker et al. (2015) investigate how celebrity myths are produced and consumed. By focusing on the celebrity identity myths of Cheryl Cole and Katie Price, they draw attention to the role of social class in celebrity myths. However, while they refer to Bourdieu's (1984) work, their understanding of what drives consumers and the role of structures is more conscious and active than what Bourdieu's theory suggests (see Askegaard & Linnet, 2011). Instead, they place more emphasis on active working of the identity, and class, by the consumers through the celebrity myths. In this way, they grant the consumers a great deal of agency and, again, draw attention to the micro level.

In addition, in the extant literature, the role of media as an intermediary is to a large extent forgotten. This seems to be a big omission given that celebrities are to a large extent created by the media and it mediates the messages from celebrities to the public (e.g. Boorstin, 1961: 61; Fraser & Brown, 2002; Kerrigan et al., 2011). For instance, even though Cocker et al. (2015) acknowledge that media has an important role of circulating the meanings related to a celebrity, they focus more on how the celebrity responds to the media portrayal and how the celebrity actively creates his or her identity in and through the media. Thus, their study draws attention to the celebrity identity or brand creation, and places less emphasis on how exactly the meanings circulate in different news outlets and, thus, across different classes.

The framework developed in this conceptual paper then departs from these streams of literature in several ways. Firstly, the poststructuralist approach allows for the same consumption object or practice to take on different meanings for different people but also that these meanings are directed, though not dictated, by structures. In other words, consumption patterns are expressed through regularities in consumption practices rather than in consumer objects.

This allows veganism to be practiced in different ways by different groups of people or, to be more exact, within different taste regimes. These taste regimes, as defined by Arsel and Bean (2013), are discursively constructed normative systems which are perpetuated by marketplace institutions such as magazines and websites. Secondly, in contrast with extant literature, media is also at the core of this article. Thus, this paper explores how celebrities, via the media, contribute to a change in taste regimes.

Therefore, it is now necessary to delve deeper into Bourdieu's theories. I will start by outlining the key concepts of Bourdieu's theory of cultural capital and taste. I will then outline how Bourdieu's (1984) theory of cultural capital has been utilised in attempts to capture the changes in consumption patterns, and explain the problems therein. After this, I will proceed to build an alternative framework based on Bourdieu's more nuanced field theory and the concept of media meta-capital.

BOURDIEU'S THEORY OF CULTURAL CAPITAL AND TASTE

A key concept for Bourdieu (1984) is capital, which according to him consists of endowments which are accumulated through upbringing and over the course of one's lifetime, and which create and uphold inequalities in the social structure. Bourdieu divides this capital into four main categories: economic capital (financial resources), social capital (social networks), symbolic capital (legitimate recognition by other agents in a social field), and, finally, cultural capital (Driessens, 2013; Shilling, 1991). Cultural capital can be thought of as a stock of dispositions, skills, sensibilities and embodied knowledge which is fostered systematically through upbringing (Holt, 1997a). In the context of food consumption, the concept of embodied knowledge and the body is of course an important one to highlight, and for Bourdieu, the body is also a form of capital. Sometimes it is specifically referred to as "physical capital" (Bourdieu, 1978: 832) and at other times subsumed under the more general rubric of cultural capital (Williams, 1995). In this paper, while I refer to physical capital to highlight the role of the body as a type of capital, it is treated as an aspect of cultural capital. In addition, taste is intrinsically linked to the concept of cultural capital. According to Bourdieu (1984), taste is a mechanism through which individuals judge, classify and relate to consumption objects. Taste is then a set of preferences that hinges on cultural capital (Arsel & Bean, 2013).

Bourdieu's original theory was based on observations in France in the 1960s, and particularly American scholars have argued that his theories are not

generalizable to the US context (Holt, 1997a). Holt (1997a), however, sets out to recover Bourdieu's theory from its critics, and in a subsequent article (Holt, 1998) then investigates the applicability of Bourdieu's theory for the US context in the 1990s. He argues that there are six dimensions of taste that distinguish individuals of high cultural capital (HCC) from those of low cultural capital (LCC). These are material versus formal aesthetics, referential versus critical interpretations, materialism versus idealism, local versus cosmopolitan tastes, communal versus individualist forms of consumer subjectivity, and finally autotelic versus self-actualising leisure.

Following in Holt's (1998) footsteps, Carfagna et al. (2014) were then interested in analyzing how HCC dispositions had changed in the 15 years since Holt's research was conducted. They identified differences particularly relating to three binaries: material/ideal, materialism/idealism and cosmopolitan/local. What they find is that, on the face of it, the tastes of the HCC consumers have become more like those of the LCC consumers.

However, Carfagna et al. (2014) are not arguing that the HCC respondents have merely adopted the dispositions or practices of those with lower cultural capital. Instead, the dispositions of the LCC groups are being incorporated into the dispositions of the HCC groups through a new articulation. Regarding the cosmopolitan/local binary, for instance, Holt (1988) finds that his HCC informants have lived in a variety of places, have a national and international orientation, read national newspapers, and travel frequently, whereas the reference points of the LCC informants are limited to the local area. By contrast, the HCC consumers in Carfagna et al.'s (2014) study express a strong affinity to the local. They prefer local food, local businesses, and local economies. However, Carfagna et al. (2014) find that the HCC local is to a large extent an imagined or constructed one and only incorporates certain aspects of the actually existing local. This HCC localism references a cosmopolitan and often upscale local, selectively rejecting and accepting aspects of the parochial local. Therefore, they find that the valorization of the local is as a cosmopolitan local. They then use these new reconfigurations to explain why HCC consumers seem now to be attracted to the idea of ethical consumption.

Taken together, these studies show that consumption patterns do change over time. Crucially, however, Carfagna et al. (2014), for instance, fail to explain how and why this rearticulation and valorization has taken place. This is not only a problem for Carfagna et al. (2014). Elliott (2013) also establishes a link between an emerging taste for green products and HCC consumers. However, while she notes that these symbolic meanings are historically emergent and that it takes

time for the meanings to emerge and settle, she does not delve deeper into how these meanings emerge.

In addition, in focusing on a dichotomy of consumers with high or low cultural capital, the studies seem to classify consumers as either "have's or have-not's". In doing so, particularly Carfagna et al. (2014) and Elliott (2013) seem to ignore a major part of Bourdieu's later writing, in which he, for instance, highlights the concept of the field. While social stratification based on capital was important to Bourdieu's earlier writings, the concept of the field became more important in his later work (Grenfell, 2014). There is therefore need for a more dynamic account to explain the changes in consumption patterns.

Although a partial explanation, I also argue that celebrities and the media have had a major impact on how these new meanings regarding veganism emerged. In order to explain how this has happened, it is necessary to dig even deeper into Bourdieu's writings in the following section through the concepts of the field and taste regimes. The concept of media meta-capital is then proposed as the missing link between celebrities and consumers, to explain how these meanings are distributed across the society, across different fields and taste regimes. Finally, the case of the "Beyoncé Diet" is explored to illustrate the process.

FIELD THEORY AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF CELEBRITY INFLUENCE

The concept of field became increasingly important to Bourdieu in his later work as a response to criticism that his theorizations explain how social structures are reproduced but seemed unable to explain change (Grenfell, 2014). In later work, he thus argues that "a capital does not exist and function except in relation to a field" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992: 101). Hence, a study relating a phenomenon to cultural capital, for instance, should also account for the field.

A field is a historical social arena in which agents compete for position and for various types of capital. In order to be successful at a field, one must have a sense for the "game" in this particular field (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). The concept of field then highlights the different resources required to be successful in a particular section of the society (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992).

However, as Bourdieu (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992) himself argues, the limits of the field are difficult to determine. For Holt (1997b, 1998), for instances, the society consists of fields such as the field of consumption, the field of academics,

the field of politics and the field of religion. Conversely, Arsel and Thompson (2011) note that this conceptualization stands at odds with an expanding number of studies which argue that consumer culture is constituted by consumption-oriented subcultures. Therefore, they conceptualize the field of consumption as consisting of subfields with their own distinctive value systems, normative discourses, modes of practice, and status systems. This is also the view on the field taken in this paper. Thus, the fields and the corresponding taste regimes should be thought of as subfields within the larger field of consumption. This also means that cultural capital needs to be understood in a more contextualised fashion. Thus, while a generalised Bourdieusian capital determines one's status in the broader societal hierarchy, field-dependent capital is at play within specific fields of consumption (Arsel & Thompson, 2011).

Furthermore, if capital is field-specific, and if taste hinges on cultural capital, this means that taste is field-specific as well. It is, in fact, in taste communities or taste regimes that consumers learn to calibrate their tastes to a field, community, or group with which they identify (McQuarrie et al., 2013). Thus, taste regimes, as defined by Arsel and Bean (2013), are discursively constructed normative systems which are perpetuated by marketplace institutions such as magazines and websites. While Arsel and Bean's (2013) analysis highlights how media have practical implications for the practices of the consumers within a particular taste regime, what the concept of media meta-capital emphasises is how media power extends across different fields and, hence, can lead to societal level change. This is the basis of the alternative framework for celebrity influence in the society.

For Couldry (2003), media meta-capital then is media power in the society. Couldry (2003) derives his concept of media meta-capital from Bourdieu's theorization on the state (see Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). Here, the state is an external force to other fields but it has the power to set the rules that govern different social fields. The state influences the "exchange rate" between the different forms of capital in individual fields and defines what counts as capital in each particular field. By analogy, Couldry (2003) suggests that media power should also be understood as a form of meta-capital through which media exercise power over other forms of power.

Thus, according to Couldry (2003), media influences social fields and social space as a whole by, firstly, providing discursive regimes that frame social issues, influence agendas, and legitimate representations of the social world. As noted above, this notion is similar to Arsel and Bean's (2013) who argue that a taste regime is a discursively constructed normative system, which is perpetuated by marketplace institutions such as magazines and websites, and in which

consumers learn to calibrate their tastes (McQuarrie et al., 2013). But, as Couldry (2003) argues, the power of media meta-capital is that it extends beyond different fields. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that media has an effect on a wide cross-section of society rather than just one particular taste regime. In Couldry's (2003) theorization, media's meta-capital affects social space through the general circulation of media representations as all actors in specific fields are likely also to be actors in general social space and consumers of media messages.

Secondly, Couldry (2003) argues that media can influence "what counts as symbolic capital in particular fields through its increasing monopoly over the sites of social prestige" (Couldry 2003: 668), as well as the exchange rate between forms of capital. Media thus also has the power to frame these new "rules of the game" or the field to the public, and it has the power to construct celebrities by granting them symbolic capital and to frame them as consumption experts (Hackley & Hackley, 2015). Finally, media has the power to promote meanings relating to a taste by highlighting a connection to a celebrity. This overall process is outlined in Figure 1 and it will be illustrated next through the case of the so-called Beyoncé Diet and through the rise of veganism.

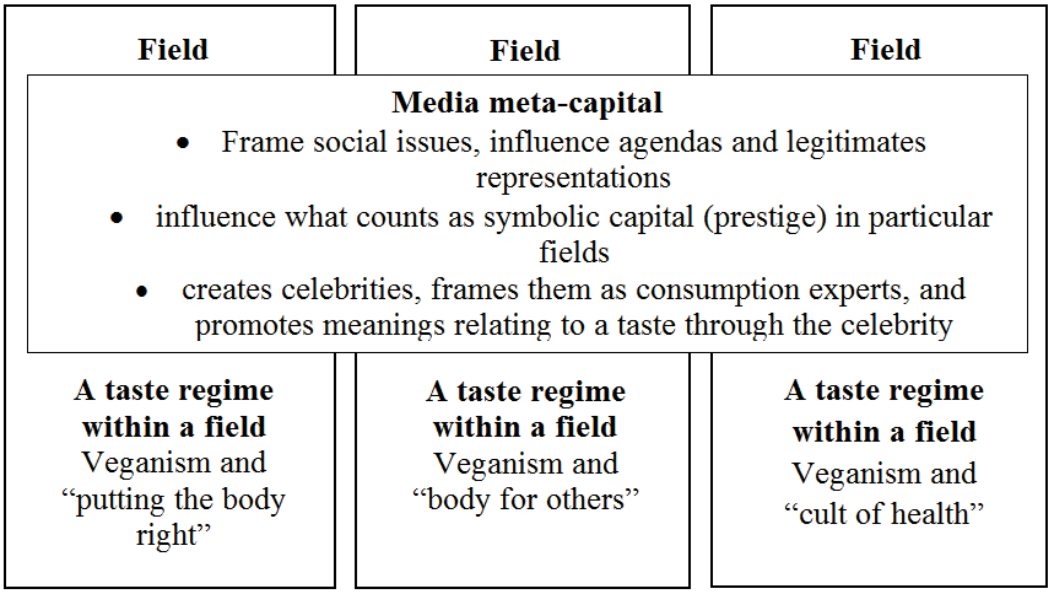

Figure 1: Theoretical framework for the role of media meta-capital and celebrity influence in the rise of veganism

THE BEYONCÉ DIET

Creation of a celebrity and celebrity as a consumption expert

Beyoncé's career started as the lead singer of Destiny's Child, which according to Nielsen Soundscan is the second most successful girl group of all time worldwide (Farber, 2013). In her subsequent solo career, Beyoncé had already proceeded to sell another 100 million records (Chicago Tribune, 2013) before the release of her latest album, Lemonade, making her one of the most successful artists of all time. In addition, she has won 20 Grammys (Grammy, 2016), awards voted for by industry experts in the field. These accolades within her industry grant Beyoncé a great deal of symbolic capital. However, status within the industry does not necessarily mean celebrity status, even in an industry such as entertainment.

Instead, Beyoncé's celebrity status is created by the media. Boorstin (1961: 57), for instance, defines a celebrity by their "well-knownness", which arises from media exposure. Similarly, Driessens (2013) relies on Bourdieu when he argues that a celebrity can be defined as someone who possesses so-called celebrity capital, by which he means recognisability resulting from media visibility (cf. Thompson et al., 2015; Lindridge & Eagar, 2015; Cocker et al., 2015). Moreover, Driessens (2013) argues that what makes celebrity capital so distinctive is that it tends to work across social fields. This celebrity capital, which Beyoncé possesses and which has been created by the media, does indeed function across different fields outside the world of pop music. In fact, Beyoncé has regularly been named one of the most influential celebrities in the world. In 2014, Forbes, for instance, ranked her as the most powerful celebrity in the world with Jay Z following in 6th place (Forbes, 2014; see also Petridis et al., 2016). Indeed, Beyoncé has been active and powerful in many different fields, from starring in Hollywood films such as Dreamgirls to launching her own clothing lines Ivy Park (see www.ivypark.com), thus leveraging her celebrity capital.

As for the framing of celebrities as consumption experts, Hackley and Hackley (2015) note that stories of the star at home and at leisure have been a stable part of lifestyle media content for decades and that it is through their assumed wealth and privilege that stars are portrayed as experts in consumption. In practical terms, this kind of framing takes place, for instance, by often ranking Beyoncé among the "most beautiful" or "sexiest" women in the world (e.g. by the *People* magazine, People, 2012). The implication here is that by following in Beyoncé's footsteps in her consumption and lifestyle choices, one can enhance their own sexual allure and status.

In fact, Beyoncé's brand (see also Cashmore, 2010; Trier-Bieniek, 2016; cf. Stevens et al., 2015) is very much focused on her bodily aesthetics. She is known for elaborate dance choreographies (Petridis et al., 2016) which highlights the body. Her body and aesthetics are also emphasised by her own sports wear clothing line, Ivy Park, which underlines the connection to physical aesthetics not only by using exercise to hone the body but also looking good through

vestimentary means during this process. Overall, this brings attention to Beyoncé's physical capital (Bourdieu, 1978: 832), an aspect of cultural capital (Williams, 1995).

The production of physical capital then refers to the social formation of bodies by individuals through sporting, leisure and other activities, such as nutrition (see Guthman, 2003), in ways which express one's taste and which are accorded symbolic value (Shilling, 1991). This physical capital is then converted into further economic, cultural, and social capital (Bourdieu, 1978, 1984) and, overall, into increased status (see Shilling, 1991). The coverage of the so-called Beyoncé Diet also highlighted the importance of physical capital. Thus, by highlighting the link between Beyoncé's physical capital and veganism, the media promotes meanings relating to a taste through the celebrity as will be explored next.

Promoting meanings through the celebrity

Whilst Beyoncé had tried the vegan diet previously in an effort to shed the pregnancy weight after giving birth to her first child (see e.g. Warrington, 2013), it was in December 2013 when the diet attracted the most attention. It was then when Beyoncé and Jay Z decided to go vegan for 22 days. The official announcement, which was regularly quoted by the media, came from Jay Z (2013) who in a blog post wrote:

> *Psychologists have said it takes 21 days to make or break a habit. On the 22nd day, you've found the way.*
>
> *On December 3rd, one day before my 44th birthday I will embark on a 22 Days challenge to go completely vegan, or as I prefer to call it, plant-based!!...*
>
> *Why now? There's something spiritual to me about it being my 44th birthday and the serendipity behind the number of days in this challenge; 22 (2+2=4) coupled with the fact that the challenge ends on Christmas day...It just feels right!*
>
> *So you can call it a spiritual and physical cleanse. ... I don't know what happens after Christmas. A semi-vegan, a full plant-based diet? Or just a spiritual and physical challenge? We'll see...*
>
> *Best of luck and health!*
>
> *P.S. B [Beyoncé] is also joining me.*
>
> *I will let my friend Marco explain the benefits of a plant based diet here. [link to http://www.22daysnutrition.com/]*

The post in itself gives a great deal of information about the couple's stint as so-called vegans. Firstly, the attention is drawn to the "spiritual and physical cleanse" aspects of the diet, particularly with the spiritual importance Jay Z places on the numerology. Secondly, the attention is drawn to the importance of the health aspects of the diet. Nothing is mentioned of the environmental benefits or the animal rights aspects of "going vegan". This is also supported by the link provided as the friend, Marco Borges, as an exercise physiologist, focuses exclusively on the health aspects of the diet. Finally, "going vegan" as an all-encompassing, moral choice, would necessitate an overhaul of an entire lifestyle as the definition of veganism is "a way of living which seeks to exclude…all forms of exploitation of, and cruelty to, animals for food, clothing or any other purpose" (Vegan Society, 2016). Instead, Jay Z highlights the wording "plant-based diet" thereby narrowing the scope of their stint to refraining from meat consumption and from other animal-based foods. The 22-day vegan diet was later termed the Beyoncé Diet, and the media highlighted the slimmed down and toned bodies of the pair thus further emphasizing the connection between the diet, on the one hand, and health and weight-loss, on the other.

Out of the wider media coverage emerges three new meanings for veganism which are related to physical capital in particular and which are promoted through Beyoncé and her embodied capital. These are veganism as a short-term fix for restoring the body to its "normal state"; as a tool to gain a body to be admired by others; and, finally, as an ally in a quest for health. These themes arise from the media coverage and show how the new meanings of veganism can appeal to a wide range of audiences, as part of different, existing taste regimes (cf. Cocker et al., 2015; Banister & Cocker, 2015). Nevertheless, it is possible to see parallels here with Bourdieu original theorisations despite the fact that, as in most of his earlier theorisations, Bourdieu focuses particularly on the importance of the body for different classes.

Thus, Bourdieu (1984) notes that different classes approach the body in different ways so that working classes develop an instrumental orientation to the body. The body is a means to an end. This is evident in relation to illness and sporting choices. For instance, for the working classes, "putting the body right" is primarily a means to returning to work or getting ready for holiday. The Beyoncé Diet exemplifies this as a temporary fix as shown by the following media quotes. The diet is, for instance, used to get the body back into the shape it was before the pregnancy, back to its normal state:

> *Beyonce, pictured with husband Jay-Z, claims eating one vegan meal a day helped lose the four stone she gained while pregnant with daughter Blue Ivy. (Warrington 2013)*

Focusing on the celebrations at the end of the temporary diet also highlight the short term nature of it. This same sentiment is shown in the many articles which promote veganism as a short-term fix after the overindulgence of the Christmas period:

> *As New Year dietary fads go, giving up meat, dairy and fish altogether might seem extreme for the average person looking to shed a few pounds. Yet there are growing signs that 2014 could be the year [of] veganism… And as for [Beyoncé's] dabble in vegan eating alongside her husband Jay Z, it appears to be at an end… [The] couple's experiment now appears to have come to a rather public conclusion, as they were photographed eating seafood at a restaurant over the weekend - reportedly ordering pappardelle, lobster risotto and seafood casserole. (Molloy, 2014)*

This quote shows the attitude that after the diet has "put the body right", it is possible to indulge again and return to the normal routine. Similarly, another quote underlines the attitude that veganism is still not seen as enjoyable. Instead, words like "penance" conjure up images of cruel punishment but a punishment which is deemed as necessary to counteract hedonism (see also calculated hedonism in Featherstone, 1982):

> *The idea is that by going animal-free for a month, you "cleanse" your body. This is just a new version of the old detox myth. People love the idea that the sins of yesterday can somehow be purged - detoxified - by some temporary change in lifestyle. Once you've done your penance, you're free to go off and sin again come February 1. (Pemberton, 2014)*

Conversely, Bourdieu argues that the tastes of the dominant classes develop in spaces marked by a greater "distance from necessity" (Bourdieu, 1984) and tend to treat the body as an end in itself. This can be directed to the body either on the inside or the outside, either to a "cult of health", or "the 'physique', i.e. the body for others" (Bourdieu, 1978: 838; 1984: 212-213). Both of these meanings are found in the media coverage of the Beyoncé Diet.

Firstly, the preoccupation on Beyoncé's physique highlights the diet as a way to hone the body for others. In particular, the emphasis was on how much weight Beyoncé had lost during the stint. This aspect is highlighted, for instance, by the following quotes, which in clear terms focus on the increased physical capital which derives from the diet:

> *Her Grammys performance with husband Jay Z wasn't the only reason that fans' jaws dropped on Sunday night. In fact, when Beyonce walked the red carpet, the main focus was on just how much weight she has lost.*

> *And now [the designer], has revealed that the formerly bootylicious singer is now a size 2… "She looks amazing…" Beyonce is said to have lost an incredible 70lbs over the past six months after embarking on a vegetarian diet before making the decision to try out the now famous 22 -day vegan diet. (Sunne 2014)*

Thus, Beyoncé's figure, which had already been admired by the media, became the central focus, for instance, of her appearance at the Grammys. In fact, her

bodily aesthetics stole the show, so to speak, from her role as a singer thus again emphasizing the importance that is placed on physical appearance. Similar attitude is also expressed in the following quote from Croft et al. (2014) which underlines Beyoncé's body as an object of voyeurism:

> *In January, Beyonce encountered a universal wardrobe puzzler: outfit-wise, how slutty is too slutty, when you've just finished 22 days of vegan living and your ass has never looked better? Her answer? Pretty damn slutty (three cheers for that).*

Secondly, the emphasis on health and the spiritual aspects of the original post also highlight the link to the "cult of health". This theme was also picked up by many journalists. Carr (2013), for instance, writes of the pair in an admiring tone:

> *Fair play to Jay-Z and Beyonce for harnessing the power of hip-hop and their global celebrity in service of a wholesome diet rather than the vast panoply of mood enhancing drugs, booze and ecstasy that form the staple of their musical genre. The couple have embarked on a 22-day diet of vegan food, with Jay-Z blogging on his progress day by day. 'It just feels right,' he said in an early posting. 'You can call it a spiritual and physical cleanse.' (Carr, 2013)*

Here, Beyoncé and Jay Z are framed as a wholesome, level-headed couple who, despite the pressures of their industry, manage to dedicate themselves to looking after their minds and their bodies. Others, however, took a more sarcastic tone in their writing when commenting on the spiritual and health aspects of the diet by, for instance, referring to the "zeitgeisty nutritional neuroses" the vegan diet represented:

> *Watching them blithely wander, like innocent little babes, into the dark forest of zeitgeisty nutritional neuroses cooked up by the media and their fellow celebrities is just too fascinating to get hung up on why exactly they set off on this journey in the first place. (Freeman, 2013)*

Whilst these quotes highlight the new meanings of veganism as an aspect of the "cult of health", it also emphasizes another important facet of taste. Taste, according to Bourdieu (1984), is not only expressed in one's judgement of what one is drawn to, but also in what one is repulsed by. By taking a sarcastic and a negative view on celebrity obsession with the cult of health, the writer distances themselves and their readers from this meaning.

What is, however, mostly missing from the media discourse in relation to the Beyoncé Diet are the ethical and environmental aspects of veganism. Indeed, as the Guardian commentator, Hadley Freeman (2013) writes in the article quoted above, Beyoncé made the first and "somewhat predictable stumble" as a vegan on the first week of the diet when she was seen entering a vegan restaurant "wearing

the biggest fur collar seen this side of the 1980s and then, soon after, entering another one, wearing – and there really is no other way to put this – an entire cow, from a cowhide top to leather trousers." Whilst this may have angered the animal rights movement, following Beyoncé and Jay Z's journey did, however, become a paparazzi dream and the fans followed in Beyoncé's footsteps both in her choice of clothing as well as her diet.

CONCLUSIONS

The aim of this paper has been to explore how taste regimes change in part due to celebrity influence. Whilst models relying on identification with a celebrity focus mainly on the micro level, the framework presented here explores how the meanings of the celebrity feed into taste regimes on a meso and macro level, across the society. In particular, the paper suggests Couldry's (2003) notion of media meta-capital as the missing link between celebrities and the consumers. It is through media meta-capital that media has the power to define what constitutes different forms of capital within a field, and it explains how media messages are spread across various fields. In addition, in comparison with models developed for the context of paid celebrity endorsement, the concept of media meta-capital also highlights the role of media in the creation of celebrities and the promotion of meanings through the celebrity. It also takes a wider approach in accounting for the myriad of ways in which celebrities promote products, brands, consumption practices and causes in parasocial relationships through the media, not merely in the context of paid endorsement.

Thus, in contrast with traditional celebrity endorsement literature, it is proposed here that Bourdieusian theory is more apt at explaining celebrity influence in societal change. In contrast with models such as the one proposed by McCracken (1989) which does not allow for the possibility that consumers may vary in terms of how they understand and use consumption objects, the poststructuralist approach proposed here allows for the same practice to gain different meanings within different taste regimes. This nuanced account of celebrity influence thus helps to explore which audiences would be attracted to the celebrity emulation in a particular instance and why.

While Bourdieusian analysis has been applied to the context of celebrity emulation in previous studies, these analyses seem overly simplistic in forming conclusions akin to Veblenian emulation models. Hackley and Hackley (2015), for instance, seem to treat all audiences as equally susceptible to celebrity emulation. Conversely, taking a more nuanced look into the issue by bringing the concepts of field, this paper has explored how celebrities contribute to a change in taste regimes. Thus, the paper has aimed to show how audiences should be treated as heterogeneous. While the possible meanings attached to the Beyoncé Diet and, hence, to a plant-based diet have been explored above, in a conceptual paper like the current one, it has not been possible to empirically ascertain who

would adopt celebrity taste displays as part of their own and what exactly are the meanings they attach to them. This is a question for future research.

REFERENCES

Arsel, Z. & Bean, J. (2013). Taste Regimes and Market-Mediated Practice. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 39(Feb): 899–917.

Arsel, Z. & Thompson, C.J. (2011). Demythologizing Consumption Practices: How Consumers Protect Their Field-Dependent Identity Investments from Devaluing Marketplace Myths. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 37(Feb): 791–806.

Askegaard, S. & Linnet, J.T. (2011). Towards an epistemology of consumer culture theory: Phenomenology and the context of context. *Marketing Theory*, 11(4), 381–404.

Banister, E.N. & Cocker, H.L. (2014). A cultural exploration of consumers' interactions and relationships with celebrities. *Journal of Marketing Management*, 30(1-2), 1–29.

Barford, V. (2014). The rise of the part-time vegans. *BBC*, 17 February. Retrieved from: http://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-25644903.

Basil, M.D. (1996). Identification as a mediator of celebrity effects. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 40(4), 478–495.

Boorstin, D.J. (1961/2011). *The Image: A guide to pseudo-events in America*. New York: Vintage.

Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction: A social critique of the judgement of taste*. London: Routledge.

Bourdieu, P. (1978). Sport and social class. *Social Science Information*, 17(6), 819–840.

Bourdieu, P. (1986). The forms of capital. In Richardson, J. (Ed.) *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*. New York: Greenwood Press.

Bourdieu, P. & Wacquant, L. (1992). *An invitation to reflexive sociology*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.

Brown, W.J., Basil, M.D. & Bocarnea, M.C. (2003). Social influence of an international celebrity: Responses to the death of Princess Diana. *Journal of Communication*, 53(4), 587–605.

Carfagna, L.B., Dubois, E.A., Fitzmaurice, C., Ouimette, M.Y., Schor, J.B., Willis, M., & Laidley, T. (2014). An emerging eco-habitus: The reconfiguration of high cultural capital practices among ethical consumers. *Journal of Consumer Culture*, 14(2), 158–178.

Carr, M. (2013, December 8). A vegan diet won't save Beyonce when the fur starts flying. *Mail on Sunday*, p. 23.

Cashmore, E. (2010) Buying Beyoncé. *Celebrity Studies*, 1(2), 135–150.

Chicago Tribune (2013, December 2013) 'Beyonce' album review: More than the delivery is a surprise. *Chicago Tribune*. Retrieved from: http://www.chicagotribune.com/chi-beyonce-album-review-beyonce-self-titled-album-reviewed-20131214-column.html.

Cocker, H.L., Banister, E.N. & Piacentini, M.G. (2015). Producing and consuming celebrity identity myths: unpacking the classed identities of Cheryl Cole and Katie Price. *Journal of Marketing Management*, 31(5–6), 502–524.

Cole, M. & Morgan, K. (2011). Vegaphobia: derogatory discourses of veganism and the reproduction of speciesism in UK national newspapers. *The British Journal of Sociology*, 62(1), 134–153.

Couldry, N. (2003). Media meta-capital: Extending the range of Bourdieu's field theory. *Theory and Society*, 32(5-6), 653–677.

Couldry, N. (2015). Why celebrity studies needs social theory (and vice versa). *Celebrity*, 6(3), 385–388.

Croft, C., Weir, L., Watson, S., Spicer, K., Gray, R. & Hennegan, M. (2014, March 30). The best dressed 2014. *Sunday Times*, p. 37.

Cushman, P. (1990). Why the Self Is Empty: Toward a Historically Situated Psychology. *American Psychologist*, 45(5), 599–611.

Davies, F. & Slater, S. (2015). Unpacking celebrity brands through unpaid market communications. *Journal of Marketing Management*, 31(5–6), 665–684.

Driessens, O. (2013). Celebrity capital: redefining celebrity using field theory. *Theory and Society*, 42(5), 543–560.

Elliott, R. (2013). The taste for green: The possibilities and dynamics of status differentiation through "green" consumption. *Poetics*, 41(3), 294–322.

Erdogan, B.Z. (1999). Celebrity Endorsement: A Literature Review. *Journal of Marketing Management*, 15(4), 291–314.

Farber, J. (2013, October 20). After a decade of drought, girl groups are on the rebound. *NY Daily News*. Retrieved from: http://www.nydailynews.com/girl-groups-rebound-article-1.1486490.

Featherstone, M. (1982). The body in consumer culture. *Theory, Culture and Society*, 1(2), 18–33.

Forbes (2014). *The World's Most Powerful Celebrities*. Retrieved from: http://www.forbes.com/celebrities/list/#tab:overall.

Fraser, B.P. & Brown, W.J. (2002). Media, celebrities, and social influence: Identification With Elvis Presley. *Mass Communication & Society*, 5(2): 183–206.

Freeman, H. (2013, December 10). Beyoncé wore fur to a vegan restaurant – and there's nothing contradictory about that. *Guardian*. Retrieved from: http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2013/dec/10/beyonce-fur-vegan-restaurant-veganism-lifestyle-celebrity?CMP=fb_gu.

Grammy (2016). *Beyoncé*. Retrieved from: http://www.grammy.com/artist/beyonce.

Greenebaum, J. (2012). Veganism, Identity and the Quest for Authenticity. *Food, Culture & Society*, 15(1), 129–144.

Grenfell, M.J. (2014). *Pierre Bourdieu: Key Concepts*. London: Routledge.

Guthman, J. (2003). Fast food/organic food: reflexive tastes and the marking of 'yuppie chow'. *Social & Cultural Geography*, 4(15), 45–58.

Hackley, C. & Hackley, R.A. (2015). Marketing and the cultural production of celebrity in the era of media convergence. *Journal of Marketing Management*, 31(5/6): 461–478.

Holt, D.B. (1997a). Distinction in America? Recovering Bourdieu's theory of tastes from its critics. *Poetics*, 25(Nov), 93–120.

Holt, D.B. (1997b). Poststructuralist Lifestyle Analysis: Conceptualizing the Social Patterning of Consumption in Postmodernity. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 23(4), 326–350.

Holt, D. (1998). Does culture capital structure American consumption? *Journal of Consumer Research*, 25(June), 1–25.

Horton, D. & Wohl, R.R. (1956). Mass communication and parasocial interaction: Observations on intimacy at a distance. *Psychiatry*, 19(3): 215–229.

Innes E (2014, January 22) Rise of the PART-TIME vegans: Number of people following in Beyoncé's footsteps soars by 40% in a year. *Daily Mail*. Retrieved from: http://www.dailymail.co.uk/health/article-2543971/Rise-PART-TIME-vegans-Number-people-following-Beyonc-s-footsteps-soars-40-year.html#ixzz4F3S0j8dO.

Jay Z (2013). 22 Days Challenge. *Life and Times*. Retrieved from: http://lifeandtimes.com/22-days-challenge.

Keel, A. & Nataraajan, R. (2012). Celebrity endorsements and beyond: New avenues for celebrity branding. *Psychology and Marketing*, 29(9), 690–703.

Kerrigan, F., Brownlie, D., Hewer, P. & Daza-LeTouze, C. (2011). 'Spinning' Warhol: Celebrity brand theoretics and the logic of the celebrity brand. *Journal of Marketing Management*, 27(13–14), 1504–1524.

Lindridge, A. & Eagar, T. (2015). 'And Ziggy played guitar': Bowie, the market, and the emancipation and resurrection of Ziggy Stardust. *Journal of Marketing Management*, 31(5–6), 546–576.

Lowenthal, L. (1961). *The Triumph of Mass Idols, in Literature, Popular Culture and Society*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Marsh, S. (2016, May 27). The rise of vegan teenagers: 'More people are into it because of Instagram'. *Guardian*. Retrieved from: http://www.theguardian.com/lifeandstyle/2016/may/27/the-rise-of-vegan-teenagers-more-people-are-into-it-because-of-instagram?CMP=fb_gu.

McCracken, G. (1986). Culture and Consumption: A Theoretical Account of the Structure and Movement of the Cultural Meaning of Consumer Goods. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 13(June), 71–84.

McCracken, G. (1989). Who is the celebrity endorser? Cultural foundations of the endorsement process. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 16(Dec), 310–321.

McQuarrie, E.F., Miller, J. & Phillips, B.J. (2013). The Megaphone Effect: Taste and Audience in Fashion Blogging. *Journal of Consumer Culture*, 40(June), 136–158.

Meyer, D.S. & Gamson, J. (1995). The Challenge of cultural elites: Celebrities and social movements. *Sociological Inquiry*, 65(2), 181–206.

Molloy, A. (2014, December 31). No meat, no dairy, no problem: is 2014 the year vegans become mainstream? *Independent*. Retrieved from: http://www.independent.co.uk/life-style/food-and-drink/features/no-meat-no-dairy-no-problem-is-2014-the-year-vegans-become-mainstream-9032064.html.

Pemberton, M. (2014, January 27). Why no one needs a 'detox'. *Daily Telegraph*, p. 26.

People (2012, May 7) World's Most Beautiful: Beyoncé. *People*. Retrieved from: http://www.people.com/people/archive/issue/0,,7566120507,00.html

Petridis, A., Mahdawi, A., Schwab, K., Brooks, D. & Robinson, P. (2016, June 27). Beyoncé's star formation: from Destiny's Child to Queen Bey. *Guardian*.

Retrieved from: https://www.theguardian.com/music/2016/jun/27/beyonce-star-formation-destinys-child-queen-bey-tour.

Rami, T. (2014, January 12). Veganism in Seven Decades. *New York Magazine*. Retrieved from: http://nymag.com/news/intelligencer/vegan-celebrities-2014-1/.

Rojek, C. (2001). *Celebrity*. London: Reaktion Books.

Rubin, A.M., & McHugh, M.P. (1987). Development of parasocial interaction relationships. *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media*, 31(3), 279–292.

Shilling, C. (1991). Educating the Body: Physical Capital and the Production of Social Inequalities. *Sociology*, 25(4): 653–672.

Simmel, G. (1904/1957). Fashion. *American Journal of Sociology*, 62(May), 541–558.

Stevens, L., Cappellini, B. & Smith, G. (2015). Nigellissima: a study of glamour, performativity and embodiment. *Journal of Marketing Management*, 31(5–6), 577–598.

Sunne, H. (2014, January 29). Beyonce is shrinking to a size 2, says designer. *Daily Mail*, p. 23.

Thompson, A., Stringfellow, L., Maclean, M., MacLaren, A. & O'Gorman, K. (2015). Puppets of necessity? Celebritisation in structured reality television. *Journal of Marketing Management*, 31(5–6), 478–501.

Trier-Bieniek, A. (2016). *The Beyonce Effect: Essays on Sexuality, Race and Feminism*. McFarland: Jefferson, NC.

Trigg, A.B. (2001). Veblen, Bourdieu, and Conspicuous Consumption. *Journal of Economic Issues,* 35(1), 99–115.

Tudor, A. (1974). *Image and influence: Studies in the sociology of film*. St. Martin's Press: New York.

Turner, G. (2010). Approaching celebrity studies. *Celebrity Studies*, 1(1), 11–20.

Üstüner, T. & Holt, D.B. (2010). Toward a Theory of Status Consumption in Less Industrialized Countries. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 37(June), 37–56.

Veblen, T. (1899/1970). *The Theory of the Leisure Class*. London: Unwin.

Vegan Society (2016). *Definition of veganism*. Retrieved from: http://www.vegansociety.com/try-vegan/definition-veganism.

Vegan Society (2014). *Ripened by human determination: 70 years of the Vegan Society*. Retrieved from:

http://www.vegansociety.com/sites/default/files/uploads/Ripened%20by%20human%20determination.pdf.

Warrington, R. (2013, October 27). We've all gone food fad mad! *Mail on Sunday*, p. 79.

Williams, S.J. (1995). Theorising class, health and lifestyles: can Bourdieu help us? *Sociology of Health and Illness*, 17(5), 577–604.