INSTIGATING CHANGE IN A GLOBALISED SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT.
THE IMPACT OF GLOBALISATION UPON THE PROMOTION OF
VEGETARIANISM IN THE UNITED KINGDOM.

by

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A thesis submitted to the University of Plymouth
in partial fulfilment for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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November 1998
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Abstract

In this thesis I examine globalisation as an ongoing social change to understand how it is routinely reproduced by social actors. To do this I consider the impacts of globalisation in an existing social setting and use a conceptual framework from the sociological literature to interpret and explain the evidence. The empirical materials were gathered during an ethnographic case study of The Vegetarian Society - an interest group that actively promoted social change by presenting everyday individual food consumption in the manner of reflexive 'life politics'. I use the concepts of 'interpenetration', 'relativisation', 'detraditionalisation' and 'institutional reflexivity' to indicate that processes of globalisation were routinely reproduced as contexts and consequences of the organisation's motivated social activity. I define globalisation as a change evident in individual consciousness, social systems and in the reflexive relation between them and accordingly, the findings centre on three issues. The first is the use of global images and language in the promotional literature (instrumentally recontextualised to promote vegetarianism) and its relation to global consciousness. The second is the relations between The Vegetarian Society and other agents within globalised social systems (where negotiations to initiate change often required compromise and pragmatism) and the contribution to systemic reproduction. The third is The Vegetarian Society's changing role (as vegetarianism entered the 'mainstream') where it was reflexively repositioning to continue achieving its aims in a 'post-traditional' (global) social order. The Vegetarian Society was enabled and constrained by these intersecting processes of globalisation as it continued to instigate change within globalised social structures (evident in changing opportunities and emerging dilemmas). In this case study, ongoing globalisation was produced and reproduced as an unintended consequence of a social actor's purposeful, localised activity.
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Acknowledgement

I would like to thank my family, friends and colleagues for their help and support during this project, particularly to Verity and my parents for being there and to Tony Spybey, both for the opportunity to undertake the work and for giving me the space to complete it. I owe thanks to many others who have aided me: to Eric Harrison and Professor David Mason for reading the drafts and providing invaluable advice and discussion; to colleagues in my Department, particularly Lyn Bryant, Dr. Joan Chandler and Sue Hemmings, for their encouragement and to my friends who have helped me along the way.

This work would not have been possible without the co-operation of the staff at The Vegetarian Society. Particular thanks goes to Steve Connor, but also to Chris, Andy, Bronwyn, Jo, Sam, Ann and everyone else who made my experience with the organisation both enlightening and enjoyable. Of course, responsibility for what appears here remains entirely with me.
AUTHORS DECLARATION

At no time during the registration for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy has the author been registered for any other University award.

This study was funded by a Faculty Studentship Award from the Faculty of Human Science in October 1993.

Advanced research training was undertaken, which included a Postgraduate Diploma in Social Research Methods at the University of Plymouth; the British Sociological Association/ Economic and Social Research Council Postgraduate 'Summer School' (July, 1994); Dartington Social Research Unit 'Summer School' (October 1994) and University of Plymouth/ Enterprise in Higher Education 'Summer School' (July 1995).

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1996 British Sociological Association Conference
University of Reading, April 1996.

'Media relations: a global context of local action'
Faculty of Human Science, Postgraduate Forum.
University of Plymouth, July 1995.

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INTRODUCTORY OVERVIEW

In this thesis I explore the phenomenon of globalisation, both in the sociological literature and through a piece of empirical research. Globalisation is predominantly a growing interconnection of human relations across geographical space. As the term is widely used inside and outside of academia, there is debate regarding the nature of changes categorised under its aegis. The question I address revolves around the existence of globalisation as an ongoing social change, particularly, how is it occurring? To answer this I initially consider the relevant literature and outline a conceptual framework within which empirical evidence can be evaluated. The evidence was collected during an ethnographic case study, which examined in depth the impacts of globalisation upon a specific social setting. As a widespread social change, evidence of the occurrence of globalisation should be visible in virtually any social situation and considering one in depth will show how ongoing globalisation occurred in situ.

Robertson (1992) theoretically divides aspects of globalisation into individual consciousness and institutional frameworks. In this thesis I explore ongoing globalisation at both of these levels and show how they are connected in the structuration of social systems by active and purposeful individual and social actors. The world is being produced and reproduced as a single social space through the awareness, actions and interaction of human agents. I decided that an effective way to consider how globalisation is reproduced would be to explore the impacts at the level of routine activities. During research into an established social context, the day-to-day impacts of globalisation upon consciousness and institutional reproduction were recorded.

However, while contemporary economic, political and cultural institutions can be framed within global contexts (for example see Albrow, 1996; Axford, 1995; Spybey, 1996; Waters, 1995), to the lay person such global frameworks may be so large as to be obscured. Often the existence of globalised social systems can remain implicit in the context of social activities or in the subtext of everyday understanding. At the level of consciousness globalisation implies an increasing knowledge of others and an awareness
of the world as 'one place'. Again, individuals may not recognise such common sense appreciation as part of ongoing globalisation. Therefore, the empirical research required the experiences and activities of the research subjects to be interpreted theoretically. In order to do this, I outline a conceptual framework informed by the sociological literature on interpenetration, relativisation, detraditionalisation and institutional reflexivity (in Chapter One).

These concepts are used as indications of the way that globalisation is visible in everyday social life. However, people's experience of globalisation varies: national or local contexts; personal, religious and cultural values; class, status and material wealth all act as prisms through which the impacts of globalisation are refracted. Globalisation is an underlying set of changes which result in a variety of surface expressions. The research context (a 'Western', liberal democratic, capitalist, nation-state and its 'post-traditional social order' (Giddens, 1994)) has a bearing upon the expressions of globalisation which are reported. Further, the context of the case study organisation determines the expressions of globalisation. Nevertheless, interpreting examples within a conceptual framework enabled a generalisable analysis of how globalisation is reproduced as an ongoing social change.

Globalisation is interesting to sociologists because it marks a shift in the contexts of social relations. Sociology has long equated society (its major unit of analysis) with the nation-state, a notion which globalisation challenges (McGrew, 1992). When events in one place can have geographically distant outcomes (Giddens, 1990), society does not stop at the national border. As influences upon individual and collective social actors arise from beyond their immediate social setting, sociologists have begun questioning the boundaries within which social relations should be understood (Moore, 1966; Robertson and Lechner, 1985; Mann, 1986; Giddens, 1990, 1991; Robertson, 1990; Archer, 1991; Bauman, 1992). Research into the shifting contexts of social relations is important to sociology: there is a need to ascertain how globalisation occurs in specific contexts (which is the aim of this thesis).
Notwithstanding the relatively recent nature of the term, there has been little research into how globalisation is reproduced on a day-to-day basis. Albrow et. al. (1994) surveyed the impact of globalisation on the daily lives of a variety of people in Wandsworth borough, London. This showed the impacts of globalisation to be indeterminate and diverse (Albrow, 1996: 196), posing questions about how to measure them (addressed in Chapter Three). While surveys can provide valuable insights, in this thesis I explore globalisation by using an ethnographic case study. If globalisation is shaping human experience, its contexts and consequences should be visible in everyday social activity. These can be explicated through the actions, interactions and beliefs of individuals, all of which are open to observation and understanding.

An ethnography of an established, bounded and knowable social setting is a useful means of accessing evidence of the impact of globalisation. In ethnographic work, researchers uncover evidence of social activity by immersing themselves in the social setting under investigation. Within a specific context, numerous social actions and interactions occur; to access the range of verbal, non-verbal and written communication requires flexibility and a range of research methods. In this respect, the fieldwork was an ethnographic case study. A case is located at a particular moment in time and space, it is contextualised and thus as a research activity is not repeatable. These parameters preclude generalisations from specific instances (samples) to wider populations. Instead, the inferences generated by case studies are of the analytical kind (see, for example, Mitchell, 1983). In this thesis I aim to generate depth of understanding about the impact of globalisation in one setting.

This approach addresses other issues relating to the contemporary usage and understanding of the term. Globalisation is sometimes simplified into being an objective force (beyond the control of individual and collective social actors), an economic reality or an homogenisation of culture. By exploring ongoing globalisation in a socio-political setting, such deterministic, reductionist and unidirectional accounts shall be rejected. Other simplifications relate to the popular usage of the term globalisation. In the world outside academia the term has become ubiquitous (Albrow, 1996: 80):

The appeal of globalisation as the explanation of almost any contemporary change in any sector of life pervades academic accounts and journalistic commentary. As
such it takes on an almost magical quality [...] this indiscriminate use reflects the limits of current understanding. (1996: 85)

To resist this tide of oversimplification, I sought evidence of how globalisation occurs in the routine activities of a purposeful social actor that had expressed globalist concerns: The Vegetarian Society of the UK (henceforth, 'The Society' or 'The Vegetarian Society').

I considered vegetarianism an appropriate site of investigation because claims made by its protagonists used global contexts and connotations. Some promotional materials used environmental themes (such as pollution, desertification and forest destruction) while others related to the economically less developed countries, focusing on food scarcity. Also, literature highlighted the diseases of 'Western' over-consumption and the (arguably) universal issue of animal suffering. The campaigning materials used to convey arguments demonstrated global contexts and held a presupposition of a similar awareness in the audience. This promotional literature encouraged a recognition of the distant outcomes of situated action (for example, the production and consumption of meat) and made connections between individual action and perceived global problems.

More generally, the growth of vegetarianism also relates to changes in social relations associated with globalisation. There is an increased access to information and self-reflection in a globalised world:

There is enhanced capacity for reflection as a result of the exposure to globalised social processes. A main consequence of this is that the individual has tended to develop increased expectations of personal fulfilment and satisfaction. (Spybey, 1996: 9)

The concept of life politics (Giddens, 1991) embraces this changing nature of political engagement. It is the politics of 'self-actualisation' which emerged after the emancipatory politics (the struggles for basic human rights) of early modernity (1991: 9). In a similar vein Beck (1994) talks of sub-politics, where social agents previously outside pervasive systems begin to 'appear on the stage of social design' to help shape society 'from below' (22-3). Hegedus (1990) argues that social movements emerging since the 1980s have focused on the individual in everyday life, encouraging personal responsibility for collective futures. Seen in this perspective, the promotion of vegetarianism was a form of
life politics encouraged by reflexive awareness, which linked the everyday practice of food consumption to perceived global problems and encouraged change from below.

'Simple modern vegetarianism' (explained in Chapter Four) was a choice to abstain from meat justified by a set of reasons. This type of vegetarianism actually predates modernity (see Spencer, 1993) and thus it cannot be simply categorised as life politics (i.e., beyond the emancipatory politics of modernity). However, vegetarianism as an ideology turns the personal consumption of meat into a political issue. Groups supporting vegetarianism promote social change based on critical engagement and in this respect, globalisation has encouraged vegetarianism as a form of life politics. Equally, globalisation has contributed to increasing the viability and attractiveness of the vegetarian diet for people in the UK. The variety of ('exotic') fruit and vegetables available regardless of season, the introduction of foreign cuisine and niche marketing of convenience food all relate to globalisation. While not a global cause, the concerns of vegetarianism extended beyond the immediate locale, it was a form of reflexive political engagement and the increasing popularity of the diet was related to the globalisation of food systems. A global context was implicit in the lifestyle politics of vegetarianism.

Investigating a social actor that was actively promoting change was driven by my desire to access illustrations of ongoing globalisation. Expressions of reflexive political engagement are at the cutting edge of social change:

[...] identities and structures as contexts for action are transformed through the interruption of routine reproduction by more knowledgeable, more insecure, more demanding and reflexive agents. (Axford, 1995: 69)

Groups promoting vegetarianism were an example of reflexive social engagement in attempts to create social change. An active organisation can be a useful barometer, reflecting the pressures and concerns of the social setting it wishes to change. Instigating change requires knowledge of the existing social environment. To be relevant and appealing means being in touch with the contexts which the audience (i.e., the public) will recognise and identify with. If the social world had become globalised, this would be reflected in the strategies, outlook and activities of an organisation promoting social change.
The thesis is presented in three parts. The first comprises the theoretical and conceptual framework. In Chapter One I consider theories and concepts of globalisation, particularly those emphasising the active role of human agency in social change. A working definition focuses attention on both social systems and human agents and four key concepts are introduced as indications of globalisation. These are drawn on during the findings section to explain and evaluate ongoing globalisation. In Chapter Two I introduce the approach of structuration to characterise social systems as extended social relations. I then show that the pervasive systems of food and communications have been globalised. These contexts are later used to show that The Vegetarian Society operated within globalised social systems and, through engagement to initiate change, it actively reproduced these.

In Part Two there is an outline of the context of the case study and details of the research process. In Chapter Three I describe how the research project was designed and executed. Particular consideration is given to marking the boundaries of inference which accompany an ethnographic case study. It is also stressed that the relationship between theory and data was a dynamic one in which I, the researcher, attempted to find the best fit. Furthermore, to address the potential for bias, there is some consideration of the issue of reflexivity in the research process. In Chapter Four I introduce the case study context essential for understanding and interpreting the data presented in the final part. This involves providing details of a vegetarian diet, 'simple modern vegetarianism' and The Vegetarian Society as an organisation (its aims, structure, work and output).

Part Three considers the findings of the fieldwork which are organised around three impacts: the first is the consciousness of globalisation in the organisation's promotional materials; the second is the reproduction of globalised social systems through its purposeful interactions and the third is its changing role in a globalised social world. Echoing the working definition, in Chapter Five I consider global consciousness by examining the global language and imagery used instrumentally to promote vegetarianism. In Chapter Six I turn to the reproduction of globalised social systems (represented by extended social relations) by examining relations between The Society and representatives
from the food industry and the mass media. In Chapter Seven I consider the way in which *The Society* was reflexively repositioning its role and purpose in a globalised social setting. In Chapter Eight I draw together the evidence of how globalisation impinged upon *The Vegetarian Society* and use this to consider the ongoing nature of globalisation.
PART ONE:
THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK
In this thesis I explore ongoing globalisation using an ethnographic case study. A conceptual framework is drawn from the sociological literature to enable me to assess the impacts of globalisation in the case study setting. To consider the sociological literature on globalisation I divide this chapter into three sections. The first concern is definitional issues: I introduce a working definition of globalisation, explore the problems surrounding defining issues, events, images and actions as 'global' and set out the idea of 'processes of globalisation' to overcome these difficulties. In the second section I introduce some theories of globalisation to establish the sociological context (further consideration will be given to sociological theories in Chapter Two). I give particular attention to Giddens' concepts of distanciation, disembedding and reflexivity to underscore the role of active, knowledgeable human agents in social change. In the final section I explain four concepts, which I term 'globalising influences': interpenetration, relativisation, detraditionalisation and institutional reflexivity. These will be used to explore the case study evidence in Part Three.

1.1 Definitional Issues

In order to develop an understanding of ongoing globalisation through the impacts upon The Vegetarian Society, a working definition is required. Robertson's claim that:

Globalization as a concept refers both to the compression of the world and the intensification of consciousness of the world as a whole. (1992: 8)

is employed for two reasons. Firstly, this 'neutral', descriptive approach accepts that something called globalisation is taking place, without imposing a pre-determined framework of critical analysis. This neutrality arises from Robertson's aim: to establish the ways in which the world is ordered and how collective or individual actors conceive of that world (1992: 26).
The second reason is the definition's dual form: globalisation as both a social reality and a phenomenological experience. The compression is institutional and refers to the global spread of modern economic, social and political institutions. Giddens' (1990, 1991) distanciation, Harvey's (1989) time-space compression and Robertson's (1992) global interdependence conceptualise the world as an increasingly unified social space. Globalisation promotes an 'intensification of world wide social relationships' (Giddens, 1990: 64) as events in one part of the globe can have consequences in geographically distant places. The second part of the definition, the 'intensification of consciousness', implies that social actors (individuals and organisations) have become more aware that such interconnections exist and of their place within them.

Yearley (1996) terms these the 'subjective' and 'objective' aspects of globalisation. The subjective aspect is the 'awareness of humanity as inhabitants of the one globe'. As 'the world has been exhaustively visited, mapped and recorded', the consequence is a familiarity with the globe. Complementing this are objective cultural and economic processes, for example in finance and communication (1996: 1-3). In the experience of social life, these subjective and objective elements are bound together. However, I consider it analytically useful to divide the interconnection of social relations (systems) from peoples' awareness and experience of those interconnections.

Arriving at a universally acceptable definition of what events, images, issues and actions can legitimately be labelled 'global' is difficult. Sreberny-Mohammadi notes the slippery character of linguistic terms used in international communications analysis where 'global' rarely means universal and 'local' is often really national (1991: 134). Defining exactly what constitutes the global and the local can be extremely problematic. Events like the Olympics, the Earth Summit or meetings of the UN General Assembly have a global scope. Images of the earth from space, issues around climate change and actions like the 1970s OPEC price rises also have contexts and connotations which are global. Nevertheless, the spatial context of social life is global; the planet is our physical boundary. Thus, in the last resort, there is a global context to many events and actions. On the other hand, each and every social action is locally situated. Even the most global
examples above are physically experienced by individuals in situ. The local embeddedness of social experience is as inescapable as its global context.

Yearley's (1996) assessment of the impact of globalisation upon environmentalism confronts this question of 'what counts as global?' He suggests it is clear that environmental issues can be global in different ways. Not all are inherently global: air and land pollution, noise and dust discharges and even major catastrophes are predominantly local/regional problems. If repeated the world over, Yearley suggest, these processes are global and community groups can collaborate in a global response. In an Orwellian vein he concludes that although all environmental problems can be categorised as global, 'some are more global than others' (1996: 60-1).

Albrow (1996) suggests that academic, journalistic, commercial and popular uses of the term global are rendering it real. His approach takes a linguistic turn, evaluating 'global' terminology in relation to 'modern' terminology, concluding that modern is a time reference while global is a spatial reference: 'the product of the location of the earth in space'. Further, it is also the recognition of the boundaries of the natural environment and our collective relation to it (1996: 83). In this sense, global is a spatial reality, although recognition of the spatial reference and relations to it are both factors of human awareness.

Albrow (1996) suggests that Inglehart (1977) had begun to identify the values of 'globalism' in his study of the shift to 'post-materialist' values. However, globalism is more concrete, pervaded by a sense of finitude (Albrow, 1990: 8) and human obligation (Albrow, 1996: 83). It is expressed in those values whose frame of reference is the entire globe;

[...] those values which take the real world of 5 billion people as the object of concern, the whole earth as the physical environment, everyone living as world citizens, consumers and producers, with a common interest in collective action to solve global problems. (Albrow, 1990: 8)

This is most obvious in ecology and the green movement, but also evident in ideas of human rights (Albrow, 1996: 83-4). Globalism takes the optimistic, 'progressive' and idealistic values associated with 'universalism' - which took humanity as the subject
and places them into the reality of humanity’s planetary co-habitation, complete with unequal power and local difference (Albrow, 1996: 84).

Yearley recognises that in the overlap between spatial reality and human awareness, definitions of 'global' can be employed by organisations for their own ends. Environmentalists, commercial organisations and national interests can be served by applying definitions to their own advantage. For example, environmental groups can claim global status for a local problem in order to raise its public profile (1996: 61). One can add to this the use of global imagery for commercial or political gain: the use of the globe as an icon, or the green labelling employed to denote 'environmental friendliness'. Thus, it should be underlined that spatial dimensions of globalisation are socially contested rather than logically constructed (Pred and Watts, 1992):

[...] interests do not proceed unchecked but are realised through discursive and practical struggles over the identity and resources of particular places with other interests for whom the locality, region, or nation may be a more significant terrain and object of strategic action. (Whatmore, 1994: 48)

Yearley (1996) reasonably concludes that what counts as global can be ideologically manipulated.

However, accepting that global issues, events and images can be socially constructed implies a plurality of understandings about what 'global' may or may not be. One example of this is the accusation of cultural imperialism against environmental movements based in the industrialised nations. In some quarters it has been suggested that the European world view (of what constitutes a global problem) has been imposed as a global environmental agenda. For some people living in the economically less developed countries, the pressing problems of scarcity and insecurity have more immediate relevance than retaining natural 'wildlife' habitats.

Given these debates and the acknowledged problem of relativism, in this thesis I make no attempt to arrive at a definitive resolution. For the purposes of this work, 'global' refers to those issues, images, events and actions which relate to the spatial context of the whole planet; in other words, they exist in relation to one another within a 'global field'
Robertson's static, descriptive definition of globalisation, has some limitations. Society is inherently dynamic, it changes over the course of time. To acknowledge this ongoing nature of social existence, I employ the term 'processes'. However, Albrow (1996) suggests the term 'process' implies that change is governed by a set of scientific laws and that a specified 'end-point' is going to be reached. This means that to speak of a globalisation process would suggest that globalisation has an inherent direction and a discoverable set of laws. While I agree that globalisation is not an objective occurrence which has a pre-determined finishing point, the term process can be usefully employed with appropriate qualification.

In contemporary popular usage, the term process is frequently given the connotation of a knowable outcome. For example, the so-called 'peace process' used to describe political negotiations over Northern Ireland or the Middle-East implies the working toward a settlement and thus 'peace'. The idea of controlled change toward a knowable goal is implicit within the phrase. However, the specified goal, outcome or 'end-point' of peace may be more a matter of wishful thinking than knowable reality. Moreover, the extent and type of peace which can be achieved will be dependent upon the action of social and individual actors. The problem of implied determinism arises when the word 'process' is employed inappropriately or uncritically. It seems that most often, a process is used to describe a biological or mechanical event. The context of explaining such events is a scientific one, hence the emphasis placed on predictable conclusions and knowable laws.

If a process is defined as 'a sequence of related events or changes', a 'social process' does not have to be viewed in the same way as a process in natural science. The contingent nature of human agency gives 'social process' an open-ended character. The activities of people which comprise the events and changes in the sequence cannot be easily reduced to
laws or have a knowable end-point. However, enquiries into social process can retain the idea that the sequence of activities remain related in a way that is open to logical investigation, even if there is no predictable outcome. Globalisation is a dynamic and ongoing set of social processes: a series of actions or changes which are increasing the geographical coverage of common social relations.

I employ the phrase 'processes of globalisation' to achieve two related goals. Firstly, pluralising the term 'process' effectively undermines the idea of unidirectional change and a knowable end-point. Secondly, this also implies that the ways in which globalisation occurs are multiple. While globalisation 'conveys a widespread sense of transformation', this rests upon 'the sum of particular forms and instances' (Albrow, 1996: 86-8). For example, the values which I have defined as globalism promote individual and social awareness within a global frame of reference. However, such values are manifested in a variety of ways in different contexts. Perceptions can be for or against globalisation: those who embrace 'one world' and those that do not (Axford, 1995: 27-8). Moreover, increasing global awareness by individuals is but one aspect of globalisation. The processes of globalisation are the variety of ways 'by which the peoples of the world are incorporated into a single world society, global society' (Albrow, 1990: 9). In relation to the working definition, the processes of globalisation under enquiry in the case study are the activities which interconnect social relations across the world and promote human awareness of those interconnections.

1.2 Sociological Theories of Globalisation

In this section I locate this work in its sociological context by outlining competing theoretical positions on globalisation. While dating back to the 1960s (Waters, 1995: 2), the term globalisation was taken up in academia during the mid 1980s and its usage increased dramatically after that time (Robertson, 1992: 8). Since the start of the 1990s it has become 'an influential paradigm in the human sciences' (Featherstone and Lash, 1995: 1), leading Waters to suggest that it is replacing postmodernism as the dominant idea for understanding the contemporary social world (1995: 1). Sociological theories have
approached globalisation by asking 'why' it is occurring. To consider their variety, I
divide these into 'neo-Marxist' theories and 'multi-dimensional' approaches. Giddens'
(1990) dynamics of globalisation (disembedding, distanciation and reflexivity), by
contrast address the question of 'how' globalisation occurs and underscore the
transformative nature of human agency in the processes of globalisation.

1.2.1 Neo-Marxist theories of globalisation

For neo-Marxist approaches, globalisation is the spread of global capitalism associated
with the world-wide 'free market' economy. Thus, a definition of globalisation simply
rests on the identification of a global capitalist economy. The logic of capitalist expansion
is cited as the reason why globalisation is occurring, echoing the theories of imperialism
developed by Hobson (1902), Lenin (1939) and Bukharin (1929) (see Sztompka, 1993:
88). Having established this causal relation between the logic of economic expansion and
changes in the rest of the social world, analysis of the various social, cultural and political
consequences is possible (for example see Hall, 1992; Robbins, 1991; or Jameson, 1991).
This causal logic lends an explanatory capability to neo-Marxist theory.

A good example of this approach is Sklair (1991), whose concern is transnational
relations. Transnational relations are an important expression of globalisation, i.e.,
interactions across state boundaries not controlled by the state (Albrow, 1990: 9).

[There] are signs of an age of boundary crossing. [...] The tide of globalisation
reduces the room of manoeuvre for states, while international institutions,
transnational transactions, regional co-operation, sub-national dynamics and non-

For example, Keohane and Nye (1971) detailed increasing transnational political relations.
Held (1989, 1991) assesses the impact on national democracies; at the United Nations the
possibilities of global governance are explored (The Report of the Commission on Global
Governance, 1995); Hegedus (1990) considers new patterns of social movements while
Culturally, Featherstone (1990) highlights transnational flows and the resultant
hybridisation ('third cultures'). Alongside political and cultural relations, economic
exchanges across state boundaries have flourished (see for example Dicken, 1986). It is transnational capitalist economics that interest Sklair.

Sklair's (1991, 1995) account is offered within a framework of critical analysis akin to Marxism. He associates globalisation with changes in Transnational Corporations (TNCs). The globalisation of production and capital, 'transformations in the technological base' and the scope of the mass media are the key factors in the global spread of capitalism. Sklair's (1991) 'Global System' operates under three spheres: the economic (TNCs), the political (transnational class relations) and cultural-ideological (consumerism). This explanatory framework is used to explore other aspects of social life, such as social movements and their resistance to economic globalisation (Sklair, 1995).

Albrow (1996) argues that the Marxist interpretations conflate the 'theory and reality' of globalisation (1996: 89-90). The weakness in Sklair's (1995) explanation is that most of those social movements he cites are not expressly or even intrinsically anti-capitalist. The explanatory framework drives his interest without regard for the interests of the individuals involved in the social movements. With regard to human agency, he argues that 'people are primarily consumers' (1995: 500). Sklair argues that notions of people as political or economic beings are discarded by the global capitalist system, except where individuals or groups facilitate consumption. Thus, his analysis is reductionist, with the economy as the prime explanatory variable. In addition, it is also deterministic as individual actions are ultimately reduced to consequences of the operations of capital.

Sklair usefully highlights the transnational nature of economically derived social relations, particularly the influence these can have on groups promoting social change (explored further in Chapter Six). While I do not underestimate the importance of global capitalism, to give it theoretical prominence would be unwise. To evaluate the present case study with a neo-Marxist approach to globalisation would have limited the scope of the enquiry. I am concerned with the knowledge, experience and actions of the actors involved, rather than economic transformations. While establishing causality gives structure to Sklair's analysis, it is also largely directive of explanatory outcomes. I consider the explicit
1.2.2 Multi-dimensional approaches to globalisation

Axford (1995) argues that globalisation has to be seen as a multi-dimensional process and rejects the idea of a single causal logic (1995: 33). Multi-dimensional approaches attempt to escape the problems associated with economism by introducing factors outside of capitalism. Robertson (1992) for example, notes that capitalism, imperialism and mass communication are facilitating factors in globalisation. The causal logic of capitalist expansion (and prescriptive political intervention for revolutionary change) is also absent. Without simple causality, multi-dimensional approaches are more 'descriptive' but allow greater analytical flexibility.

However, the difference between these two types of approach is not clear cut. For example, Appadurai's theory describes five discreet but intersecting dimensions of 'global cultural flows': ethnoscapes, technoscapes, finanscapes, mediascapes and ideoscapes. He categorises the first three (people, technology and money) together in the global political economy, but stresses:

[...] the critical point is that the global relationship between ethnoscapes, technoscapes and finanscapes is deeply disjunctive and profoundly unpredictable, since each of these landscapes is subject to its own constraints and incentives (some political, some informational and some techno-environmental), at the same time as each acts as a constraint and a parameter for movements in the other. (Appadurai, 1990: 298)

Built on the 'disjunctures' of this global political economy, there are mediascapes and ideoscapes - the landscapes of image (1990: 298).

This multi-dimensional approach aims to replace notions of simple capitalist infrastructure with a complex and overlapping 'global cultural economy' (1990: 296). However, underlying the 'scapes', elements of economism remain. While the economy is fragmented between the financial, human and technological spheres, it does remain primary to other forms of social relation. The landscapes of images are built upon the disjunctures in the
scapes of the global capitalist economy (Appadurai, 1990: 298). Thus, King (1991) assesses it as a contribution toward mapping the culture of the capitalist global economy, while Lash and Urry (1994) suggest that Appadurai challenges simplistic core-periphery (neo-Marxist) models (cited in Spybey, 1996: 164). Nevertheless, Appadurai's own aim is to approach cultural anthropology within a coherent global framework to show how the global impinges on the local.

To illustrate his ideas about 'disjuncture', Appadurai examines the example of 'the production of locality'. He distinguishes between 'locality' as a value and 'neighbourhood' as a substantive social form (i.e., a place where people anchor the values of locality) (1995: 204). He does this to draw attention to the ways in which people are struggling to construct the feeling and ideology of a situated community (locality) in a world where some people's relation to their spatial location (neighbourhood) is fluid.

The many displaced, deterritorialized and transient populations that constitute today's ethnoscapes are engaged in the construction of locality, as a structure of feeling, often in the face of the erosion, dispersal and implosion of neighbourhoods as coherent social formations. (Appadurai, 1995: 222)

Pressure on neighbourhoods include mass-mediated 'discourses' such as economic liberalisation, multi-culturalism, human rights and refugee claims (1995: 222). Locality, it seems, is produced and nurtured among 'highly local and highly translocal considerations' (1995: 221).

Appadurai's theoretical contribution is of particular interest for the present case study as it emphasises the fluid and fragmented nature of globalisation (notions of self-interested, contested and negotiated relations are important in Chapter Six). However, aside from the primacy of economic factors, there are some other problems with the analytical framework. Firstly, the idea that global cultural flows only exist in and through the contradictions between the scapes ignores other globalising trends. For example, within each scape there may be a propensity to globalise social relations (e.g., the world-wide spread of mass media). Equally, there are some issues regarding the 'scapes' themselves: conflicts can exist within the scapes (e.g., global finance does not operate as a unified
Another multi-dimensional approach is that of Giddens (1990). Global institutional interconnections are portrayed as having a long history. This leads Giddens to conclude that globalisation is a consequence of the world-wide spread of modernity. Giddens' (1990) 'dimensions of globalisation' mirror his suggested 'institutional dimensions of modernity' (capitalism, military power, surveillance and industrialism). The institutional formations consolidated on the continent of Europe were transplanted overseas during the colonial episodes. For Giddens, globalisation is the world-wide extension of the values associated with 'the Enlightenment' era of European history. The result has been a world capitalist economy, the world military order, the nation-state system and the international division of labour (1990: 71). These dimensions are portrayed as discrete but intersecting.

I will return to the institutional framework of Giddens' approach to globalisation (and its problems) in Chapter Two when I address global systems. For the present purpose, it is notable that Giddens' theory of globalisation relies upon an interplay between a number of dimensions and thus avoids the economism of neo-Marxist approaches. In this chapter I wish to explain how Giddens overcomes the problem of determinism; to do so means turning to the question of 'how' globalisation occurs.

1.2.3 The dynamic trio: distanciation, disembedding and reflexive monitoring

For Giddens (1990) globalisation was driven by three dynamics. The extension of modern institutions and the spread of global capitalism are long-term changes which span history:

[,..] although the processes are made up of the activities of individual and collective social agents, they operate across extended time-scales, and seem at times to work on their own, in performing the work of social transformation. (Hall, 1992b: 7)

As a result, some explanations of globalisation (like the neo-Marxist ones above) appear to present social change as something which has an inherent logic and a direction. Giddens' attempt to avoid deterministic accounts of social change argues that the activities of
humans create the sweep of history (the approach of structuration will be given more consideration in Chapter Two). To show how the dynamics produce globalisation through the collective agency of humanity, Giddens employs the concepts of distanciation, disembedding and reflexive monitoring (1990, 1991).

Distanciation is the stretching of social institutions (i.e., the spread of common social practices). As institutions are reproduced social practices (Giddens, 1981: 28), this emphasises human agency in the production/reproduction of social systems. Distanciation is a dynamic of globalisation because it links the lives and experiences of geographically distant people to each other and common social institutions and practices. The stretching of social institutions across time and space affects social relations:

[...] locales are thoroughly penetrated and shaped in terms of social influences quite distant from them. What structures the locale is not simply that which is present on the scene; the 'visible form' of the locale conceals the distanciated relations which determine its nature. (Giddens, 1990: 19)

This 'local transformation' is a central aspect of globalisation so that 'local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa' (1990: 64).

Closely related to distanciation is 'disembedding', which is defined as:

[...] the 'lifting out' of social relations from local contexts of interaction and their restructuring across indefinite spans of time-space. (Giddens, 1990: 21)

The two main mechanisms of this disembedding are taken-for-granted aspects of everyday life: symbolic tokens (e.g., money) and expert systems (e.g., technical and professional), which are collectively termed 'abstract systems'. Disembedding is a globalising dynamic as it extracts experience and social relations from their immediate context (1990: 21-9). Under the aegis of disembedded social relations, trust is transferred from known individuals to abstract systems and professional knowledge (Dickens, 1992: 148).

Trust in these abstract systems characterises the mutually reinforcing relationship between the processes of distanciation and disembedding:

Both types of disembedding mechanism presume, yet also foster, the separation of time from space as the condition of time-space distanciation which they promote [...] by providing 'guarantees' of expectation across distanciated time-space. (Giddens, 1990: 28)
This is where reembedding becomes essential. Reembedding is the 'recasting' of the disembedded social relations, a process which reproduces them in specific contexts. Social actors may draw upon disembedded relations to achieve their goals. As such, they are active participants in the reembedding of abstract systems. This effectively links local practices with globalised social relations (1990: 70-1). Increasingly, people are less able to opt-out of abstract systems in, say, travel, medicine, technology, education, or more catastrophically, nuclear war and ecological breakdown. A rising awareness of these last two threats to collective humanity bears a relation to the third dynamic: reflexive monitoring.

Reflexive monitoring describes the awareness human agents have of their social circumstances and how this 'feeds in' to their social relations. It refers to the way sensory information is monitored, rationalised and used by active and pragmatic human actors. It involves the 'production of systematic knowledge about social life' (Giddens, 1990: 53) and represents the link between our knowledge of the social world and its ongoing reproduction. The centrality of reflexive awareness is the recognition that knowledgeable, motivated human intervention can shape the future. As a core concept in this thesis, I further consider reflexivity in the next section (1.3.1).

At this juncture it is important to recognise the sweeping changes which have affected the spread and receipt of this reflexively applied knowledge. As a contributory dynamic toward globalisation, it has been mass communications and transportation which have brought the world to the individual and taken the individual to the world (Spybey, 1996: 11-12). First hand or relayed experiences of the social world outside the immediate locality have widened people's horizons. Human and social actors furnish themselves with information which includes global knowledge, awareness and experience which become entrenched in the social institutions which they routinely produce and reproduce.

Globalisation influences the reproduction of social institutions by continually presenting us with a globally derived and cumulative cultural background to inform the reflexive monitoring process in social behaviour. (Spybey, 1996: 12)
As the framework within which reflexive monitoring of action occurs has become global, so these social relations become institutionalised and part of the processes which encourage globalisation.

Employing these concepts, Giddens explains major social change without succumbing to determinism. The role of human agents in the production and reproduction of social systems is stressed: it is people who stretch institutional forms by employing common practices in their day-to-day lives. Disembedded social relations also rely upon individuals using and thus reproducing 'abstract systems'. Lastly reflexive social actors who actively engage with their social environment are the agents that produce the sweep of history. These three concepts explain how globalisation can be related to human action (and thereby ensure that agency is accounted for in the transformation of social relations over time). These changing social relations are the substance of the next section.

1.3 Globalising Influences

The conceptual devices in the contemporary sociological literature which explain ongoing globalisation are interpenetration, relativisation, detraditionalisation (including a notion of post-traditional society) and institutional reflexivity. Interpenetration can address how social influences are reproduced by human agency in specific locales. Relativisation can explain how individuals are more aware of their position (culture and identity) in relation to others within global parameters. Detraditionalisation goes a step beyond relativisation to where different positions can become engaged in dialogue as individuals are 'forced to choose'. Lastly, institutional reflexivity suggests that certainty has been opened to question, but that human attempts to shape their social environments continue. These concepts are 'globalising' because they characterise actions, attitudes and contexts which encourage global interconnection and consciousness (and as such will be useful as indications of ongoing globalisation).
For Robertson (1992) a key influence toward globalisation is the 'interpenetration' of cultural influences. This draws upon Wallerstein's idea of 'universalism through particularism' and the 'particularism through universalism' (Wallerstein, 1984: 166-7; Spybey, 1996: 156). 'Universals' could include examples like the nation-state model, scientific rationality or mass production, while 'particulars' are expressions of locality (e.g., cultural artefacts or beliefs systems).

[...] the abstract idea of universalising democracy and human rights forms a brittle material in which the rays of national tradition - the language, literature and history of a particular nation - are refracted. (Habermas, 1988: 10)

The idea is that universal influences are being shaped and changed according to the local context, while particularities are being conceived within a unitary whole.

Some 'universal' cultural influences can be highly pervasive, as expressed in suggestions of 'Americanisation' or Western cultural imperialism (see for example, Schiller, 1976, 1985; Boyd-Barrett, 1977, 1982). However, Spybey (1996) argues against such simplistic, unidirectional interpretations which overlook the possibility of different receptions, interpretations and utilisations of cultural messages (explored further in Chapter Two on the globalisation of mass communication). Also, Robertson notes that mass culture historically originates from local culture. Colonial imperialism did not simply homogenise, rather it institutionalised local particularism on a global scale (1995: 38). Contemporary cultural examples of Coca-cola, McDonald's and Disney have become pervasive, but all originate from Twentieth Century American culture.

Robertson suggests that contemporary globalisation is better characterised by an 'interpenetration':

[...] we are, in the late twentieth century, witnesses to - and participants in - a massive, two-fold process involving the interpenetration of the universalization of particularism and the particularization of universalism. [...] (Robertson, 1992: 100, emphasis in original)

Globalisation is thus portrayed as a complex, even contradictory, interplay of cultural influences. Simple models of homogenisation are dismissed, but the process of
interpenetration can be seen to promote global awareness. Pervasive cultural products (e.g., Nike branded sportswear) promote a non-local awareness among those people who are exposed to them. A global consciousness arises because non-local influences also act to highlight local specificity within a broader human cultural arena. Robertson suggests that awareness of a wider arena stimulates localities to distinguish themselves from one another. In a contradictory way, the spread of 'universals' has the outcome of re-emphasising 'particularity'.

In this way, globalising influences do not simply imply the world-wide spread of a dominant culture. Firstly, cultural products are always locally interpreted by social actors. They can be cast in a different light depending on the locale (e.g., typically 'Western' products such as Coca-cola, McDonald's and Disney may be viewed differently by individuals in London, Moscow and Kabul).

[...] we should now speak in such terms as the global institutionalization of the lifeworld and the localization of globality (Robertson, 1990: 19)

At the same time, even in those places where 'Western' cultural products are welcomed, local culture is not submerged. Instead it stands relative to such pervasive cultural products. In doing so, it is brought into a comparative realm, one small part of an inclusive global cultural framework. This is the interpenetration: at the same time, universals are being particularised, while particularities are being universalised.

For Giddens, globalisation is dialectical: it 'consists in mutually opposed tendencies' (1990: 64). The outcome is a world of contradictory dynamics which coexist: similarity and difference or homogeneity and heterogeneity (see McGrew, 1992). Instead of simple arguments of global versus local or universal versus particular, Robertson highlights the interpenetration between such categories. The interpenetration of culture and new forms of cultural diversity are explored by concepts of hybridity, 'third cultures' and creolization (Pieterse, 1995; Featherstone, 1990; Hannerz, 1987). This cultural interpenetration can be viewed as part of ongoing globalisation.
The interpenetration between the global (universal) and the local (particular) is reformulated in the idea of 'glocalisation'. Glocalisation is not merely a recognition of existing global variety, but also involves the construction of differentiated consumers and locales (Robertson, 1995: 28-30). Originating from commerce, the term refers to the tailoring of standardised goods to particular local markets (e.g., magazines such as Newsweek and Cosmopolitan have a different covers and contents for different world regions). Sociologically it emphasises that local cultural identities are predominantly constructed in terms of 'increasingly global dynamics' (1995: 34). However:


To escape simplistic accounts of cultural imperialism, the 'global' is not portrayed as over and above the 'local'. Here, the role of human agency becomes crucial if determinism is to be avoided.

It is peoples' consciousness of their relative position within a global field which reinforces their active role in social change (Robertson, 1992: 27). To avoid the problems of determinism, Robertson treats individuals as the agents who reproduce their social structures (in line with Giddens' structuration theory which I shall explain in Chapter Two). This underlines that human agency and social outcomes are not divisible. Rather than the imposition of homogenous cultural values, it is the active acceptance and reproduction of cultural influences in peoples' social lives which underlies interpenetration as a globalising influence. Recalling the concepts of disembedding/ reembedding introduced earlier as globalising dynamics, cultural forms are separated from their context. The pervasive ones have spread world-wide encouraging a cultural awareness beyond any specific locale. Others exist in relation to these in global cultural framework.

In summary, the interpenetration of culture is a globalising influence upon the consciousness of individuals and their reproduction of the social world. Rather than globalising influences being an external force, it is the awareness of global parameters which is drawn on and manipulated by agents in their social contexts. Ideas about cultural imperialism are replaced with a contingent, mediated and active account which can be
sensitive to the context of localities. Unidirectionalism is displaced by interpenetration allowing influences to flow in different directions, creating new, hybrid forms and promoting difference and similarity concurrently.

1.3.2 Relativisation

The next globalising influence which I explore is what Robertson (1992) has termed relativisation. This term is used to explain the 'increasing consciousness' element in his definition of globalisation. Relativisation characterises an increasing complexity in the formation of cultural and personal identity, explaining this in terms of the relative nature of knowledge within a global field. Expressed simply, individual experience is increasingly located in global parameters, rather than local or national. To evaluate the usefulness of the concept for the project I need to position it against other sociological attempts at conceptualising contemporary social experience. A key sociological debate currently questions if social experience is becoming increasingly similar or increasingly different around the world.

On one hand, it can be suggested that established influences on identity have broken down and new and diverse approaches have arisen. What can loosely be termed 'postmodern' accounts have tended toward highlighting the fragmentary nature of social experience. Communications and travel have opened up a whole world of cultures, which have challenged existing dominant ones. As a consequence, self-identities are lacking in depth. They are constructed from ideas and items which are, quite literally, taken out of context. The ephemeral nature of contemporary experience is a product of a new era of socio-cultural relations beyond the universalism and certainty supposedly associated with modernity. However, dwelling on the fragmented nature of contemporary social experience fails to appreciate the unifying trends which are also visible in the social world.

Consumer culture can be viewed as making social experiences the same world-wide. Developing ideas of 'cultural imperialism', which propounded simple homogenisation (or Americanisation), Hall (1992) explains how the global capitalist economy is creating both
similarity and difference. One the one hand, the expanding capitalist mode and the spread of communications systems infiltrate indigenous cultures, creating a homogenised global culture. At the same time, identities are also being differentiated:

Cultural products are assembled from all over the world and turned into commodities for a new 'cosmopolitan' market place: world music and tourism; ethnic arts, fashion and cuisine; Third World writing and cinema. The local and the 'exotic' are torn out of place and time to be repackaged for the world bazaar. So-called world culture may reflect a new valuation of difference and particularity, but it also very much about making a profit from it. (Robins, 1991: 29 reproduced in Hall, 1992: 318)

From these neo-Marxist perspectives, the social experience of both similarity and difference is a by-product of activity in the economic sphere.

Neither postmodern explanations (which only see fragmentation) nor neo-Marxist accounts (which see similarity and difference but rely on the economic mechanism as the final causal variable) adequately conceptualise the dynamics which underlie contemporary social experience. Instead, relativisation explains both similarity and difference without recourse to economic determinism. Globalisation promotes neither simple homogeneity nor heterogeneity, but is an awareness of 'socio-cultural pluralism': the diversity in the approaches to social life. McLennan (1995) identifies the current sociological incarnation of 'relativism' (the emphasis on difference) as having antecedents in pluralism. This pluralism 'emerges unmodified out of our contemporary social experience' (1995: 99). In other words, differences exist in our experience of everyday social life; identity and culture are always relative.

Robertson (1992) conceptualises the awareness of diversity on a global scale as occurring through 'relativisation'. As the institutional components of the world compress, individuals are stimulated toward multi-cultural awareness. In any spatial/temporal context there are dominant ways of 'doing identity', yet in 'one-world' these ways will be shared and/or collide. As a consequence, self-identity is becoming increasingly more complex. It becomes comparative within a global sphere of reference. To this extent, the world is becoming more unified, although conflict is still inherent and Robertson does not necessarily imply 'unification' is a positive movement (Waters, 1995: 39-46).
To 'map' the dimensions within which globally relativised identities are formed, Robertson gives four 'reference points': national societies, the individual, relations between national societies and humankind (1992: 25-31). These mark the arenas of relativisation and 'map' the dimensions of consciousness within the 'global-human condition' or 'global field'. This demonstrates the types of relativisation which he feels are important, say, the individual becoming relative to humankind as a whole. This changing self-identity is reflected in, say, environmentalism or peace/anti-nuclear concerns which have generated social movements. Another example is 'national societies' viewing themselves in relation to a system of nation-states (1992: 27). The core idea of relativisation is that consciousness of the world as a whole is intensified because of awareness of humanity per se and other societies, nations, individuals and cultures.

Robertson intends to inject flexibility into considerations of totality by treating complexity as 'somewhat like a moral issue in its own right' (1992: 28). Each of the four components has a relative autonomy, but is constrained by the other three. He is concerned to emphasise the fluidity of the positions and his assertion of the structurated nature of social change in part serves to add the fluidity he strives for (1990: 16-25). His use of the concept of relativisation also adds dynamism. Relativisation is the active process of 'increasing consciousness' central to contemporary globalisation.

Relativisation generates the repositioning which accompanies a growing awareness of global parameters. It is this consciousness of interpenetration (which for Robertson marks out 'what is new' about globalisation) that helps constitute the world as 'one place'. Sztompka (1993) explains that as a phenomenon of public life, globalisation and its issues are necessarily reflected in social consciousness and individual consciousness of the social.

Various new images of the world appear; some of them remain at the level of common sense, and some become articulated in specific ideologies of globalism or anti-globalism. All of them acquire reflexive causal importance, become independent causal variables co-shaping actual globalising tendencies. Appearing themselves as responses to globality, they turn into determinants of globality (Sztompka 1993: 95).

This suggests that as people conceptualise the world as a whole, they reproduce it as such.
Aspects of Robertson's four-fold typology have come under question, particularly the socially constructed nature of the categories. Spybey suggests that 'the individual' is the odd one out, as individuals reproduce the others as social constructs in their daily lives (1996, 157-8). However, it should be noted that 'the individual' (as part of a conceptual scheme) is as much a construct of post-enlightenment thought as any of the others. In other words, it is not the categories themselves which are the problem, it is Robertson's essentially static functionalist approach to conceptualising the social world which is problematic. As noted above, he wishes to establish the way the world is ordered (1992:26) and while he emphasises fluidity where possible, he acknowledges the status of the global field schematic as a 'map'.

Social experience of pluralism is evident in postmodern characterisations of 'pick and mix' identity and the 'off the shelf' lifestyle created through ideas and items removed from their original context. The dynamic of disembedding/reembedding introduced earlier expresses how this is part of globalisation. Ideas and items are removed from their locale and transplanted elsewhere, relativising social experience. Equally, dominant 'Western' culture is also reproduced world-wide. Recalling interpenetration, pervasive influences become specific to each context and relative to other marginal cultures. Relativisation of social experience adds to the notion of 'socio-cultural pluralism' the ideas of pervasive influences and new hybrid forms arising out of interpenetration.

The implication of this relativisation for individuals and organisations can be an increasing awareness that the context of their existence is global. At the same time, relativisation also accounts for the fragmentation often labelled as postmodern. The location of ones identity within a comparative frame of reference draws attention to the alternatives which exist in the world, re-framing how one must consider ones own values and beliefs. I will go on to explore this in the following section on detraditionalisation. At this point it is simply important to note that relativisation fosters awareness of a totality, but framed in terms of competing positions.
Continuing the examination of globalising influences, I shall now turn to 'detraditionalisation'. Detraditionalisation is the replacement of traditional beliefs with rationalised choices. Heelas (1996) argues that it is accepted that it is occurring, but how, why, the extent and the outcomes are matters of contention. Moving on from relativisation (where people recognise their way of life as merely one possibility among many others), the detraditionalisation process forces individual and social actors into justifying their stance or belief against those of others. As I shall explain, it is argued by Giddens (1994, 1994a) that this process is moving us toward a 'post-traditional social order'.

To explain the decline of tradition, Giddens (1994) suggests that traditional beliefs are based on 'formulaic notion of truth' rather than rationally achieved ones. Formulaic truths are based in ritual, interpreted and espoused by guardians of knowledge (e.g., magicians, elders, religious functionaries). They are largely uncontradictable, especially from within their own context. Yet once they are held up for comparative evaluation (as happens with relativisation), tradition is thoroughly undermined (Giddens, 1994: 65). Thus, detraditionalisation can be defined 'a decline of the belief in a pre-given or natural order of things' after which 'individual subjects are themselves called upon to exercise authority' (Heelas, 1996: 2). It is a 'shift in authority: from without to within' (1996: 2). As I will show presently, the vocabulary of 'choice' is a central concern for theorists detraditionalisation.

Heelas (1996) identifies a number of competing positions within the detraditionalisation thesis. The debate questions whether detraditionalisation has occurred completely, or whether it is partial. For Heelas, the radical thesis suggests a sharp break with a previous era. Opposing this is the co-existence thesis: which views detraditionalisation as accompanied by the maintenance, rejuvenation and construction of tradition (1996: 7-9). Heelas's polarisation implies that in the radical approach tradition is lost or is no longer important. However, while categorised as a radical approach, Giddens acknowledges the survival of traditions as social constructs which are continuously created and dissolved.
through human agency (1990: 37). What has changed in the era of detraditionalisation is that traditions co-exist in dialogical relation with one another. They persist if they are made available to 'discursive justification' (Giddens, 1994: 105), although this effectively makes them a 'sham' (Giddens, 1990: 38). Outside of this, as I will shortly explain, traditions also exist as fundamentalisms (Giddens, 1994, 1994a).

Detraditionalisation as an ongoing process is linked by Giddens to the idea of a post-traditional society (1994, 1994a). This is not a national society, but rather a 'global cosmopolitan order' (1994a: 83).

[...] post-traditional society is the first global society [...] A world where no one is 'outside' is one where pre-existing traditions cannot avoid contact not only with others but also with many alternative ways of life. (1994: 96-7)

This shift to a post-traditional society arises out of two sets of transformations: one is the 'extensional spread of modern institutions, universalised via globalising processes' and the other is 'the radicalising of modernity' which serves to evacuate, disinter and problematise tradition (Giddens, 1994: 57). I explore this 'radicalising' in the next section (institutional reflexivity), but for now it is enough to understand that it undermines certainty.

To link post-traditional society and the global spread of modern institutions (and explain why detraditionalisation is a globalising influence), I must return to the concept of disembedding/reembedding. The disembedding of activities implies intensified processes of detraditionalisation (Giddens, 1994a: 83). Traditional practices are embedded in their context, they are localised. Conversely, globalised practices are the institutionalised forms of modernity which have been spread world-wide, particularly since European colonialism (Giddens, 1990). These institutions promote ways of acting and thinking which are essentially 'reembedded information derived from abstract systems' (Giddens, 1994: 88-90). Abstract systems are the symbolic tokens (e.g., money) and expert systems (e.g., legality, finance, science, medicine, etc.) which have been distanciated across time-space.

Detraditionalisation occurs because the institutions of abstract systems sever the connection between belief and locality upon which traditional authority depended. Thus,
tradition is undermined as conditions specific to locality are brought under the aegis of
globalised institutional forms:

The evacuation of local contexts of action went hand in hand with growing time-
space distanciation (disembedding). (Giddens, 1994: 93)

The processes of globalisation excavate traditional contexts of action because of the
disembedding consequences of abstract systems. In other words, localised, context-laden
tradition is undermined by globalised, expert knowledge (as it relativises belief within a
global field).

Resistance to the spread of post-traditional, global society takes the form of opposition to
detraditionalisation. Detraditionalisation seems to divide people between those who are
willing to open to dialogue within a pluralistic framework and those who are not. For
Giddens, traditions are either articulated and thus open to challenge, or they are
fundamentalisms. A fundamentalism is not simply defined by the defence of tradition, but
also the manner of that defence - it defends tradition in a traditional way. A
fundamentalism asserts 'its ritual truth' and refuses 'discursive engagements' (1994a: 85).
Giddens argues that when cultures come together they do so in violence or dialogue (1994:
106). For this reason, fundamentalisms are considered dangerous; without recourse to
dialogue, a fundamentalist stance can breed violence.

Indeed, opposition to globalisation can be seen to come from fundamentalisms. Robertson
(1992) suggests that resistance to globalisation comes from those who are both anti-
modern and anti-postmodern. To clarify, those who disavow globalisation are opposed to
the stance of 'one world' united around the supposedly universal values of modernity (such
as democracy, human rights or rationality). They oppose what they consider the spread of
a pervasive culture which encourages homogeneity and undermines existing religious or
cultural heritage. However, they are also anti-postmodern because they continue to argue
the essential correctness of their stance above those of others. Their opposition extends to
the disavowal of culturally diverse but equal ways of life (postmodern).
This is the characteristic of fundamentalists: they accept neither 'equal but different' nor the 'universalism' associated with pervasive modernity. One exception could be those whose fundamentalism is the 'religion of science'; people who continue to argue that science can lead to truth. Although as Giddens notes, even the staunchest advocates of science recognise the essentially shifting ground on which it rests and the lack of certainty even in the most 'dependable' scientific knowledge (1990: 39). Fundamentalism can become entrenched in many forms of religious and cultural expression (from say, Christianity to White Supremacy to Animal Rights). Ironically, fundamentalists seem to have more in common with radical opponents than with 'moderates' with similar beliefs. However, in an uncertain world, only those with fundamentalist beliefs are certain.

For everyone else in post-traditional society, individual choice supplants imposed dogma. The value placed on individualism in 'Western' society is a factor in detraditionalisation. Contemporary espousals of democratic rights, self-determined identity and entrepreneurship are examples of individuality being valued over collectivity (Heelas, 1996: 3-7). In this way, while not a national society, a post-traditional social order most accurately characterises contemporary life for the populations of 'Western', capitalist, liberal democracies. Such societies have established frameworks for mass participation in politics, economics and culture. Within these frameworks, detraditionalisation has so radically revised social relations that Giddens suggests: 'in post-traditional contexts, we have no choice but to choose how to be and how to act' (1994: 75).

Within the post-traditional social order, the vocabulary of choice has become an important political and economic tool, although questions remain over the rhetoric and reality. For example, Ritzer's (1993) 'McDonaldization thesis' is cited by Heelas to suggest that consumerism and bureaucracy undermine the rhetoric of choice. Heelas adds:

ideologies of the autonomous self might be important today. [...] the fact remains that we are socio-cultural beings. Our voices of authority might appear to come from within ourselves, but have been acquired in terms of established values and practices. We can, of course, speak as individuals. What we cannot do is speak as individuals without being informed by all those sustained voices of external authority which - alone - can give enough 'shape' to our lives to enable us to act as identifiable subjects. (1996: 9)
Giddens underlines that choice is constrained in at least three ways: emotional or subconscious programming; the necessity of routine and the structural constraints which are out the hands of individuals. Accordingly, he suggests that a distinction must be drawn between choice and decision making (1994: 75). While we are forced into decision making, decisions are taken within the existing relations of power. Further, choice may give each individual greater autonomy, but equally it can create anxiety and perhaps the search for a more secure identity back in traditional faiths or through a redefinition of the self (Axford, 1995: 15-16).

Detraditionalisation is one step beyond relativisation. Once cultural diversity is stimulated, the comparative awareness begs questions of previously held truths. To justify ones beliefs in relation to those of others replaces traditional belief with a rational decision. However, tradition has not disappeared, rather it exists either in dialogue with others or as a fundamentalism. I will use Giddens' post-traditional dialogue versus fundamentalism as the basis of an ideal-typical characterisation in Chapter Seven. A post-traditional society is not a national society, but the idea would seem best to apply to 'Western', capitalist, liberal democracies where individualism and mass participation have been entrenched by modernity. Individuals in the post-traditional social order are agents of detraditionalisation as they have 'no choice but to choose', however, the extent of individual empowerment remains questionable.

1.3.4 Institutional reflexivity

The concept of 'reflexivity', introduced earlier as a globalising dynamic, has been widely used in contemporary sociology (Beck, 1992; Giddens, 1990, 1991; Lash, 1990, 1993; Lash and Urry, 1994; Giddens, Beck and Lash, 1994). Lash (1990) juxtaposes social action as ideal types: the rational or reflexive and the traditional or conventional. The latter (associated with traditional societies) is prescribed action undertaken without choice or, as if it were fated. In contrast, rational or reflexive action (associated with modernity) is characterised by the recognition of alternatives, the notion of choice plus a sense of 'responsibility for the long-term consequences of one's action' (Lash, 1990: 149).
Individuals are active participants who use new information in a constant process of positioning themselves within their social environment. This is the reflexive monitoring of action:

There is a fundamental sense in which reflexivity is a defining characteristic of all human action. All human beings routinely 'keep in touch' with the grounds of what they do as an integral element of doing it. (Giddens, 1990: 36)

Citing the work of Goffman, Giddens argues that reflexive monitoring of action is 'chronic' in character: habitual, inherent and 'never-to-be-relaxed' (Giddens, 1990: 36-7; 1974). Lash and Urry (1994) identify four key features of Giddens' generic reflexivity. Firstly, it is the monitoring of conduct of the self. Secondly, humans are knowledgeable about their social situations and can provide justifications for their action. In light of this, reflexivity is strategic and based on their understanding (third and fourth, respectively) (1994: 38).

It is possible to speak of both individual and systemic reflexivity (Lash, 1993). Alongside individuals, reflexivity can involve 'self-monitoring by a social system and a part of a social systems' (1993: 4). For example, Giddens (1991) sees the modern state in terms of reflexively monitored systems (Lash and Urry, 1994: 39). As a collective orientation reflexivity is acclaimed as a central constituent of the social world, termed 'reflexive modernisation' by Beck (1994) and 'institutional reflexivity' by Giddens (1994). The relationship between individual and institutional reflexivity is that the former has become institutionalised as a framework within which action takes place (Axford, 1995). The reflexive monitoring by human beings is the 'necessary basis' of the institutional reflexivity in modernity (Giddens, 1990: 37).

In the last section, aside from globalised abstract systems, the 'radicalisation of modernity' is given by Giddens (1994) as a reason for the process of detraditionalisation and development of (global) post-traditional society. To show that institutional reflexivity is a globalising influence I shall now explain how this radicalisation has turned a general awareness of others into a complete reassessment of modern beliefs and actions. As Beck (1994) suggests, reflexivity is indicative of self-confrontation, not merely reflection. The radicalisation is based on modernity's reflexive quality, on self-confrontation in the light of
new information. This reflexive confrontation has turned modernity on itself, leading to the questioning of its established truths (particularly the status of science) and the undermining of certainty.

To explain, Giddens (1994) argues that in traditional social life, deference to authority (natural or supernatural) was the accepted state. In modernity, rationality and scientific expertise were supposed to increase control, lend certainty to knowledge claims and avoid unsubstantiated deference. In contradiction to this hope, uncertainty has spread in the social world (evidenced by accounts of postmodern fragmentation). As science usurped tradition during the era of the Enlightenment, dogma was to be replaced with reasoned certitude:

But this idea only appears persuasive so long as we do not see that the reflexivity of modernity actually subverts reason, at any rate where reason is understood as the gaining of certain knowledge. (Giddens, 1990: 39)

Reason is founded on the premise of radical doubt: truth is only achieved by first doubting everything. However, once this critical capacity is turned upon reason itself, claims to certainty are themselves undermined. Scientific certainty is based upon radical doubt, but if everything must be doubted, then so too must science. Only uncertainty is certain.

This tension was masked by the authority of science and the world-wide dominance of Western institutional forms. This aura of authority is waning as science itself is subjected to the doubt on which it is founded (Giddens, 1994: 86-7). In the early modern world, science became similar to tradition: it was a monolithic source of authority. While modernity set out to destroy tradition, early modern institutions not only depended upon traditions, they created new ones and used both to create legitimacy for the emerging system of power (Giddens, 1994). The reliance upon the authority of science is an example of a new tradition used to create legitimacy. This collaboration phase, termed 'simple modernity' (Beck, 1992), has ended with the emergence of 'reflexive modernity' (Beck, 1994). While reflexive modernity succeeds simple modernity they are not in opposition, as modernity by definition must be reflexive (Lash, 1993: 3-5). By virtue of its inherent dynamism, modern society is undercutting its own formations; reflexive modernity is 'the modernisation of modernisation' (Beck, 1994: 4).
Albrow notes that using the terminology of modernisation ties reflexivity to modernity (1996: 26). Giddens (1994) prefers the term 'institutional reflexivity' as reflexive modernisation implies direction and completion on the unknowable future. Nevertheless, for Beck and Giddens postmodernity (used by others as descriptive of a new phase of social organisation) is merely modernism in the extreme. Where certainty is removed, flows of information are creating new (global) social relations. Castells (1989) introduces the idea of 'objectified reflexivity': the ability of machines to retrieve, store and analyse information. This information is then built in to goods, services and decisions which are 'information soaked' (Lash and Urry, 1994: 221). The proliferation of knowledge and information has undermined traditional insular (and insulated) world views. This, plus the undermining of the 'Western' sense of certainty, has contributed to interest, awareness and respect for other cultures and beliefs from around the world.

For both Beck (1994) and Giddens (1994), the growth of knowledge brings new uncertainties and new opportunities. Institutional reflexivity is considered to be double-edged: in some ways it can contribute to human emancipation, while in other ways the loss of certainty can fuel anxiety. But, this is not the unfettered chaos of postmodernity; attempts at control remain necessary and feasible (Giddens, 1994: 185).

the more societies are modernised, the more agents (subjects) acquire the ability to reflect on the social conditions of their existence and to change them in that way. (Beck, 1994: 174).

Nevertheless, the prevalence of reflexivity, dialogue and choice in the post-traditional social order demand some kind of framework for decision making. Despite the radicalisation of modernity (which stripped science of its certainty) science and rationality remain centrally important to individual and collective decision making. Institutionally, modernity's experts and professionals remain entrenched as the arbiters of competing claims. As Heelas states, empirically, there has been no systematic collapse of 'authoritative cultural voices' (1996: 9).

Nevertheless, institutional reflexivity has changed the nature of political action. For Beck, 'individualization and globalisation are in fact two sides of the same process of reflexive
modernisation' (1994: 14). Earlier I noted that in post-traditional society individualisation is a compulsion: we are forced to choose. Beck suggests that 'this type of individualisation does not remain private: it becomes political in a definite, new sense' (1994: 16). He terms this sub-politics, while Giddens terms a similar conception 'life politics': the politics of choice, lifestyle and self-actualisation in post-traditional (thus global) contexts (1991: 214). New forms of political participation arise, both as sites of resistance to entrenched power and as collective expressions of individual beliefs and desires. Institutional reflexivity in a post-traditional social order has forced 'intermediate collectivities and groupings' to reshape and reorganise (Giddens, 1994: 58).

The radicalisation of modernity replaces certainty with doubt, but this is not a complete disintegration. While difference is recognised as legitimate within a framework of dialogue, decision making authority now rests on uncertain science and rationality. As a globalising influence, institutional reflexivity opens up information flows (heightening awareness of difference) and undermines 'Western' ethnocentric world views by replacing certainty with doubt. Within this, human agents continue attempts to shape their social environments. As the personal becomes political, individual and social actors enter into dialogue with social, political and economic institutions, create political agendas around lifestyles and adjust their forms of social organisation. These strategies are arrived at reflexively, as a means of relating to (and changing) the post-traditional social order.

Chapter summary

I have established a working definition which described globalisation. This analytically distinguished between globalised social interrelations and people's awareness of these (but noted the reflexive relation between them). Having recognised that the term global is socially constructed I have used the idea of a global frame of reference which comprises fluid and contested definitions (while globalism defined those values whose context is the entire planet). When positioning this thesis within the existing theories of globalisation, I have rejected mono-causal theories in favour of a multi-dimensional approach and used the concepts distanciation, disembedding and reflexivity to show how globalisation is
constituted through reproduced social relations and active human agents. To account for the equivocal, contingent, human-created and multiple activities which facilitate and encourage global interdependence I have employed the term 'processes of globalisation'. It is the activities which interconnect the social relations across the world and promote human awareness of those interconnections that I will consider as ongoing globalisation. I have also introduced four 'globalising influences' which characterise social relations in a post-traditional (global) society and conceptualise global interconnection and consciousness. I will employ these as indications of ongoing globalisation in the case study to aid interpretation of the evidence.

Notes for Chapter One

1 The interpenetration between local and global was referred to by Robins (1989) and Alger (1988) as the 'global-local nexus'. The term 'glocal' was used by Featherstone (1990), although like the term globalization, it was coined by business people.

2 The concept of a post-traditional world is employed by Habermas (1988). Individually, it is linked to the idea of radicalized personal identities and the 'reflexive appropriation of the traditions to which we belong' (1988: 9). Socially, through the public transmission of culture we decide which traditions are carried on in the face of ambivalence toward every tradition (1988: 11).
CHAPTER TWO

GLOBALISATION AND SOCIAL SYSTEMS: THE GLOBALISED SYSTEMS OF FOOD AND COMMUNICATIONS

As Chapter One emphasised the role of human agency in the processes of social change, my first task in Chapter Two is to conceptualise social systems. I will give some thought to social systems since, like the theories and concepts introduced in Chapter One, these form a framework for interpreting and understanding the case study evidence. Social systems are relevant to the thesis because I will be arguing that *The Vegetarian Society* works within (and contributes toward) globalised social systems as a routine part of its promotional activities (Chapter Six). Thus, in this chapter I have two aims. Firstly, to underpin the idea of active and routine reproduction, I need to conceptualise social systems as an outcome of human actions and interactions. Secondly, I wish to establish that globalised social systems exist, particularly those relevant to the case study (food and communication).

In the first section I shall explain how some 'systems theories' employ explanations which are reductionist (promoting explanations based on the primacy of the economy and deterministic accounts of human action within social systems). To address these limitations I introduce the approach of structuration to characterise social systems as extended social relations. While social systems display embedded (institutionalised) structural properties, they are in essence the interrelation of situated activities undertaken by individual and social actors. In the second section I position the case study within the sociological context. Here, I give further consideration to the theories of globalisation (some of which were introduced in Chapter One), particularly those which emphasise systemic qualities.

In two further sections I show that systems of food and communications have been globalised. In each I consider the historical development of globalised social systems against a backdrop of power relations (colonial politics and capitalist economics). I then explore the role of individuals within the pervasive systems of food and...
communication. By doing this I re-emphasise how systems are constituted by human agents who produce and reproduce social institutions within the bounds of existing and sometimes unacknowledged conditions (including unequal power relations). Finally in each section I introduce issues raised by the globalised nature of these social systems, which will be relevant to an analysis of the case study (Chapters Six and Seven).

2.1 Conceptualising Social Systems: Determinism and Human Agency

In Chapter One I emphasised how human action was important to globalisation, however, theorists often rely upon ideas of 'social systems' to describe patterns of global interrelations. While this is both necessary and inevitable some caution must be expressed as, in some conceptions of social systems, 'the system is held to be greater than the sum of the individual actions which make it up' (Walters, 1994: 131). Systems theories have been important in sociology: they conceive of and study social institutions, stratification patterns, the relations between different parts of society and between societies. Walters (1994) distinguishes between two broad types: those which characterise oppressive 'power arrangements which are put in place by the privileged to preserve or maintain their position' (e.g., capitalism or patriarchy) and those that view systems as an all-pervasive entity 'which stands above and is opposed to each and every person, no matter what their level of privilege' (1994:130). The two dominant forms of such theories are, respectively, historical materialism and structural functionalism. Spybey suggests both 'fall prey to similar conceptual problems' (1992: 18) in their treatment of social change.

Historical materialist and structural functionalist conceptions of social systems can be susceptible to problems of 'determinism' and 'functionalism' (Spybey, 1992: 15-6). In some theories social systems are afforded their own 'logic' which drives society toward a pre-determined future (e.g., the logic of industrialism in Kerr's (1960) convergence theory or the logic of capitalist expansion in Bukharin's (1929) theory of imperialism). Accordingly, functions are attached to social institutions that are consistent with the predicted outcome of social change (Spybey, 1992: 18), suggesting that 'historical
progress is self-regulating' (1992: 17). Social institutions become objects to study and, in extreme forms, human beings are treated as merely the bearers of social structure. In such theories the future is determined, rendering the activities of individuals irrelevant. Equally, responsibility for individual actions can be avoided or blamed on 'the system' (Spybey, 1992). Social systems can be an appropriate device for conceiving of the social world, the problem is, how to do so without belittling the role of human agents.

Giddens' theory of structuration attributes value to both society and individuals. Expressed in a simplified form, structuration is the creation and reproduction of apparently 'tangible' social structures by human agency. These structures both enable and constrain individual activity, which itself has the potential to change them. To avoid the determinism and functionalism implicit in other systems theories, Giddens differentiates between 'structure' and 'system'. Structure refers to the 'rules and resources' which are recursively drawn upon in human actions while in contrast, systems are 'social relations' (I will explore systems presently). Social structures and human agency form a duality:

[...] social structures are both constituted by human agency, and yet at the same time are the very medium of this constitution. (Giddens, 1976: 121)

As a medium, social structures (such as language) both facilitate and limit human agency. As an outcome, social structures are reproduced by individuals drawing upon them in their day-to-day interactions. This is the 'duality of structure' (Giddens, 1984: 25).

Social structures are composed of rules and resources. Rules are (among other things) 'procedures of action' (Giddens, 1984: 17-25). For example, language follows rules which regulate interaction both facilitating communication and limiting it. Language is fluid, it is open to change and revision, although dominant forms remain constant (Dickens, 1992:145-6). Rules are largely unacknowledged in everyday social activities, but they are drawn upon by agents and are consequently reproduced. Resources are used by agents as they attempt to control and shape the conditions of their existence. Giddens (1984) identifies two broad types of resources: allocative (economic) and
By employing resources to their advantage, it is the activities of human agents which constitute the existence of these. Unlike the functionalist framework, for Giddens social structure only exists in the instant. In functionalist theories, social structure is likened to an 'external' skeleton, while Giddens' views it as 'internal' to each social actor. It exists to the extent that it is used (overtly or unintentionally) in peoples' lives.

Individuals in the social system are knowledgeable human agents who actively shape their social environment. Subconscious motivations and pragmatic rationality are coupled with the reflexive monitoring of day-to-day action (Spybey, 1992: 35). Thus, people have desires (ends) and the capacity to achieve these by adjusting their actions (means). Of course, individual human agents do not have full control, either of the conditions under which they act or of the consequences of their actions. Giddens (1984) suggests that actions are framed by unacknowledged conditions and may have unintended consequences for the social world.

To explain 'unintended consequences' Giddens separates what is done from what is intended. While life consists of a flow of intentional action, acts can also have unintended consequences (1984: 8-10). In other words, the outcomes which result from courses of action may be unanticipated by the social actor involved. Equally, activities are undertaken under conditions which are frequently 'unacknowledged'. For instance, the rules and resources which are drawn upon (and thus reproduced) are often routine elements of social life whose relevance is unacknowledged (e.g., financial exchange or political activity). Thus, social patterns are a mixture of motivated action, unintended consequences and reproduced unacknowledged conditions of action.

So, social structure comprises the rules and resources reproduced by human agents in the 'instant'. In contrast, social systems are the tangible patterns of human interrelations and interactions across time and space. They are not 'structures', rather they have 'structural properties' (the most enduring ones are termed institutions). As Giddens puts it, 'structure is recursively implicated' in social systems (1984; 1995: 86). Given that
systems have structural properties and structure is actively reproduced by human agents, systems are effectively the situated activities of people. By virtue of interaction and interrelations, situated activities are thus a part of social systems which span time and space. In conceiving of social systems which have become globalised, these relations link the activities of distant actors to common patterns of social relations.

This overcomes the type of determinism discussed earlier because it adds the dynamism of active, motivated human agents to accounts of social systems. The future is not determined, it is created. As systems have institutionalised structural properties (and structure is reproduced by humans who have knowledge and intention), social systems are expressions of interrelated human activity. Rules, resources and institutional settings are reproduced by human agents as they go about their activities within extended systems of social relations. Theoretically, this gives humans a grasp over their own future, while acknowledging that activities are constrained by the structures that are continually recreated and have outcomes beyond immediate control. This also addresses the problem of functionalism as 'social systems have no purposes, reasons or needs whatsoever; only human individuals do so' (Giddens, 1979: 7).

Giddens' theory of structuration suggests that it is the activities of motivated and knowledgeable human agents which produce and reproduce the rules and resources of social structure. Actors have intention, but sometimes within parameters beyond their awareness and with outcomes not necessarily of their choosing. Some of these parameters and outcomes can be conceptually expressed in terms of 'institutions', which are the enduring features of 'social systems'. While social systems have deeply embedded, institutionalised, structural properties, in essence they remain the interrelation of agents' situated activities. Employing this approach I can study systems as conceptual entities, without treating them as objects (enabling me to suggest that The Society's routine social relations produce and reproduce globalised social systems).
2.2 Globalisation and Social Systems

The working definition of globalisation included both a compression of the world and an intensification of consciousness. In Chapter One I considered the role of human agency and introduced concepts related to the intensification of consciousness. In this section I will address the 'compression of the world' by exploring how theories of globalisation conceive of social systems. As in Chapter One, I favour multi-dimensional approaches over mono-causal ones. However, I will argue that the focus upon enduring institutional forms in the multi-dimensional approach of Giddens (1990) makes it an inappropriate analytical framework for this case study. Instead, by considering the 'impact of globality' on social systems (Albrow, 1996) I can provide a global context for the systemic reproduction evident in the case study (food and communication are shown as globalised systems in sections 2.3 and 2.4, respectively).

Robertson conceives of a single global system: the shrinking of the world is a 'concrete global interdependence' of an entire breadth of social actors and organisational constructs:

 civilisational cultures, national societies, intra- and cross-national movements and organisations, sub-societies and ethnic groups, intra-societal quasi-groups, individuals and so on (1992: 61).

Moreover, it gives rise to new actors such as transnational movements and international organisations (1992: 61). Globalisation involves processes which make the world into a single place with 'systemic qualities' (Robertson, 1992 in Axford, 1995: 5). Robertson draws upon the seminal work of Wallerstein (1974) to theorise this interconnection of 'one-world'.

In Wallerstein's broadly neo-Marxist approach, rather than the development of separate societies over time, a world system has been developing (Wallerstein, 1990a). He explains the transition from feudalism to capitalism (defined as a change in the social division of labour) occurred when commodity chains were transformed from trade in luxuries to 'bulk goods', forming a world economy. These commodity chains pre-dated
national economies and thus, he suggests, the capitalist world economy secured the construction of an interstate system:

The sovereign states were institutions that were then created within this (expanding) interstate system, were defined by it and derive their legitimacy from the combination of juridical self-assertion and recognition by others that is the essence of what we mean by 'sovereignty'. (Wallerstein, 1990a: 165)

The argument is that separate societies (and social classes within them) were created by this development of a world-system (1990a: 165-6).

Wallerstein's (1974) world-system analysis characterises the moving centres of the capitalist economy. The world economy epoch arose at the beginning of the sixteenth century, ushered in by expanding trade. States, as political entities ensured market conditions enabling capitalism to spread by self-propulsion. The role of the nation-state was thus subordinate to the capitalist economy, solving the problems which arose from the spreading capitalist mechanism. Innovations in transport, communications and technology allowed that spread to become global in its proportions (Sztompka, 1993: 90). Before considering how Robertson utilises Wallerstein, some consideration must be given to the criticisms of world-system analysis.

From Wallerstein's historical analysis, the world system becomes inseparable from a global capitalist economy. This can lead to problems of economism and determinism (like those identified in Sklair (1991) in Chapter One). The world system is:

[...] a unit which has a capacity to develop independently of the social processes and relationships which are internal to its component societies or states. (Waters, 1995: 23).

This is deterministic as the system seems to take on a life of its own, over and above the actions of individual and social actors who constitute it. People are reduced to the function of supporting the system. Robertson criticises Wallerstein's economism, suggesting that capitalism 'amplifies', rather than directs the processes of globalisation (1992: 100). Boyne (1990) and Worsely (1990) are also critical of Wallerstein's analysis as it prioritises economy over culture. In his own defence, Wallerstein argues that the division of culture, politics and economics is imposed by social scientific analysis (1990b). While this is plausible enough, his own social scientific concern to
map the development of capitalism continues to give primacy to economic change over
cultural and political.

In an attempt to lend his conception of a single unit greater flexibility, six 'vectors' are
identified within the world-system (Hopkins, Wallerstein, et al., 1996). These are the
nation-state system, the structure of world production, the structure of the world labour
force, the patterns of world human welfare, the social cohesion of states and the
structures of knowledge. These are viewed as:

[... the minimum array of interrelated facets of a single, imperfect, organic
whole, each vector quite dependent on the others. (Hopkins, Wallerstein, et al.: 1996: 2)]

The world system is the outcome of the interpenetration of these six vectors. However,
the system remains a conceptual whole. Wallerstein's approach is essentially a neo-
Marxist one, not simply a theory but a protest against inequality (Robertson, 1990: 49).
In this critical interpretation, inequalities are a product of one-world capitalism and a
better world requires a change of the system. While Hopkins, Wallerstein, et al. (1996),
Sklair (1991) and Appadurai (1990) all identify flexible internal divisions (vectors,
spheres and scapes), the operation of the capitalist system remains the determining
factor.

In contrast to the economism and reductionism implicit in these critical and
interventionist styles of theorising, Mennell's (1990) consideration of the work of Elias

It was in reaction to a prevalent overemphasis on economics that he tried to
show the equal centrality of violence and its control, intermeshing with
economic development and with the development of knowledge, in the overall
development of human society (Mennell, 1990: 369).

Central to Marxist interpretations of history is the predication of all human activity on
the need to provide for basic human needs, primary among these is the requirement for
food. Accordingly, the emergence of other social structures occurs once surpluses are
achieved; only when food was in surplus could people take part in other activities
outside of the realm of material production to satisfy needs. However, rather than
considering this as a causal (thus dependent) relation, Elias prefers to emphasise an interdependence.

As Mennell explains, a world-economy does not predate or cause state formation:

[...] the connection between the emergence of economic surpluses on the one hand and specialist priests and warriors on the other is reciprocal, not causally one-sided, in a process through time. (1990: 361)

The provision for material need (food) has a symbiotic relation to the protection of a territory (particularly after the move from hunter-gathering to planned agriculture). In the struggle for survival, the competition for scarce resources promoted the trend toward increasingly larger 'survival units'. In turn, survival units required internal order to bolster external competitiveness, strengthening military potential through order, organisation and taxation (Mennell, 1990: 363). It was this two-way relationship, of internal order and external violence, that was fundamental to the growth of increasingly inclusive systems of inter-state tension. Accordingly, the First and Second World Wars are so-called because 'they unfolded within a system of inter-state tensions' that was global (1990: 364). For Elias, employing interdependence over dependence allows a more flexible, multi-factor approach to understanding social change.

While recognising the criticisms levelled at Wallerstein, Robertson is not averse to theorising the world as a unified system (1992: 50). In a footnote to 'Mapping the Global Condition', Robertson admits:

I try to turn world-systems theory 'on its head' by emphasising culture and the agency aspect of the making of the global system.' (1990: 28)

Like Elias, Robertson prefers a multi-dimensional approach (as outlined in Chapter One) which does not fall prey to economism. To avoid determinism, he is concerned with the 'concrete structuration of the world as a whole' (1990: 20), with active human agents producing and reproducing the globe as one social space. He considers how people's views of the world have altered, so the globe is not simply perceived as being 'in itself', but also 'for itself' (1990: 23). While some conception of the 'world-as-a-whole' has been recognised throughout history, human awareness (of their relations to each other and the Earth as a whole) is rendering the world as one social space.
Robertson's goal is to uncover how the world is a 'singular system' (Moore, 1966) which is also the most salient plausibility structure of our time (Wuthnow, 1978) (1990: 20-1).

Robertson's approach to the global system is that it can be united without being integrated into a naive functionalist whole (1990: 18). While he argues that there is a 'general autonomy and logic' to globalisation (1990: 27-8), it also clear that globalisation is still 'up for grabs' (1992: 62). Axford also embraces a global system without suggesting it is complete or uncontested. The emerging order in the global system is:

[...] a negotiated and contingent condition arising from the articulation of local subjects and structures with more encompassing global ones. (Axford, 1995:7)

Nevertheless, as Albrow notes, while systems are everywhere 'the sum of those systems is not a system.' (1996: 119). As I will argue in sections 2.3 and 2.4, the globalised social systems associated with food and communication are pervasive, but this does not exclude the existence other systems of food and communication. Moreover, the systems outside of the pervasive ones remain part of a global context, defined in relation to their exclusion.

Like Robertson above, Axford seeks to demonstrate the 'systemness' of the globe to avoid accusations of reductionism of the sort levelled at Wallerstein (1995: 8). As the term 'system' has (negative) associations with utilitarian and functionalist approaches, he uses 'systemness' to describe a more contingent and dynamic set of relations between 'global scripts, actors and processes'. He aims to stress that 'a system is only possible through the practices of agents' (1995: 6); that systemness is 'made rather than given' (1995: 8). Following Giddens, systems are 'formed through the intersection of multiple systems with power differential but where no one level or component is assumed to dominate.' (Axford, 1995; 27-8).

Giddens' multi-dimensional approach retains systemic qualities. However, as noted earlier in this chapter, for Giddens institutions are the most enduring features of social systems (which are themselves, reproduced social relations). In Chapter One, the three
dynamics (distanciation, disembedding and reflexivity) were shown to emphasis the role of active humans in the global spread of modern institutions. Structuration thus avoids determinism by viewing the spread of institutions as an active, human process. In addition, Giddens' multi-dimensional approach gives credence to factors outside of the world capitalist economy. The 'institutional dimensions of modernity' include capitalism, but also highlight the importance of institutionalised state power (represented by its 'surveillance' capabilities), military power and industrialism (1990: 59). These institutions have become globalised as the world capitalist economy, the nation-state system, the world military order and the international division of labour (1990: 71). For Giddens, globalisation is a consequence of the world-wide spread of the institutional dimensions of modernity.

The dimensions of globalisation allow for multi-levelled, interdependent processes of globalisation in arenas which have their own, but intersecting, rules. To show their discrete, but overlapping, character Giddens gives several examples. Economic power is central and can be used to buy political influence, but industrial corporations are not military organisations which can rule a territorial area. Similarly, while economic interest may be at the forefront in international relations, governments are not driven by purely economic considerations. For instance, a government may pursue the priorities of a national(ist) agenda, placing political and cultural benefits over economic gain. Wealth may provide an elevated position in the global order, but nation-states are also concerned with, for example, national cultures, territorial rights and sovereignty (1990: 71-2). This argument about the contingent relation between 'institutional dimensions' avoids lending primacy to the economic sphere.

A further institutional dimension lies behind the four already mentioned: 'cultural globalisation'. Global technology has fostered our perception of a global environment through the widespread application of information technology and telecommunications. It is not just an awareness of events 'elsewhere' that is important here. Communication has been a central, essential element of reflexivity since the mechanical printing press (1990: 77). As communications systems have themselves become globalised (as I will
show in section 2.4), the world has moved into an era of reflexive modernity or institutional reflexivity (Beck, Giddens and Lash, 1994). This means that 'cultural globalisation' is not just cultural awareness. Rather it is a reflexive relation with the globalising social world which provides the context for institutional reproduction on a global scale.

However, creating a new dimension, 'cultural globalisation', to account for an extra globalising dynamic highlights a mismatch between the 'institutional dimensions of modernity' and the 'dimension of globalisation'. While arguing that globalisation is simply the consequence of modernity, Giddens requires more than his original typology of modern institutions to explain contemporary changes. The cultural dimension seems to simply have been added to account for key influences not covered in the original scheme. His extension of the 'institutions of modernity' to become the 'dimension of globalisation' can be regarded a teleological. Working backward from the dominant contemporary institutional forms produces a plausible model of social change where globalisation is the extension of modernity. However, such plausibility does not equate to the sort of causal link that Giddens makes by arguing that globalisation is a consequence of modernity.

Robertson (1992) suggests that Giddens' dynamics of globalisation are not adequately tied to the institutional dimensions and rejects the idea that globalisation is the consequence of modernity (p. 143-4). It is acceptable that the main institutions of modernity (industrialism, capitalism and the nation-state) have become globalised (McGrew, 1992). However, the forces of globalisation are not unique to modernity (Axford, 1995: 23-4). Robertson argues:

[...] globalisation of the contemporary type was set in motion long before whatever we might mean by modernity. Moreover, even though the idea that we should regard postmodernity as 'merely' radicalised modernity is not without merit, I insist that globalisation - or globality - is a relatively independent source of ideas about the conception of postmodernity. (Robertson, 1992: 170)

On one hand, Robertson suggests that aspects of modernity have greatly amplified the globalisation process (1992: 170). On the other, Axford contends that the processes of
globalisation have not so much enlarged modernity as quickened its transformation (1995: 23-4), towards fragmentation and disorder.

The exact relation between modernity, postmodernity and globality remains open to contention. Mennell suggests that attempts at pinpointing the exact beginning of globalisation are likely to be misleading. On one hand (the experience of contemporary) global society is new, while on the other, some of the processes which have made the human world one have been at work since the existence of the species (1990: 359). However, as Axford suggests, the processes of globalisation represent 'massive, even epochal change' (Axford, 1995: 3). Indeed, Albrow (1996) argues that the 'The Global Age' is upon us.

For the purposes of this case study, Giddens' institutional approach to globalisation is not entirely adequate. Giddens' structurated, multi-dimensional explanation does give a degree of analytical flexibility, but the enduring institutional forms remain central to his analytical framework. While social relations operate within 'institutional dimensions', I do not wish to undertake an analysis of how these institutions impacted on the case study organisation. Instead, I wish to examine globalised social relations through the production and reproduction of social systems (without reducing social systems to the institutional dimension of modernity). In terms of relevance of Robertson's models for the present project, his focus remains the problem of world order (1990: 18), not the processes by which this is achieved.

Albrow suggests that: 'we have to register the impact of globality on earlier systems, not the increasing systematisation of what went on before' (1996: 119). While not denying that technical and social systems arose in the modern era, the examples of telecommunications, money and credit, transport and sport are all seen to have systemic features and a world-wide scope (Albrow, 1996). Instead of analysing their enduring institutionalised features, I am interested in the reproduction of globalised social systems as part of ongoing globalisation. Using structuration will enable me to highlight the wider systemic reproduction implicit in the localised activities of The
Vegetarian Society. Next I will register 'the impact of globality' upon the operation of systems of food and communications (the two systems prominent in this case study).

2.3 Globalisation and Food Systems

In this discussion of the historical development of globalised food systems I will follow Mennel, Murcott and Van Otterloo (1992), who distinguish three key phases around early European colonialism, the industrial revolution and end of World War Two (1992: 75). I assess the impact of this development on individuals across the globe and the issues arising from globalised food systems that are relevant to this case study. Fine, Heasman and Wright (1996) conceptualise 'food system or systems' as:

the notion that the passage of a food from farm to mouth comprises a sequence of distinct activities that are, none the less, structurally bound into a unified whole that is integrated with other economic activity, such as transport, shopping and domestic labour. Equally important is the recognition that such food systems are intimately connected to international and political influences (Fine, Heasman and Wright, 1996: 31)

Like Newman, et al. (1990), they argue that a global food system exists which revolves around the political economy of capitalism and the food industry. However, in line with structuration, the food industry comprises large numbers of people working in food manufacturing, processing and distribution enterprises (Unklesbay, 1992: 31). It is not a single system: it is a complex interrelation of social relations which deals with a variety of products and processes.

Pervasive globalised food systems are those which have developed in the industrialised nations around mass production, processing, distribution and consumption. These systems have economic variants, but they also extend into other social relations, particularly political and cultural arenas. Food is the locus of many intersecting arenas of social relations. Moreover, localised food systems exist in relation to these pervasive globalised systems. Eating is an activity which is of concern to every single human being. The variety of practices and customs which surround the production and consumption of food are as diverse as the languages and dialects which exist around the
globe. So, how has the experience of eating become rooted in pervasive globalised systems?

2.3.1 The globalisation of food

In a keynote speech to a symposium on 'Global aspects of the production and distribution of food', Borgstrom (1978) criticised popular ignorance and academic approaches to food inequality. He argues that two dimensions, the historical and biological, are frequently ignored. To expand a little, the need to distribute enough food to biologically sustain every human life has become obscured from thinking about food. Instead it is the dominant practices of food production which receive attention in academia and policy making. Historically, the practices of production and consumption which have become pervasive are those which spread with the expansion of European civilisation.

Thomas, et al., suggest the gradual incorporation of the world's agriculture into a world economy was a consequence of European colonialism and the rise of capitalism (1994: 36). It is by understanding history that the contemporary picture of food intake (and the biological problems associated with under- and over-consumption) can be understood. As Spybey notes, our conception of today's traditional, national cuisine has been reliant upon years of interchange:

Before 1492 Europe had no potatoes, tomatoes, green beans, peppers - or chocolate. This list includes commodities which, combined with the noodles that Marco Polo had earlier introduced from China, form the basis of Italian cuisine as we know it today. By the same token, until that date there could be no 'traditional' Mexican beef tacos or cheese quesadillas because beef, lamb and diary products were unknown hitherto on that side of the Atlantic. (Spybey, 1996: 28).

To understand the globalised food systems which now exist, I will firstly consider European expansion from the time of Columbus.
The migration of people and culture at beginnings of colonialism initiated the real interdependence, although food had been travelling for some time before this. Clutterbuck and Lang (1982) trace the movement of foods, which had been occurring before the sixteenth century European colonial expansion:

Wheat first appeared in the Near East and is now grown all around the world, but exported mainly from America. Soya and rice both started life in the Far East, but today the USA is the chief exporter of both. Potatoes first cropped up in the Andes but are now grown mainly in Europe. Sugar cane began life in Asia, spread to Europe, and is now chiefly grown in the Caribbean. Coffee first grew in Central Africa and only later percolated through to Brazil, now its chief exporter. Cocoa travelled in the opposite direction - from South America to East Africa. (Clutterbuck and Lang, 1982: 8)

While each migration of food is a story in itself, after the voyages of discovery the common theme of colonial history arises again and again. The movement of food relates closely to European dominance of the globe achieved during and after the 'age of exploration'.

The transplantation of crops between the 'Old' and 'New' worlds was a two-way exchange. Potato and maize came from the Americas to become 'Old World' staples. Farmers in Europe were beginning to grow new crops from the early colonial period (Grigg, 1993: 259). Increased security of the food supply in Western Europe was largely a consequence of the 'post-Colombian metamorphosis' (Mennel, Murcott and Van Otterloo, 1992: 62). Trade routes, imported crops, agrarian and industrial revolutions, food transport and technology all altered the production and distribution of food (ibid.). Meanwhile, rice, wheat and soya all travelled in the opposite direction. Further, with the exception of the turkey, all the animals of the 'New World' farmyard were European imports (Brown, 1975: 21).

The movement of people, who were largely European settlers (and later slaves), begins to show how the reality of power relations in this period of 'exchange'. European discoverers were aware that new crops and products would, in the long term, be more lucrative than the plunder of gold and silver. Agricultural change
Settlers in the New World took their food practices, cultural experiences and social relations with them. In their dominance over the indigenous populations, the reproduction of European forms of agricultural organisation changed existing relations to the land. In South America, the Spanish colonialists introduced the 'hacienda' systems of agriculture. In North America, the methods of subsistence taught by the indigenous population (the only thing which had sustained the early settlers) were later disregarded as primitive.

Brown (1975) describes six key technological innovations which underlie the massive increase in agricultural capacity across the globe. Irrigation and the use of draft animals are two which pre-date the European colonial period, but the third is credited to Christopher Columbus:

By linking the Old World to the New, he also joined two systems of agriculture that apparently had evolved independently. Thus when Columbus established the trans-oceanic link, he set in motion an exchange of crops that continues today. (Brown, 1975: 20)

Innovations four, five and six all then derive from 'Western' science: chemical fertilisers/pesticides, plant genetics and the internal combustion engine. Yet it was the continuation of colonialism which facilitated the global spread of these 'advances'. Colonialism extended social relations by promoting interrelations between distant peoples. It spread Europe's institutional forms across time and space, linking the previously isolated indigenous food systems into the beginnings of pervasive globalised food systems.

2.3.1.2 Industrial revolution

It did not take long for European methods to become entrenched:

Perhaps the most characteristic and enduring feature of colonial agriculture was the plantation: a large-scale, European owned and -managed enterprise, producing single crops for the world market with local or imported labour. Sugar plantations for example were established only 22 years after Columbus's first voyage. Four centuries later, toward the end of the colonial period, they
were still being planted (though not with slave labour) in Africa and East Asia. (Thomas, A. et al. 1994: 36-37)

As Brown's technological innovations indicate, the next major step toward the globalisation of food related to the industrial revolution. It was not just that the productive capacity was improved by mechanisation; the interconnection of social relations was also extended. Industrialism increased the possibilities for colonialism and empire building, continuing the linking of localities around the globe into common social systems. Technological breakthroughs like canning and later freezing greatly enhanced the food possibilities of travellers. Once abroad it was possible to import foods from 'home' for the colonial elite, which later became available to the wider public (Den Hartog, 1986 cited in Mennell, Murcott and van Otterloo 1992: 77).

The food relations between European colonial powers and their far flung colonies were underpinned by the colonisers' belief in their own superiority. On the continent of Europe it had been land that was at a premium, but in the settled areas population densities were low and land was abundant. Grigg (1993) tells of the frontier of agricultural settlement which swept across North America, Australasia and South Africa. With large farms and low rents, farmers chose 'extensive' production (p. 259). Farmed by settlers, the areas of European colonialism in temperate climates became important sources of food (Thomas, et al. 1994: 37).

Europeans began enjoying the fruits of world trade in food. Consumption of previous luxuries (spices, sugar, tea, coffee, tobacco) hugely expanded in the second half of the nineteenth century alongside an increasing demand for grain and meat (Thomas, et al. 1994: 37). Malnutrition was vastly reduced as the imported foods were priced below the home-produced ones. Western Europe was now importing wheat, meat and dairy products along with feeds for their own livestock (Grigg, 1993). Despite new crops and the advances of industrialisation in Europe, the mid-1800s saw population outgrowing resources and a quarter of Europe's population was 'lifted off' (Borgstrom, 1978: 8):

The white man then swarmed into the empty lands of the Western Hemisphere, parts of Africa, Oceania and Siberia. By this global transcendence of his limits he lost his awareness of the limitations of our globe. (Borgstrom, 1978: 8)
During the Industrial Revolution, the development of railways and shipping permitted the long-distance hauling of food and increased agricultural capacity. This effectively eliminated hunger from Western Europe, but may also have reinforced colonial inequalities and dulled Europeans' awareness of scarcity.

While common methods created systems of production and distribution which linked social relations in distant localities, interdependence was not global. The links between colonised and coloniser were forged in terms of nation-state expansion. In the expansion of European nation-state empires, food systems had a definite international quality. This is not to suggest that economic exchange was prevented by national boundaries, but rather that political expansionism was a central factor in the ensuing economic interdependence. However, the era of European empires came to an end. Friedland suggests that after 1870 settler agriculture in the USA and Australia became the main producers of wheat and cattle and the expanded availability marked the start of the industrial diet based on animal protein (1991, cited in Whatmore, 1994: 52-3).

2.3.1.3 Post World War Two

The third period, post World War Two, is characterised by increasing interpenetration of the food systems. Clutterbuck and Lang's (1982) accounts of 'food migration' highlight the dominance of global capitalism (institutionally underpinned by the Bretton Woods arrangements in 1944). Particularly important too were the Cold War politics of opposition. In the post-World War Two period the 'colonial land-grab' was repeated, but this time in the oceans as fishing became dominated by the post-war superpower blocs (Borgstrom, 1978: 8-9). This era also saw the consolidation of the agri-industrial model in the USA: the corporatist alliance between agricultural science, policy makers, farmers and agri-food corporations (Whatmore, 1994).

The post World War Two picture is more complex than a simple account of capitalist imperialism, but the essence of domination remains strong. This can perhaps be explained with reference to Nkrumah's concept of neo-colonialism (1965: ix; Spybey,
1992: 168-72). Following years of colonial influence, the political independence of former colonies was restricted by continuing economic interdependence. Further, new world powers began to assert their dominance. During the Cold War, the 'emergent nations' were being offered (or coerced into) a choice between following the development pathways of liberal democratic capitalism or state socialism. For instance, sugar was imported into the Soviet Union at an inflated price to help support Cuban socialism.

Meanwhile, the proponents of liberal democratic capitalism (modernisers) made attempts to generate food manufacture outside of the industrialised nations. As providers of raw materials, developing countries were not profiting from their food resources; greater involvement in manufacture and processing was viewed as the solution. However, as modernisation theories have been apt to do, the historical circumstances and contemporary power relations were disregarded. As Friedland suggests, American intervention overseas effectively extended the reach of their model of food systems. Technological and food aid packages to the 'Third world' effectively switched production from their own staples to cash crops for export (cocoa, coffee, etc.) or feedstuff for livestock. This turned these countries into net importers of foodstuffs from the 'West' (1991, cited in Whatmore, 1994: 52-3).

During the 1960s Ghana and Tanzania made failed attempts to break into the world markets for cocoa and coffee, respectively. The attempts had disastrous political and economic consequences for these countries (Spybey, 1992: 168-72). The reason for their failures were the privileges of 'competitive advantage' which were already in the hands of Transnational Corporations (henceforth, TNCs2). The historical advantages of colonialism had been afforded to these companies of 'Western' origin. Expertise and networks were established over many years, experiences which the new companies could not match. Technology, capital and expertise all became commodities which could be sold to the developing world (Spybey, 1992). Dependent relations and historical oppression had created an uneven playing field.
TNCs are key players in the post World War Two systems of food production and distribution. They can be considered a cornerstone of the pervasive globalised food systems. In one example, Morgan (1979) traces how five trading companies had come to control the distribution of grain on a global scale. Food production and distribution is asymmetrically structured: relatively few huge conglomerates and thousands of smaller companies. The majority of dominant companies have home locations in the USA and UK (Kaynak, 1986). By 1981, 51 of the world's 500 largest TNCs were food companies, rising to 65 when beverages are included (Leopold, 1985). Vertical integration and merger activity during the 1970s and 1980s has further concentrated control. Lang and Hines (1993) suggest that now almost all primary commodities are marketed by fewer than six multi-commodity traders.

Leopold (1985) analyses the 'multinationalization of the food industry'. She suggests that since the Second World War the food industry has been responding to the pressures of the capitalist economic mechanism by internationalising and integrating its structures and activities to maintain profit. This has created a 'world-wide agribusiness system':

[T]he constantly increasing integration of the geographical and economic space within which the power of food is exercised [...] bringing about deep-seated and lasting changes in the conditions governing the production and consumption of food, on a global scale. (1985: 315)

This leads Leopold to suggest that 'agribusiness' as a whole is the basis of the world food system (1985: 328). This is a useful characterisation of the influence of TNCs on global food systems. However, this approach is essentially neo-Marxist and subject to problems of economism and determinism outlined earlier.

In fact, this approach fails to recognise the heterogeneity of the food industry. To conceptualise food as belonging to a single system simplifies the variety of practices and interconnections which characterise specific foods. Also, while pervasive food systems can be seen as globalised, the world-wide agribusiness interacts with other food systems (manufacture, processing, distribution, retail and advertising). While interdependent, each will be seeking its own competitive advantage. In addition political, cultural and environmental factors all have their parts to play.
Dyson (1996) argues that there is an increasing interdependence of food systems across the globe. This globalisation of food will continue, he suggests, because the mismatch between food supply and demand requires global solutions. However, he tempers his predictions with issues of variability, especially with regard to the global environment (e.g. climate and sustainability) (1996: 206). Further, national and international political strategies still play an important role:

The world’s consumers do not have access to food at competitive prices from countries which produce it most competitively. Governments intervene in domestic food and agricultural markets. Further, they adopt trade policies to facilitate these interventions. (Unklesbay, 1992: 33)

These barriers cost OECD countries $60 billion a year, while their food aid requirements are estimated at $20 million; politically inspired protectionism is costing $80 billion. The production and consumption of food is also influenced by individual and cultural preferences and new technology (Unklesbay, 1992). To characterise the world-wide agribusiness as coterminous with the world food system simplifies such complexities.

Since the early European voyages of discovery there has been an increasing interconnection of food across the globe. This has been an uneven and exploitative interpenetration, dominated by those with political and economic power (although not a simple expansion of the capitalist mechanism). The role of nations in production and distribution has been paramount, not only in contemporary protectionism but also in historical expansionism. The stretching of social relations across time and space has constituted pervasive globalised food systems and I now turn to an assessment of their impact upon individuals across the world.

2.3.2 Consumers in the globalised food systems

Eating is an activity where culture, politics and economics interact with peoples’ daily lives. By virtue of our biological need to eat we are all involved in social relations around food. As individuals we experience these relations in many forms: as consumers
and producers; as users of supermarkets or local produce; as travellers or refugees; as farmers or biotechnicians and so on. The impact of nationally inspired colonial expansion has had a generally polarising effect upon experiences in different countries. The 1970s saw a great deal of literature on 'the world food problem'. Perhaps a more accurate description would be the world eating problem. Food availability is dependent upon both production and distribution. Even when production is flourishing, this does not ensure availability to all (Mennell, Murcott and van Otterloo, 1992: 61). While food output is unlikely to be the problem in most areas of the world, the future of human hunger and malnutrition is less clear (Dyson, 1996). While the evidence of production rates is open to positive or negative interpretation, the stark inequality of distribution is undeniable.

Grigg (1993) summarises the current polarised picture of food consumption in different parts of the globe. The world-wide intensity and frequency of famine has declined, although chronic under-nutrition and malnutrition persist in the developing world. For example, while about 350-400 million people are undernourished (a figure which has remained stable for 25 years) the world has succeeded in feeding a further 2 billion people since the start of the 1960s (Unklesbay, 1992). Grigg suggests that 'the primary cause of malnutrition is poverty' (1993: 263). In the 'West', famine has been largely eliminated and under-nutrition reduced to a small proportion of the population. More problematically for 'Westerners', nutritional diseases associated with over-consumption abound.

For those that have access to food, Goody (1982) believes that a 'world cuisine' has become a reality. International food production and distribution and world trade on a massive scale have changed eating habits and cuisine. The trends of the last 500 years can be expressed as a process of 'delocalisation' (Pelto and Pelto, 1983), in which populations derive an increasing amount of food from distant places through commerce. This has different impacts on different people.
The migration of people and products in the post World War Two era has steadily increased the choices of individuals in the developed world. Many individuals are only cognisant of food systems at the supermarket or restaurant and consequently:

In the Triad markets of Western Europe, North America, and the Pacific Rim [...] consumers have different cultures but similar food values: quality, convenience, nutrition, availability, variety, safety and value. Consumers begin to exhibit similar characteristics around the world, but only in the context of the particular country's culture, heritage, trade practices and competition. (Unklesbay, 1992: 15)

Importantly while pervasive systems are visible, expressions of locality persist within them.

Furthermore, less widespread systems of production and distribution, such as indigenous cultures and cuisine, remain truly important. This is particularly the case for those who are poorest served by pervasive global systems. Transient and shifting food 'insecurity' is the daily lot of some 100 million people around the globe (Unklesbay, 1992: 21). In the developing world, in rural conditions, local markets serve local needs without being integrated into the national, let alone international, economy (1992: 16). Nevertheless, within pervasive globalised food systems less developed nations (many of whom are ex-colonies) have become reliant on exporting one or two 'cash crops'. This effectively reduces the variety of indigenous produce for local consumption. Thus, even the local systems exist relative to or within the historically constituted global context.

The movement of people (what Appadurai (1990) termed 'ethnoscapes') is continuing to impact upon global food systems. On the one hand, displaced peoples, refugees, have to be catered for with national and international food aid. On the other, commercial travellers and holiday makers have their dietary choices catered for in many locations right across the globe. Consequently, the travelling consumers affect the choice of food available to the indigenous populations and catered for by domestic food industries (Unklesbay, 1992).

The increasingly intensive exchange of peoples and foods inevitably challenges the established patterns of eating for everyone involved. New immigrant populations
brought new ideas which, while initially rebuffed, have often become integrated. For example, by the third-generation, Greek-American women had a strong tendency to abandon tradition in favour of 'American' foods (Freedman and Grivetti, 1984 cited in Mennell, Murcott and Van Otterloo, 1992). Other communities of migrants have been seen to retain their cultural heritage, requiring specialist restaurants and shops for ingredients. There is exchange too, especially in cosmopolitan cities where 'ethnic' foods have become fashionable and popular.

Unklesbay (1992) concludes that globalised food systems are a site of contrasts and extremes. In Latin America, indigenous populations make sacrifices of maize to increase production, while scientists work toward the same goal with biotechnology. At the same time the 'ambulatory vendors of tamales compete with McDonald's for fast food trade' (Unklesbay, 1992: 16). This underlines the idea of multiple food systems which co-exist, spanning history and geography. Accepting this multiplicity does not mean denying the importance of the pervasive systems spread by European colonial and post-colonial relations. Within the globalised systems of production, distribution, processing and manufacture local difference remains important. Outside of the globalised systems, others systems continue to exist although not in complete isolation.

2.3.3 Issues in globalised food systems

Quite apart from persisting hunger, other issues arise from globalised food systems; those relevant to later analysis are raised here. The future of food is framed by global issues: increasing competition for finite resources (water, land, etc.); the demand for improved diets (both over and under consumption); developments in packaging, processing, transport and storage; the changing structures and operations of TNCs; and new knowledge and technology (including biotechnology) are all likely to impact on food systems. Furthermore the ability of national communities to deal with food problems has changed.
The quest for development has caused many populations to degrade their environments. For example, the flooding of the Bangladeshi farmlands with sea water allows the cultivation of seafood for export. The short term income is welcomed, but the consequent salination of farmland now poses a threat to future local food production. Participation in interdependent global food systems can create new problems as it solves others. Generating export income with the aim of national development may condemn some Bangladeshi farmers to rely on imported food. If the price of seafood falls, so will their income and ability to purchase food which they are no longer able to grow for themselves. What this demonstrates is that food problems occur within a globalised social, political and economic environment.

While problems occur within the globalised systems, so do solutions. Global knowledge itself has become an international resource (Unklesbay, 1992). Pressure groups promoting development issues and the environment have become important players in policy decisions. Many of these groups suggest that people and environments need to be protected internationally with the focus on long term aims, not short term gains. However, as Unklesbay suggest, those making food policy should be aware that global knowledge needs to be applied in a geographically and culturally sensitive way (1992: 35-36). Many groups promoting development and the environment have grown in the 'West'. Some people in the 'Third world' have begun accusing them of cultural imperialism and imposition of inappropriate solutions which mirror their 'Western' concerns and sensibilities.

Another issue which is beyond simple national or local solution is food transportation. A report into 'Food Miles' suggests the distance food travels before reaching the consumer is increasing as cheap transport and low prices on the world commodities market are exploited by TNCs (S.A.F.E. Alliance, 1994). For example, the amount of food imported into the UK by air more than doubled in the 1980s and is rising (at 15% per year). The promotion of economically viable mono-cultures is argued to be destroying diversity and local variety. In addition, there are serious environmental and public health issues surrounding transport, packaging, pesticides and preservatives.
While such problems manifest themselves locally or nationally, the ability to address them may not.

This movement of food can be also allied to the problem of food scares. In Giddens' terms, the food system has become globalised through the dynamics of disembedding and distanciation. Communication and technology are stretching social relations across the globe, linking the lives of geographically distant peoples into abstracted systems of food production and distribution. These abstract systems are composed of disembedded social relations. A problem which arises in globalised food systems is that consumers are distanced from producers, noted earlier as 'delocalisation' (Pelto and Pelto, 1993). Food scares result when trust in such disembedded, distanciated social relations breaks down. If the public perception is that economic outcomes are taking precedence over public health, trust in food safety will be threatened.

Finally, the globalised systems which have arisen have presented some individuals with variety and choice. In supermarkets, specialist food shops and restaurants those who have the financial resources (predominantly in the 'West', but also elsewhere) are able to access a wide range of produce regardless of the growing 'season'. It can be argued that 'real' choice is illusory because the food systems are run in the interest of profit making companies. Nevertheless, consumers who have access to the pervasive global food systems are able to satisfy a very wide range of 'special' dietary requirements and tastes. This is related to 'niche marketing' by large food manufacturing and distribution companies. This is 'post-fordist food': no longer mass production but instead catering to smaller market sections who are willing to pay more to have their demands met.

Minorities like vegetarians are being given a wider choice. Pervasive food systems which span the globe firstly provide access to an expanding range of 'exotic' produce. Fruit and vegetables previously available almost exclusively in their locality are now traded globally, whereas 'staples' like the banana have become common place. Niche marketing within the pervasive food systems is also improving the 'convenience' factor for vegetarians. Processed, pre-packaged and frozen foods are all designed to ease the
burden of cooking, at an extra, 'value-added' cost to the consumer. Finally, new produce is being specially designed by vegetarians for vegetarians, such as a variety of 'meat-alternatives' or 'substitutes'. Niche marketing, delocalisation and the global framing of food issues will illustrate how globalised food systems were reflected in dilemmas at The Society (in Chapter Six).

2.4 Globalisation and Communication Systems

In this section I shall present an historical overview of the globalisation of communications, consider the place of the individual within communications systems and examine issues arising in globalised communications systems that are relevant to the case study. There are many types of communication and approaches to studying it, but it is mass communication systems, particularly the mass media, which have become globalised. As vehicles for entertainment, education, information and advertising the printed, broadcast and audio-visual mass media are utilised as routine elements of many peoples' daily social life, particularly in the industrialised nations. While the mass media are pervasive, it would be mistaken to see them as forming as a unitary system. In specific places, in different mediums and in each media organisation there are divergent practices in the production of materials and presentation values (Cracknell, 1993). Also, forms of information and entertainment exists outside of those which are mass communicated. For example, cultural output (film, music and art) exists in its own right and is not always reducible to a mass mediated product.

Pervasive globalised systems can also be regarded as the technological 'means' of communication. Systems of telecommunications and information technology enable people to keep in contact with one another (e.g. telephones, facsimiles, and pagers). Information technology, employed as a means of communication (e.g., e-mail or the 'World Wide Web'), relies on the systems of telecommunications. In a similar way to food systems, while pervasive systems of communication have become globalised, other means (e.g., independent press or 'C.B.' radio) exist alongside them. Indeed, more
tradition forms of communication (oral or written) remain central to many social contexts.

The importance of mass communications in the processes of globalisation has been widely recognised (Sztompka, 1993; Appadurai, 1990; Giddens, 1990). This is because the structures and institutions of mass communication provide a key vehicle for reaching audiences dispersed across time and space (Lash & Urry, 1994: 306 -7). The distanciation of social institutions is facilitated by an extensive system of communication. As it is extended social relations which constitute Giddens' (1994) post-traditional order, communications systems which span the globe are a key factor binding people together. Moreover, as noted previously, mass communications is essential to the reflexive quality of contemporary existence.

Mass communications systems provide the information upon which we reflexively reproduce a globalised social environment (Giddens, 1990). Firstly, they are adding to the capacity for individuals to be reflexive based on the information which is provided to them. Furthermore, the presence of such systems in a globalised news environment impacts on events by giving them global audiences and making them 'live'. This can be seen as what Thompson (1995) terms 'mediated quasi-interaction'. Coverage actually impacts upon the event itself, with the possibility of changing the behaviour of actors involved (Gurevitch, 1991: 188). In effect, the mass media become part of the loop. Media coverage can become a factor in the event for the actors involved, rather than merely a report of it.

As Thompson argues, as communication is increasingly global, distance has been eclipsed. This effectively changes social relations across the globe. Interaction can take place at a distance, through 'frameworks of mediated quasi-interaction' (1995: 149). Lull and Wallis (1992) suggest that mediated cultural interaction creates new, hybrid cultural forms. The actual influence that mass communications have upon individual actors remains the subject of debate (McQuail, 1994: 115). However, the very existence of forms of mass communication (and the resulting information they provide access to)
should be viewed as significant. As Lash and Urry state, it is there, whether one assents to it, or rejects it (1994: 29).

2.4.1 The globalisation of mass communications

The history of communications has been one which has witnessed an increasing scope of communicative capability. This has been expanding since oral cultures began adopting the written word; where oral changed to written there is a time-space distanciation (Giddens, 1990: 38). As explained earlier, it is the distanciation of institutions which is the key to understanding the spread of social institutions. Writing extends common social relations across time and space. The extension of communicative capacity, broadens the reach of social relations. The success, or rather pervasiveness, of contemporary 'Western' society pays testament to its ability to spread its social relations across time and space. The 'institutional dimensions of modernity' are the most enduring, but mass communications facilitated their spread (Giddens, 1990).

We have reached a point where we have mass communications on a global scale (Giddens, 1990; Thompson, 1995; Lash & Urry 1994). Gurevitch (1991) suggests that the globalisation of the mass media (probably the most significant systems of communications and certainly the most visible) is not a new or even recent thing. It has been a long development marked by periodic technological breakthroughs. In this section I will show how mass communications have become globalised by reference to these developments. Two important dimensions which I will consider are audience size and geographical scope. The suggestion is that communications capabilities have developed from being face-to-face to reaching a mass audience; and from being localised to globalised.

In oral cultures, communication only occurs in one locale and the audience is limited to those who are immediately present. The geographical scope of written cultures is somewhat wider as communication can occur by distribution of text separated from the
orator. This notwithstanding, the audience of written communications is limited to those who can read and understand. For the great majority of human history, oral and limited printed mediums gave communications capabilities a limited audience and a predominantly localised scope. The diversity of languages around the globe is testament to this.

For most of history, travel and communications were one and the same thing. Messages predominantly travelled with humans, arriving at locales no faster than an individual could travel. The technological developments of the industrial revolution began to widen both geographical scope and audience size. Printing presses increased the circulation capacity and transport systems extended the geographical reach. However, travel and communications remained one and the same thing. A message still travelled at the speed of the messenger, only the messengers now travelled faster with more copies.

It was the separation of travel and communication which changed cross border communication (Spybey, 1996: 109-112). The electric telegraph in 1844, using wire cable, separated the message from the messenger. Cables (either over land or submarine) were soon connecting geographically separate places. Thompson (1995) gives the following example of how the separation of travel from communication radically changed communicative capabilities. In the 1830s, a letter from England would take five to eight months just to get to India. By 1870, a telegram from London to Bombay would be there within five hours and a reply could be sent the same day.

While wire cable was a very significant breakthrough it remained a physical boundary. Locales had to be linked and there was a limited carry capacity. Geography and audience size had been expanded but limitations remained. Continued technological developments, co-axial cable and much more recently fibre-optics, have transcended some of these limits (Spybey, 1996). While the transport and cables opened up the world, it was another technological breakthrough which laid the foundations for today's globalised communications systems.
Although the origins of the globalisation of communication are in the last century, the major transformations happened in the present one. It was electromagnetic waves which finally dispensed with tangible factors like messengers and cable (Thompson, 1995). Wireless broadcasting dispensed with cables by using the 'airwaves' to carry messages, opening up the audience capacity. The carrying capabilities were enormous, first sound and later pictures. However, the transcendence of geography was still limited. The properties of electromagnetic waves and the shape of the earth limited the scope of broadcasting.

The breakthrough in truly global communications came in 1965: the first communication satellite (Spybey, 1996). Electromagnetic communications capabilities became globalised by a geo-stationary communications satellite; messages could be bounced around the world. By 1970 over 170 countries communicated with each other by satellite (Hird, 1994: 20). In terms of the news media, satellite has decentred national systems, extending the reach and the speed of news materials and creating new types of international dissemination (such as pre-packaged news and exchange systems) (Gurevitch, 1991: 180). Satellite technology gave a global geographical scope, but there is still the issue of audience size.

Spybey notes that 'mass society is essentially linked with globalisation' (1996: 36). Political participation, production, consumption and communications have all been opened up to the masses, at least in the industrialised nations. The mass participation of modernity was accompanied by economic growth achieved by mass production and consumption, and facilitated by mass communications (Spybey, 1992: 184). However, it should also be noted that mass communications are also a product of mass production. With both broadcasting and satellite, the technology was adapted for use by the mass population.

As with other technological revolutions (e.g., the motor car), the success of mass communications depended upon making the technology widely available. In the
industrialised world, radio, television and most recently satellite have all been mass produced and sold at a relatively low cost. By 1994, almost a third of households in Western Europe had access to satellite or multi-channel cable (Anderson, 1997: 282). The spread of satellite take up is not even, but it is growing.

However, there is no inevitable logic behind the public acceptance of the equipment used to receive mass media. Such a technological revolution required investment on a massive scale. Now successful 'media mogul' Rupert Murdoch was almost bankrupted by his attempt to promote mass produced satellite technology (see Hird, 1994: 20). As a consequence of the widespread uptake of satellite receivers, power over these means of communication has been concentrated in the hands of those with the finance and foresight to back the new technology.

'Media moguls' like Murdoch run companies which own geographically disperse and vertically integrated interests (Tunstall and Palmer, 1991). In the music business for example, the business corporation 'Sony' has interests in all aspects of the process: hardware, software and creative talent. With rapidly changing communicative technologies and consumer tastes, mass communications organisations have recognised the value of global markets in production and distribution. The benefits to the media moguls of deregulating markets are undoubtable (Lash & Urry, 1994: 305). Murdoch's 'News International' spans 4 continents and includes printed, satellite and terrestrial media, a publishing house, Twentieth Century Fox film studios and an on-line Internet Service. This raises contemporary questions of power, control and bias.

It should be recognised that bias is inherent in globalised communications systems. Thompson (1995) argues the three key developments in nineteenth century communications were the underwater cable systems, the international news agencies and international agencies for the allocation of the electromagnetic spectrum (most importantly, the International Telegraph Union (ITU)). Europeans were dominant in these developments. The cable systems were developed to aid colonial administration, the news agencies were all Euro-American concerns and the ITU consisted of 20
European signatories (1995: 152). Historical political power reflects a bias which has been supplanted by contemporary economic control.

2.4.2 Globalised communications systems and the individual

Technological innovations have increased both geographical scope and audience size of mass communications. However, it is their everyday use, sponsored by the powerful social actors (be they colonists or media moguls), which turns innovative technology into mass communications systems. While researchers are unable conclusively to prove 'media effects', the relations between mass communications systems and individuals remain significant. I will explore these relations in two spheres: firstly, individuals as recipients of mass media output and secondly, individuals as participants who create and reproduce systems of mass communication.

As users, the spread of culture carried by globalised communications systems is the main effect on individuals around the world. Entertainment such as cinema and music have become culturally important on a global scale. They have spawned culture industries: six major producers dominate the music industry (Spybey, 1996: 108). In film, since the early part of this century Hollywood has dominated world film culture and more recently, television. This is a domination not only of content (i.e., American films and television programmes), but also of formats (quiz shows, chat shows, soap operas, etc.) which are exported and made locally relevant. However, as with music, TNCs are buying up the major Hollywood studios (Anderson, 1997: 289).

Theorists of 'media imperialism' suggest that individuals have their cultural identities usurped by the output of the 'Western' mass media (Boyd-Barrett, 1977, 1982; Schiller 1985). Where global financial pressures are heaviest, in the less developed countries, it is argued that powerful global mass media are imperialistic in nature; seeking to homogenise culture and shape desires. For Robins and Cornford (1994), the new media order is dominated by these global corporations. They argue that the nation-state was once the natural geography of broadcasting, but audiences can now be sub-divided and
realigned alongside marketing segments and consumer demographics. Local and regional media become reactive to the global interests of media corporations, effectively dissolving cultural communities. Local markets do not mean local programming; the reality is cheap imports, usually from the USA (Robins and Cornford, 1994: 219-35).

While there is merit in this characterisation of imported programming, defining exact effects is problematic and the fluid nature of globalisation undermines a simplistic picture of unidirectional influences (Lull, 1995: 113-4). Just because culture, religion, age, tastes, etc. can all be marketed as 'niches', this does not necessarily dissolve or dilute them. It may equally strengthen identity or promote new hybrid types of culture (Lull and Wallis, 1992). Thompson emphasises the 'complex, creative interface between the globalised diffusion of media products and their localized appropriation', but also recognises the structured character of global communications flows (1995: 151). In trying to define this complex interface, the question of capitalist dominance often arises. Hall (1980) argues that individuals 'decode' media messages through their own cultural framework, but messages are 'encoded' by a mass media who are trying to promote their produce and the dominant capitalist ideology.

When structural conditions are brought in, global capitalism is often theorised as the defining problem. However, this economism should be tempered. Sreberny-Mohammadi (1991), notes that such global-local analyses mask the role of the nation-state. Nation-states remain the major regulator (and in many economically less developed nations, the major financier) of the mass media. This underlines the proposition that the global capitalist economy exists interdependently with the worldwide system of nation states (Giddens, 1991: 134-5; Spybey, 1992). Thompson (1995) argues an historical and ongoing conflict between regulation by the nation-state and the economic drives of mass communication.

While pervasive mass communications systems are dominated by 'Western' ideas and outputs, simple cultural imperialism is repudiated. The globalisation of mass communications is not simply homogenisation:
Spybey uses the example of India where the 'media of Western culture' have been adopted to provide a mixture of Western, hybrid and specifically Indian programming (1996: 118). He also argues that universally recognised and received communications are reflexively reproduced at the point of contact. Such a conception draws upon widely accepted ideas about the 'active audience' (e.g., Philo, 1993; Liebes and Katz, 1993 or Morley 1992).

This takes me to the second part of this section, individuals as creators of the mass communications systems. I shall further consider the domination of the 'Western' model of the media using the example of the news agencies. News collection occurs on a global scale and has a 'Western' bias. Three international press agencies (AP in the USA, Reuters in Britain and AFP in France) now hold the key to collection and distribution of news world-wide (Boyd-Barrett and Rantanen, 1998). In a metropolitan office, the information which is collated from geographically disperse regions is sorted, rewritten, translated and then distributed back out across the world (Janelle, 1991 cited in Lash & Urry, 1994: 29). In the field of news broadcasting, one American channel has now become a global news channel. CNN (originally installed in international hotels to serve the 'Western' travellers abroad) transmits 'world news' for twenty-four hours a day (Anderson, 1997: 287).

What is considered to be 'world news' is, of course, a matter of selection from the available sources and contextualised presentation in light of the known audience. Sreberny-Mohammadi notes a world-wide skewing of international news reporting where the following are displayed:

[...] unequal news attention to different parts of the world, an apparent disinterestedness in more positive news of development or the slow processes of social change, and an inability to explain most crises in relation to their cause [...] (1995: 441)

The reason for this skewing is given as the structure of the news agencies. Importantly however, she does recognise that no news coverage could give equal weight to all
events across the world. While structural inequality is noted, it is not simple cultural imperialism. There is a blend of news which relates to inequalities of power and media values. Every nation/region gets its own news; a second tier of consistent newsmakers (American and Europeans) receive attention because of their power and a third tier is news relating to current crises (Sreberny-Mohammadi, 1995: 442). Calls for a 'true' picture of the world's news misunderstand the socially constructed nature of news coverage.

Ideas of social construction revolve around social actors working within constraints. Research into the media has emphasised the active role of the journalists, editors and other representatives of the media industry in shaping output (Schlesinger, 1978). For media representatives constraints can include historical, political, legal, practical, technical and moral, not to mention routine. The already constituted global oligopoly in news collection means that what is presented as news is framed in a global context but presented as locally relevant. For Sreberny-Mohammadi (1995), an important measure of relevance is 'news values'. As part of the structural constraints which impinge upon the media representatives who work in news collection and dissemination, the final section on issues will give these values further consideration.

2.4.3 Issues in globalised mass communication systems

There are two issues which arise out of the globalised nature of mass communications systems which I will give further consideration. The first is regulation: the globalisation of mass communications can be seen to undermine the control over the means of communication which was once commanded by the nation-state. The second is the proliferation of the means of communication and its relation to a common set of 'media values' which undermine depth of coverage in favour of sensationalism.

The mass media have traditionally been organised within the national arena (Nowell-Smith, 1991, cited in Robbins and Cornford, 1994). For both technical and regulatory (i.e., political control) reasons, mass communications have been under nation-state
control. Yet, national boundaries no longer constrain the production and distribution of materials. Multinational organisations are 'standing alongside and beginning to replace their national counterparts' (Featherstone and Lash, 1995: 2). This is being facilitated by both cross-continental satellite and computing technology which are being actively promoted (Lash and Urry, 1994: 305). As noted previously, Thompson (1995) suggests, the intersection between commercial mass communications systems and nation-state control has been an arena of conflict.

Organisations that operate within the boundaries of the nation-state are threatened with losing the regulatory control which they once commanded. This is particularly relevant for national government control over the broadcast media and newer forms of communication. Debates about censorship and freedom of information on the internet are a contemporary expression of the problem. The same problem applies to satellite and cable television broadcasting, as these too can originate outside the locale in which they are received. While the nation-state remains the most important unit of social organisation, technological innovations are making its geographical boundaries more porous. The regulatory power of nation-state governments over the mass media is being tested by globalised systems of mass communications.

Outside of government control over the mass media, the wider issues of censorship and freedom of information can be seen to impinge upon other parts of society. Campaigning groups which operate within the boundaries of the nation-state have encountered problems when disputing the practices of companies whose activities span national borders. A libel action brought by fast food giant McDonald's was a recent example (see Vidal, 1997). The case was judged within the UK's national legal framework, even though the company practices in question and the protests against them spanned the globe. The issues of access to information, the freedom of distribution and rights and responsibilities were once addressed within the nation-state framework. The globalisation of communications systems has put these issues into a wider spatial context.
Secondly, the pace of technological change alongside the mass production of high quality, cheap hardware has seen a proliferation of communications. Satellite and cable television, video and compact disc technology and the growing fascination with the internet all provide future opportunities for systems of mass communication. However, within such systems of communications, the present owners and controllers of the media are in a dominant position. As indicated, continued deregulation of communications markets suits the media TNCs needs for capital accumulation. In a globalised market place, they are tailoring media products to market niches.

The proliferation of the media allied to the increasing centralisation of ownership and the pressures of advertising has created a contemporary debate over the nature of modern media. While new technology and niche markets profess to bring choice and quality, all too often the pressures of costs and advertisers lead to low quality products (as indicated by Robins and Cornford, 1994). The quality of a product is of course a matter of taste, but certain 'values' appear to be common across mass media. Producing a fresh supply of news to a hungry media has lead to a rapid turnover of stories. Sensationalism has become prevalent in printed news coverage while broadcasters of news rely on the 'sound bites' to convey complex stories in an easily digestible way. Many organisations in the mass media exist as profit making enterprises, which goes some way to explaining why a rapid turnover of 'interesting' news is presented to the public. In addition, there are entrenched values and practices across mass media.

Some events lend themselves to gathering, processing and technical procedures favoured by media organisations (Tuchman, 1978). Events are more likely to become news if they fit certain criteria (Galtung and Ruge, 1965; Hall, 1973). Media practices and values can be viewed as mutually reinforcing. Schlesinger (1978) explored the overlap between the time constrained nature of news broadcasts and the duration and order of items which involve value judgements on importance, relevance and significance. Altheide and Snow (1979) used the term 'media logic' to describe general factors which producers believe will increase audience attention and satisfaction: immediacy (dramatic illustrative pictures), fast tempo, sound bites, personally attractive
presenters and relaxed formats. These values are argued by some to promote sensationalist and facile coverage (Sreberny-Mohammadi, 1995: 442). Media values and the control of information will both be considered in Chapter Six as issues arising from globalised communication systems which impinged upon The Vegetarian Society.

Chapter summary

Later in this thesis I examine how the routine activities of the case study organisation produce and reproduce globalised social systems. Accordingly, I have provided a theoretical basis for suggesting actively reproduced social systems. Giddens' (1984) theory of structuration places knowledgeable human agents at the centre of the reproduction of society, while extended social relations were at the core of social systems which could stretch across the globe. Globalised social systems can be seen as pervasive (widespread) without excluding alternatives. Other systems exist, but relative to them. Individual and collective social actors are actively creating the extended social relations that are global systems; they draw on (and reproduce) the existing globalised rules and resources as part of their day-to-day existence.

I have also established that food and communications systems have become globalised. These systems, broadly speaking, derived their characteristics from the historical political power and contemporary economic advantage of the 'West'. The movement of people and produce which has globalised food systems has occurred against a backdrop of power relations, first from colonial politics and later capitalist economics. This has generated inequalities of food distribution whereby individuals across the world have very different experiences of food. Pervasive food systems (mass production and distribution) link the lives of geographically distant people and while localised systems remain, they do so within a global context. Food systems are social relations, actively reproduced through history and across geography which encompass economic, political and cultural factors.
The technological development and human use of systems of mass communication have extended their reach to global scale. Most obviously, the systems of mass media, telecommunications and information technology weave across the globe, while other systems of communication persist in the context of these. Individuals socially construct mass mediated communications before broadcast and reflexively reproduce them at the point of contact. However, this is not to deny the pervasive nature of 'Western' culture and symbols stemming from historical political and contemporary economic domination. Importantly, the spread of information from these systems contributes to globalisation, aiding relativisation and reflexive reproduction.

Notes for Chapter Two

1 For example, Althusser developed historical materialism into a 'structural vision of social formations' (Anderson, Hughes and Sharrock, 1986: 53), and called for a 'history ... without a subject' (Skinner, 1985: 151). In this view, individuals fill roles assigned to them by an oppressive capitalist social system, which legitimates exploitation by using ideological state apparatus (e.g., mass media and education) to convince individuals that they are in fact 'free'. This left Althusserian Marxism a larger problem: individuals shaped by society would be unable to attain class consciousness required for a proletarian revolution. According to Skinner, it had 'posited a determinism so strong as to be inescapable' (1985: 156).

2 TNCs integrate and co-ordinate across national borders, while multi-national corporations operate in many countries, but are usually controlled from a national base. I have not distinguished between transnational and multi-national corporations as the complex debates regarding definition are not central to the argument in this thesis. For more detail on definitions see, for example, Dicken (1989), while Allen considers how 'global' such firms are (1995: 110-113).
PART TWO:
RESEARCH CONTEXT. THE CASE STUDY AND RESEARCH PROCESS
CHAPTER THREE
RESEARCH DESIGN

The aim of the thesis is to explore how globalisation is reproduced as an ongoing social change. In this chapter I consider the way in which this aim was translated into a piece of empirical research. By considering the research process I will achieve two, interrelated goals. The first is to establish how the research project was designed and executed: from the aims and themes of interest to the selection of appropriate research topic and organisation and then to the methods of data collection. The second goal is to outline the interpretation of evidence and boundaries of inference undertaken in later chapters. In order to do this, I mark out the potential for inference when using an ethnographic case study and consider the issues of bias in the research process.

The chapter is divided into five sections. In the first I will restate the aim of the project and research themes, locate the work within the existing sociological research and then justify the selection of the case study organisation. In the second section I shall explore the use of case studies and ethnography as social scientific approaches. To do this I will explain the research methods of participant observation, interviewing and documentary analysis and consider the benefits and constraints associated with each. In the third section I position these approaches within the field of epistemology. Also, I will pay particular attention to the potential problems of research which employs an interpretivist approach (bias and validity). In the fourth section I consider the issues of personal and theoretical bias as they specifically applied to the present case study. The final section is a research biography in which I shall reflect on the experiences of the fieldwork and how these relate to issues raised in the previous sections.

3.1 The Research Aim and Themes of Interest

While global economics, politics and culture impinge upon the lives of people, how globalisation is reproduced as an ongoing social change has not been empirically investigated. Theoretically, influences upon our lives are not simply imposed, but are
actively reproduced. Thus, the aim of the thesis was an investigation of how the active reproduction of globalisation occurs. As I shall presently explain, an ethnographic case study was used to trace the impacts of globalisation in an existing social context. For this I selected an organisation promoting vegetarianism. The empirical research assessed the impact of globalisation upon the promotion of vegetarianism in the UK.

While the research was informed by this general aim, research questions were generated during the fieldwork rather than prior to it. Questions about the possible impacts of globalisation arose as I realised areas of interest and followed them up (by asking questions to further understanding, or by seeking more examples, actors' explanations and possible contradictions). More systematic analysis occurred 'out of the field', as I applied theoretical perspectives to the findings in an attempt to find a 'best fit' (see section 3.4.2). Fieldwork was undertaken during three separate time periods (see section 3.5), giving me further time for reflection between visits. After I had completed the fieldwork, the data was written up and analysed as a whole. This focused the research themes still further and required more theoretical interpretation and explanation.

Thus, over a period of time, I identified the impacts of globalisation and related them to theories and concepts from the sociological literature. Three broad themes developed during the course of the research process. One, to explore the reproduction of global consciousness by reference to the organisation's promotional materials. Two, to examine the reproduction of globalisation by examining the relations between the organisation and other social agents working within globalised social systems. Three, to uncover the backdrop of a globalised, post-traditional social world by considering the organisation's shifting self-image and perceived role. I will consider these themes in detail in 'Part Three: Evidence From The Case Study'.

3.1.1 Locating the project within existing sociological research

I can best outline the current sociological research in globalisation and indicate the space which this work fills by considering two interrelated issues: definition and measurement.
Hirst and Thompson argue that the 'notion of globalisation is just plain wrong' (1996b: 47). They believe that recent and rapid globalisation, the idea of a 'virtually uncontrollable' global economy and its domination over national economies are refutable by reference to economic analysis (1992, 1994, 1996a, 1996b). However, on closer examination they merely refute the accuracy of 'strong' or 'extreme' claims about globalisation (1996a: 195-6). Similarly, Ferguson wishes to undermine seven myths identified with globalisation:

'Bigger is better', 'More is Better', 'Time and Space Have Disappeared', 'Global Cultural Homogeneity', 'Saving Planet Earth', 'Democracy for Export via American TV' and 'The New World Order'. Individually and collectively they interact with one another; some emphasise the journey of becoming, while others focus on the destination, the globalised state; and some represent both the process and the result. (1992: 74-5).

She identifies problems of meaning, evidence and evaluation which challenges each of these assertions. However, Ferguson then goes on to state the importance of the 'empirical reality of a more interconnected world political and cultural economy' (1992: 86). Both of these examples repudiate globalisation per se based on initially simplified definitions.

Statements regarding the reality (existence or true nature) of globalisation depend upon how it is defined. Certainly, the notions of some journalists, politicians and economists need to be challenged. Globalisation is frequently presented as an objective force, beyond the control of individual and collective social actors, as an economic reality or as cultural homogenisation. These are some of the everyday, widespread assumptions which Ferguson (1992) rightly wishes to dispel as myths. As Spybey suggests, globalisation should not be mistaken as an external influence (1996: 5) and in this vein, Hirst and Thompson (1996) usefully oppose such a portrayal. However, rather than globalisation being 'plain wrong' what they prove is that the observable trends of economic interconnection across the globe are not simplistic, unidirectional or new.

For many sociological theorists of globalisation, such qualifications were already accepted. With regard to 'newness', globalisation has been related to modernity, the age of exploration and European colonialism (Giddens, 1990; Spybey, 1996; Waters, 1995), or even earlier (Robertson, 1992). With regard to complexity and direction, Albrow denies 'that there is a one-way, unique and single process of globalisation' (1997: 1).
Globalisation is not simply the homogenisation of the world into 'Western' forms (e.g., Pieterse, 1995), although arguably globalisation is reinforcing existing power relations (Walker, 1988 cited in McGrew, 1992: 76). Globalisation does not necessarily overcome old inequalities and further, there are also new expressions of inequality:

In a very real sense globalisation represents modernity, the enlightenment project and the triumph of the West, all turned against the West. Western civilisation gave rise to the world's first truly global culture but once created there could be no guarantee that it would remain under the West's control. (Spybey, 1996b: 11)

Once globalised systems exist, they are by their very nature open to a myriad of influences. Even though global systems are open to all, this does not deny that inequalities of access, participation and reward exist (Spybey, 1996: 8).

This acceptance that globalisation is not unidirectional, new or imbued with 'positive' values leads to the issues of measurement. Individuals touched by the pervasive spread of Western civilisation can be seen as having their experiences shaped by global influences (Spybey, 1996c: 177). It is this shaping of experience, in a specific social setting, by global influences which the empirical work aimed to uncover. To access these changes, notions of globalisation must extend beyond the indicators of economic activities employed by Hirst and Thompson or popular myths rejected by Ferguson. While financial indicators can be one measure of the trends of economic globalisation, these largely overlook political and socio-cultural factors. Ferguson considers such factors, but her popular myths are imbued with ideological rhetoric and thus she approaches globalisation in a one-sided way (Robertson, 1992: 188).

Neither the abstract economic indicators nor disputed rhetoric and popular myth can be seen truly to access experiences of globalisation. This requires a different approach altogether, one which attempts to consider the experiences of human agents. Human experience can be accessed by empirical analysis in a number of ways. Firstly, social scientists can measure the 'outcomes' of human experience using well developed statistical indicators of status and achievement (e.g., literacy, life expectancy, infant mortality, material wealth per capita). A 'Human Development Index' has been developed as a composite index which combines such measures of social and economic welfare (see for
example, Thomas, et al., 1994: 22). Such enquiry produces a comparative picture of human experience across most of the world. For example Bradshaw and Wallace (1996) examine continuing global inequalities in terms of regional trends and human experience by reference to indicators ranging from infant mortality to rates of HIV infection.

A second way that social scientists can measure human experience is by accessing beliefs, opinions and values. The work of Inglehart (1977, 1990) is viewed by Albrow to represent one attempt to map the changes in personal and social values which can be related to globalising trends (1996: 194-5). Questionnaires were designed to measure changing values across America and 'Western' European nations in the early 1970s. Comparative analysis of the indices developed to measure changing values lead Inglehart to suggest that a silent revolution had occurred in the 'Western' world. Once basic material needs of economic and physical security were met, concerns shifted toward 'post-materialist' values which include intellectual and aesthetic satisfaction (Inglehart, 1977: 363). He argues that weakening support for the nation-state and new forms of protest politics were post-materialist expressions. While not conclusive evidence of globalisation, this alleged shift toward post-materialist values is judged by Albrow to be supportive of his contention of the move into the 'Global Age' (1996: 195-6).

Researching globalisation itself, as a set of events, attitudes or influences, is problematic because such a sweeping social change is difficult to define and measure. Albrow et al. (1994) surveyed the impact of globalisation on the daily lives of a variety of people in Wandsworth borough, London.

We found plenty of evidence for people taking account of distant events in their daily lives, making everyday contact with friends, relatives and business associates in other continents, taking for granted, though not necessarily accepting, multiculturalism in their locality, finding their entertainment in global cultural products. (1994: 41)

However, respondents showed a 'complex variety of patterns of social life in the same geographical area' (1994: 43). As the impacts are indeterminate and generate diverse responses (Albrow, 1996: 196), there are problems in identifying and measuring aspects of globalisation. As it has been recognised, the difficulty lies in establishing indicators of globalisation (Axford, 1995: 33).
I did not pre-determine indicators of globalisation for the data collection. As stated, the development of the research themes occurred over the research process as I developed a relationship between data and theory (also see section 3.4.2). This said, I have used a conceptual framework to identify and explain actions, events and beliefs from the fieldwork as relevant examples of ongoing globalisation. In the sociological literature, relativisation, interpenetration, detraditionalisation and institutional reflexivity aimed to explain how globalisation was occurring and the outcomes. Accordingly, I employed these concepts to interpret and explain the data, effectively using them as indications that globalisation was impacting on the organisation.

The use of surveys to measure the outcomes and values associated with globalisation can provide useful evidence, particularly for comparative analysis. However, I wished to study dynamic and ongoing globalisation in an existing social setting. While globalisation is widespread, the everyday nature of its constitution and re-constitution should not be ignored:

As such it will be necessary to pay attention to the more mundane and incremental processes of change which are in train. These may form part of longer-term transformative processes which may not be apparent to those whom they affect most, because they are hidden by the sheer taken-for-granted-ness of routine actions and interactions. (Axford, 1995: 4).

To achieve this, I decided that an organisational setting was required to observe social relations and how globalisation was impacting upon these. As Axford suggests, globalisation can be overt (a product of conscious and intentional actions and interactions of agents), but also 'indirect and unconscious' (1995: 5) and 'threaded into the routines of daily living' (1995:28). I chose an ethnography as the means of accessing and recording such expressions of globalisation.

An ethnography was appropriate for viewing the ongoing globalisation because of the degree of familiarity which was required.

The sociologist has as a field of study phenomena which are already constituted as meaningful. The condition of 'entry' to this field is getting to know what actors already know, and have to know to 'go on' in the daily activities of social life. (Giddens, 1984: 284)
To assess the impact of globalisation upon an organisation required an understanding of the social setting. This entailed gaining insight into the everyday routines and practices of an organisation, its aims and objectives, the means of achieving these, the actions and interactions of staff and their engagement with other (external) people or organisations. To gain in-depth knowledge I considered an ethnography the most appropriate research strategy, as this approach takes the setting as a whole and studies it over time, using a combination of methods appropriate to the situation in hand (see section 3.2). To explore actively created and reproduced globalisation required choosing an appropriate setting for an ethnographic case study.

3.1.2 Vegetarianism as research theme

Selecting the promotion of vegetarianism as a research theme was a decision inspired by personal interest. I had been alerted to the global nature of the promotion of vegetarianism by reading campaigning materials produced by various organisations (which, incidentally, had informed my own decision to adopt a vegetarian diet). Aspects of the arguments used to promote vegetarianism seemed to be located in a global context (see Appendix 1). Some particularly strong examples (outside of the organisation that was finally chosen) can be used to show the global connections which first alerted my interest. The Movement for Compassionate Living (The Vegan Way) was one such organisation (or rather, a network) whose promotional materials included explicit use of global themes:

Pollution, erosion, desertification, forest destruction, population explosions, global warming, ozone layer depletion ... if present trends continue all highly developed forms of life on this planet could be extinguished. The troubles are caused by industrial, agricultural, forestry practices now spreading fast through the world. ('Assaulting the Planet.' leaflet: The Movement for Compassionate Living)

The literature was 'making connections between the way we live and others suffer' and 'working for a change in ourselves, our life-styles and the world' (Leaflet 'Introducing... The Movement for Compassionate Living'). To achieve its ends, the connections between individual action and global problems were being underscored.
Local animal welfare organisation had also realised the benefits of such an approach. For example, a leaflet distributed in the street stated the arguments for vegetarianism under the headline:

How you can help to: save the rainforests, stop starvation in the third world, stop animal suffering, improve your own health and save money' (promotional leaflet: Oxford Animal Protection Society)

Another organisation which I encountered, Vegfam, was a charity which aimed to 'Feed the hungry without exploiting animals'. Vegfam was active on the global stage, funding projects in Bangladesh, Bolivia, Mexico, Nicaragua and India. In a range of literature across a number of different organisations, links were made between meat-eating, environmental degradation and the 'world food problem'. These arguments also highlighted the diseases of 'Western' over-consumption; coronary disease, cancer, obesity and other health concerns were related to an affluent diet high in animal protein. Further, the moral issue of animal suffering was (arguably) a universal one.

The selection of vegetarianism was informed by these global issues within the campaigning literature. However, using the promotion of vegetarianism as a case study also served another purpose. My own knowledge of vegetarianism enabled some familiarity with the social context under investigation, the subject matter and possibly the outlooks of people working for a vegetarian organisation. Ethnographic research demands achieving familiarity with the chosen setting. While this can be gained in situ I had chosen a subject matter with which I was familiar. By doing so I hoped to dispense with the elements of 'getting to know' the social setting. As explored later (section 3.4.1), this had both benefits and drawbacks. Assessing the impact of globalisation upon vegetarianism in the UK became the core research question. To operationalise this required choosing and gaining access to an organisational context in which to base the case study.

3.1.3 Selecting the research organisation and subjects

Having chosen vegetarianism as a research topic, I then required an appropriate setting in which to undertake fieldwork. I considered that an organisation involved in the promotion of vegetarianism was a viable setting in which to research the ongoing reproduction of
globalisation. If an organisation produced materials which linked the actions of people in the UK to events and activities in geographically distant locations, it would seem that globalisation had already had some effect upon it. Organisations that actively promoted vegetarianism through argument and assertion were considered most appropriate. To be successful in communicating their own beliefs, organisations have to be sensitive to the social world they are trying to change. For this reason, I considered organisations that attempted to promote social change were a good setting for my investigations.

I began by informally approaching national groups who actively promoted vegetarianism or veganism, assessing their suitability for more detailed work. The key criteria were an observable population and an organisation that would allow me access to study them over an extended period of time. An appropriate research setting required a population to observe over time because it was the routine reproduction of globalisation by individual and social agents that interested me. As noted above, I considered that an active engagement with the social world (rather separation from it) would produce examples of the impact of globalisation. While vegetarianism is a minority concern, there is a spectrum of viewpoints within it (see Chapter Four). It was the larger, mainstream organisations that were of interest (notwithstanding the role that radical extremes play in shaping and informing these).

I visited three organisations to assess their suitability in light of the above criteria. Access for initial period of research was agreed with The Vegetarian Society (contextual details in Chapter Four). Here, it is important to explain how the organisation is being treated as a research subject. The Society has individual members, local voluntary organisations, some full-time staff and an elected decision making body. While some contact was made with each of the last three of these components of the organisation, it was the full-time staff who were the main population under observation. I was seeking to uncover the routine reproduction of globalisation and it was the full-time staff who were active in the day-to-day promotion of vegetarianism. Further, ethnographic research requires actions and interaction to observe; the staff were a group of people that I was able to readily access in a relatively stable and consistent environment. The day-to-day work of The Society was
undertaken by the staff and their actions and interactions are at the core of the empirical materials.

Although each person had individual roles, responsibilities, beliefs and opinions, collectively their work was undertaken within an organisational framework; the organisation had an identity and a professed role. Thus, for the purposes of this research, *The Society* was treated as a unitary whole: an entity in itself. However, it must be emphasised that, like widespread social systems, organisations are entities created by active human agents. Although the staff did not constitute the entire organisation their work contributed a large part of its routine reproduction. Staff were aware that interviews were to be used for research purposes but, in the interest of anonymity, I identify them by their job title. I have not used a pseudonym for the organisation as its unique context would leave little doubt as to its identity. Having selected an appropriate setting for an ethnography, the organisation, its outputs and the routine activities of its staff were monitored to assess the impacts of globalisation.

3.2 Case Studies, Ethnography and Research Methods

In this section I will consider how evidence of ongoing globalisation was collected. This will entail explaining the methods which were employed to access different types of evidence and the problems associated with them. However, as the collective project of fieldwork and analysis was an ethnographic case study, I will firstly consider the remits of both ethnography and case study research. Stoecker (1991) argues that case study research is not a method in itself, rather a broad frame determining the boundaries of information gathering: it is an orientation. Case studies are 'research projects which attempt to explain holistically the dynamics of a certain historical period of a particular social unit' (1991: 97-8). As Ragin (1989) states, researchers treat the case as a whole entity, not as a collection of variables. They see the combination of conditions that make up a single situation and how 'conditions combine in different ways in different contexts to produce different outcomes' (1989: 52).
The use of the term 'case' is diverse; it can encompass theoretical and empirical approaches (Platt, 1992). In empirical work, case studies can draw on both qualitative and quantitative methods, from social surveys to ethnographies. These diverse approaches can be tailored to the circumstances under investigation and the aims of the research:

Case studies take as their subject one or more selected examples of a social entity [...] that are studied using a variety of data collection techniques. (Hakim, 1987: 61)

Case studies can thus incorporate the whole range of research tools open to the social scientist. In my case I wished to access routine examples of ongoing globalisation. This would require getting to know a social setting in depth. The appropriate research strategy for this can be best described as an ethnography.

May argues that ethnography seeks an 'empathetic understanding' of the social world (1993: 114). Ethnographic research has an important place in the history of sociological understanding. It offers unique insights by encouraging the researcher to become part of the social world being studied (e.g., Whyte, 1943; Goffman, 1961; Becker, 1963). The aim of ethnography is to build accounts of natural social actors in the 'laboratory of community life' (Ackroyd and Hughes, 1992: 133). My intention was to immerse myself into the day-to-day world of The Vegetarian Society's staff to explore the routine work involved in the promotion of vegetarianism and seek examples of globalisation.

Like a case study, an ethnography is not a method in the strictest sense of the word. The method of data collection used in ethnography can take a variety of forms. Using a number of different research methods can be justified as an aid to accuracy, but in this case it arose as a necessity. I employed a range of data collection methods, each chosen to elucidate specific types of information regarding the activities and opinions of staff working at The Society (but also the Council and some voluntary local activists). The actual method employed depended upon the topic of investigation, the social setting and the respondents. Nevertheless, methods were not employed uncritically:

The careful ethnographer will be aware that all classes of data have their problems, all are produced socially, and none can be treated as unproblematically neutral or transparent representations of 'reality'. (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995: 169)
I will now explain each method, its benefits and limitations and the type of evidence it was used to collect.

The primary tool of the ethnographer is participant observation:

By participant observation we mean that method in which the observer participates in the daily life of the people under study [...] observing things that happen, listening to what is said and questioning people over some length of time. (Becker and Geer, 1970: 133)

The aim is to understand how members of the research population manage and organise themselves in their ongoing social context (Ackroyd and Hughes, 1992: 127). The practical collection of data generally involves looking, listening and talking with the respondents. Sometimes the researcher becomes involved more deeply, becoming part of the situation being observed. Strict guidelines are impossible to set as data collection arises out of interactions that are dependent upon the theme, people and context under observation. Participant observation is a method of research which attempts to provide greater understanding through experience.

The data collected during participant observation takes the form of field notes. Again, the way in which notes are collected and collated will depend upon the context (Ackroyd and Hughes, 1992: 138). For example, Hobbs' study of police and criminals in the East End of London involved fieldwork in pubs, clubs and parties; on occasion he would reconstruct events from memory, or 'slip off to the toilet' to write down an important conversation (1988: 5). Field notes can be ordered around chronology, themes, people or events. It is important to allow space alongside field notes for researcher's comments. These may include reference to theoretical positions, contextual information about the situation or links to other parts of the field notes.

This practice indicates that analysis and data collection coincide as participant observation takes place (see for example, Becker, 1958). The collected information is not leaping out from the social context of its own accord. Rather it is the researcher who decides what is significant about a situation. The significance is dictated by the research aims, in my case, potential expression of globality which manifested themselves in the routine promotion of
vegetarianism by staff at The Vegetarian Society. To understand globalisation in an established social context, participant observation was an essential and central pillar of the data collection methods. As a form of social research it allowed me to elicit data regarding the routine activities of the research subjects: their rules, roles and relations. For Becker and Geer (1970) no other form of social research method gives more information about an event under study.

However, some weaknesses in the method of participant observation should be noted. Firstly, driven by the aim of the projects, a decision was made about what to observe and why. This indicates a potential problem with bias:

> Between the impression on the senses and the reported interpretation are the attitudes, values, prejudices, as well as the academic conceptual models, of the researcher. Perception is the process of fitting what is seen or heard into these maps and frameworks in the mind. (Shipman, 1981: 75)

However, this is a problem for research per se and removing interpretation from research design is an impossibility. The specific nature of bias in this case study (personal/political and theoretical) is addressed in section 3.4.

A second potential problem with participant observation are the claims that it can access the 'natural' setting, i.e., the world of the research subjects untainted by the influence of the research itself. However, even when undertaken covertly, the presence of the researcher can upset the natural social context. Nevertheless, this does not undermine the benefits of participant observation for two reasons. Firstly, social contexts are not static and consequently there is no single, true picture to be discovered. Secondly, the 'degree of detachment' between the researcher and the subjects is variable, not least over the course of research (Frankenberg, 1963 cited in Shipman, 1981: 80). The fluid nature of the researcher-subject relation is underlined in the research biography (section 3.5).

To complement observation in context, recorded, semi-structured interviews were employed to explore themes and issues which arose from the field notes. As Giddens suggests, individuals are knowledgeable agents in their day-to-day social lives:
To be a human being is to be a purposeful agent, who both has reason for his or her activities and is able, if asked, to elaborate discursively upon those reasons (including lying about them). (Giddens, 1984: 3)

In social science, the primary method of accessing the reasoning of active individuals is the interview. As a research tool, interviews can give access to: 'a knowledge of meanings and interpretations that individuals give to their lives and events' (Minichiello, et al; 1990, 1). Yet, these are not simply personal representations. Accounts are part of the world which they describe; shaped by the context in which they occur (Atkinson, 1988).

Interviewing as a method can take a variety of forms. Surveys are the most structured: the respondent is directed through set questions in a predetermined manner. At the other end of the spectrum, unstructured interviews allow the research subject to direct the course and subject matter, with minimum interference from the researcher. The former provide data which is manageable in terms of its own criteria, but is inflexible to the respondent's own mindset. The latter is very sensitive to the respondents point of view, but produces data which can be difficult to organise in a coherent manner. In between, semi-structured interviews can give flexibility within a pre-conceived framework. Practically, the type of information required and the availability of the respondents directs the type of interview.

Hammersley and Atkinson suggest that interviews can be solicited or spontaneous. As part of an ethnography, 'insider accounts' of both types should be treated as 'social phenomena occurring in, and shaped by, particular contexts' (1995: 156). In this research, broadly speaking, interviews were solicited. Interviews were used to get research subjects to express opinions regarding their activities, their role within the organisation and the direction which The Society was taking. The exact way in which this was achieved varied between different groups of respondents.

Interviews of the full-time staff were semi-structured and taped, although a small proportion were unrecorded. To allow a deeper exploration of events and opinions, the selection of respondents mirrored the range of people who had been observed.

Observation guides us to some of the important questions we want to ask the respondent, and interviewing helps us to interpret the significance of what we are observing. (Whyte, 1984: 96 cited in May, 1993: 121).
Each staff interview was tailored to the respondent, but also followed the common themes stimulated by the theoretical influences and the field notes. The majority of these took place toward the end of the fieldwork. This facilitated enquiry into aspects of routine work which simple observation was unable to uncover, such as complex motivation and reasoning. I also enquired about beliefs and opinions, both as personal context which 'framed' interactions and as a reflection of the organisation as an entity. Interviews strongly captured the diversity of opinions within the organisation.

In accordance with the holistic case study approach, when the opportunities arose I collected information from others within the organisation. This included both Council members and some of The Society's 'Network' of voluntary local activists (the organisational structure is outlined in Chapter Four). The circumstances of these diverse groups demanded alternatives to in-depth interviews. The geographical spread of the Council members dictated a postal survey (a short questionnaire with open ended questions to explore their view of the organisation and perceived role in it). Local activists were interviewed at a 'Local Action Weekend'\(^1\), which The Society co-hosted with another 'animal advocacy' group, Animal Aid. Voluntary activists took part in structured, taped interviews from which I gathered information about their perceptions of the organisation, their role and activities.

Depending on their type, interviews were either taped and transcribed or reconstructed from memory. The questionnaires to Council members were returned in the form of a response sheet. The transcripts from the full time staff constitute data in two ways. Like field notes, interview transcripts are raw data in their own right (Ackroyd & Hughes, 1992). Also, in line with Atkinson (1988), they are part of their context. Thus they were data in conjunction with the field notes; a way of cross referencing and clarifying specific events, opinions and approaches. The information gained from activists and Council members was supplementary, providing a wider organisational context.
Again, there are problems involved in using interviews to elicit empirical evidence. At one end of the spectrum (the postal survey to Council members and the structured interviews with local voluntary activists), the directive nature of questions could have inhibited the respondents' expression. However, at the other (the staff interviews) the flexibility of semi-structured interviews allowed respondents freedom to digress from, expand or shift the focus. In all interviewing the problem of researcher bias remained prominent: were the questions reflective of the respondent's interests or are they simply driven by the research aims? While care was taken to minimise directly leading questions, in the last instance research is always guided by the interests of the researcher. As Shipley argues: '[t]he questions have created this situation and the answers are meaningful only in its context' (1981: 89). All research is socially constructed, involving some form of interaction between respondent and researcher.

Additional data came from documentary evidence. Some of The Society's relations to the world at large were communicated through text. As The Society is an organisation promoting a cause, data were available in the form of campaigning documents, e.g., reports, information leaflets, posters and press releases. This promotional material provided an initial introduction to the views of the organisation. Furthermore, it had originally alerted me to the global contexts being used to campaign for vegetarianism (examined in Chapter Five). Other documents (internal communications, enquiries from outside parties, newspaper and magazine reports, sales literature and information for local groups) provided information about the nature of work undertaken at The Society. Documents were a useful way of getting to know the research setting.

Documents were considered important sources of evidence in two ways. Firstly, they constituted an expression of the organisational world-view. Documents for public consumption were treated as the accepted view of the organisation and thus, primary data. Furthermore, unlike the problems of 'interviewer effect' or criticisms about disturbing the 'natural environment':

The advantage of documents as sources of evidence is that they have been compiled for other purposes than to provide information for scientists or historians. They can be assumed to be a reflection of feelings undisturbed by the presence of the researcher. (Shipley, 1981: 126)
Nevertheless, documents are not presented here as 'truth' but as the arguments deployed to further the aims of The Society.

Secondly, the messages, pictures, terminology and frames of reference were also expressions of the individuals who constitute the organisation. As Giddens (1979) notes: 'the author constitutes him or herself through the text, via the very process of production of that text' (cited in Hobbs and May, 1993: 63). This also means that, like the interview data, documentary data were the expressions of individuals working in context. Documentary information was not treated at face value, but rather as a social product (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995: 168). As products of their context, documents were collected in tandem with observational or interview accounts.

The criticisms associated with documentary evidence do not stem from their use as a form of data, rather from the way in which they are deployed (May, 1993: 149). The problems involve issues of presentation and interpretation, i.e., which documents are presented and how they are interpreted to be useful evidence. Like interviewing and observation, the questions surround the researcher's control over the selection and the bias of interpretation. In the present case, as documents were not employed in isolation, their validity and bias were tied into the general use of interpretative methods in a case study context. Thus, some consideration now must be given to questions of epistemology and in the next section, the value of case studies.

3.3 Epistemological Grounding: Interpretative Understanding and Underlying Processes

Using a variety of methods to investigate one case can have drawbacks, especially when those methods have different epistemological foundations or are used to 'triangulate' a 'true' picture (Ackroyd and Hughes, 1992: 170-4). This was not considered too problematic for the case in hand as I will show that the variety of methods under the aegis of ethnography have a common 'foundation' in interpretivism. In practice, the variety of methods was
used to add flexibility to data collection. I wished to collect evidence of both opinions and the routine organisation of work. Different types of method suited specific people or situations. For example, the work of the Chief Executive was solitary and more accessible through interview than observation. Multi-method research also allowed for cross-checking, not to find a true picture, but for clarification. During the field work, observed practice or documentary evidence was explored in interview situations; while interviews provided themes of interest which could be assessed in routine activities.

The common problems of control and bias raised by employing the selected research methods are related to the epistemological grounding of ethnography in interpretivism. This is not to suggest that alternative methods of data collection do not have similar problems, but to show the common thread of those employed in the present case. The debate around epistemology is an essential part of the self-referential nature of sociology (Hughes, 1990). Questions of 'how can we know the world' are the crux of this debate. While empirical research must be undertaken, debates over epistemology cannot be easily dismissed or quickly resolved.

To know the social world is the aim of the social scientist, but it should be recognised that scientists 'know' in particular ways. Whatever the method or epistemological grounding, data collection and analysis should be approached rationally and undertaken systematically. One way of gaining knowledge of the social world can be to access the understanding of those directly involved. Individuals possess knowledge of their social context, even if this is partial or incomplete. Underlying this proposition is the concept of human agency: 'the process of acting in relation to a set of meanings, reasons or intentions' (Waters, 1994: 15). To comprehend the social world, interpretivism conceives of knowledgeable individuals and therefore empirically explores their actions, meanings and beliefs. Thus, interpretivism distinguishes between the methods employed by natural science and those useful to social science. It is not solely classification and causality which are required to interpret the actions, meanings and beliefs of individuals, it also involves understanding.
The meanings which individuals attached to their own action are open to social scientific investigation if the appropriate methods are employed. Generally, methods employed under interpretivist epistemologies attempt to reconstruct the experiences of other social actors (Hughes, 1990: 93). This provides an explanation of action by understanding the meanings attached by actors, i.e., discovering how individuals understand what they are doing. Ethnographers employ empathy to understand action, interpreting actors' meanings within their own knowledge. In practice, this involves 'trying to think oneself into the situations of the people that one is interested in' (Armstrong, 1993: 5). The acknowledged 'distance' between the researcher and the actor enables interpretation of accounts from theoretical perspectives.

The problem of interpretative epistemology arises when researchers have to justify their personal interpretation of meaning and action. The question is: 'what gives primacy to their interpretation of what occurred?' The common accusation is that the researcher's conceptions are used to explain and interpret the reality of other people. These surface as considerations of control and bias. However, it is argued that the subjects of interpretative social science are not 'reactive objects' and therefore the natural science recourse to reliability is unsuitable. The recourse of interpretivist is to be open about their potential biases to keep them in check.

Criticisms about interpretivist data relate to their potential to confirm pre-held theoretical beliefs. In this regard, the difficulty for this project came arose when combining interpretivist empirical evidence with ideas of extended social systems. Mennell notes that the structure/agency divide in social theory is mirrored in epistemology. Between the positivist and the methodological individualists, the debate has been the primacy of 'society' or the 'individual' (1992: 252-6). While employing the interpretivism associated with methodological individualism, it is not simply questions of agency which are important. The research was oriented around structuration theory which attempts to overcome the dualism of structure and agency.
This quandary was not simply a problem of the theory; it surfaced in the empirical evidence. Not only did I attempt to understand actions by reference to the actors' own meanings, I was also interested in events. By this I mean the way that the routines of the organisation were structured, the interrelations between actors and the practices undertaken in the name of The Vegetarian Society. Basically, I was concerned to understand both how the organisation operated as an entity and its relations to wider social systems. This does not resolve the problems of employing interpretivist methods, but does make some link between ethnographic data and conceptions of social systems.

Mennell (1992) explains that sociologists reduce processes to 'states' by isolating structure from agency (what Elias terms 'process-reduction'). Implicit distinctions are made between actors and activities. Instead of treating the social world as a set of isolated objects at rest:

One attains a far better grasp of the raw materials with which sociology deals, if one does not abstract from their motion and their processual character (Elias, 1970: 115).

Concepts such as class, norms and social structure are not 'factors', but 'configurations of interdependent people'. For Elias, like Giddens, there is a mistaken dichotomy in separating human agents from the social structures which they produce and reproduce over time though their activities.

Mennell explains how Elias viewed social interaction as a continuum over time:

These networks within which people are caught up [...] have dynamics of their own, the character of which is not always easy to grasp, either by sociologists or by the people actually entangled in them. The interweaving of people's actions leads to the emergence of patternings and processes [...] seemingly independent of any individuals actions and beyond his or her control. (1992: 258)

The outcomes of human agency are patterns and processes. It was considered that adopting this approach would help to access the ongoing and dynamic nature of globalisation as:

the processes come into the foreground, with 'phases' or 'stages' no longer defined as stationary states but in terms of the very processes of which they are part and through which they are generated. (Goudsblom, 1989: 18 cited in Mennell, 1990: 369)
Adopting this approach, these patterns and processes are the link between the activities of individuals and social systems which they comprise. In relation to the empirical evidence which was collected, the routines, interrelations and practices of the organisation are the visible expressions of these dynamic patterns and processes.

To restate this in relation to the aims of the project: studying the processes of globalisation as they occur in an existing social context aimed to uncover the way in which it was actively produced and reproduced. Exploring the meanings attached by agents partially addresses the actions which they undertake, but only from their (potentially limited) viewpoint. Activities, in the form of routines, interrelations and practices, are evidence of a different order. They are neither the meaning endowed actions of agents nor abstracted static factors. As visible patterns and processes which comprise The Vegetarian Society as an ongoing entity, they are an expression of its connections and relations to the social world. These are still open to interpretation (through my eyes as a researcher), but in the context of the research these patterns and processes will be presented in relation to globalised social systems (Chapter Six) and globalised social relations (Chapter Seven).

Exploring processes does not overcome the boundaries of interpretivist epistemology as it is considering evidence of a different order. Nevertheless, as Elias suggests, 'real-type' case studies are the best way of exploring process (1970: 166). I shall next consider the case study as a unit of social research and, having shown the problems attributed to interpretative methods, outline the practicalities of bias and validity as they apply to the case study.

3.4 Validity and Bias in an Ethnographic Case Study

The previous section set out the case study approach and interpretative methods of research as if they were neutral instruments of the research trade. However, in social science the researcher and the research subject are both active participants in the processes of data collection. This conjures up general questions of validity and bias which will be now be addressed as they relate to this piece of research. I will begin by looking at the
issue of personal/political bias of the researcher. I will then consider the issue of validity of case study research and how this relates to possible theoretical bias. Interestingly, it is the integrity and ability of the individual researcher which is seen to constitute the adequacy of the presented findings. This is linked to the reflexive turn in social science which has constituted the researcher as the linchpin of research. The research biography in the final section will show how reflexivity was applied during and after the fieldwork in an attempt to address the issues of validity and bias.

3.4.1 Personal/political bias: researching a known topic

Personal experience played an important role in the choice of research topic. Vegetarianism was a subject in which I had some experience, even if this was only in the form of a personal choice. Nevertheless, this choice was an informed one which had alerted me to the use of global issues in the promotion of vegetarianism. As I will show (section 3.4.2), the success of a case study relies heavily upon the appropriate selection of the case. However, there is no ideal relationship between researcher and the research subject. Both 'insider' knowledge or 'outsiders' status can be used to gain privileged access and detail (Hobbs, 1989). In this case, I had prior knowledge but no affiliation: I was not a member of any vegetarian/vegan organisation. This allowed detachment in the selection and researching of a suitable organisation.

Furthermore, vegetarianism per se is not the case under scrutiny. It is the promotion of vegetarianism by The Vegetarian Society which was of interest. Nevertheless, a personal commitment may be regarded as potentially encouraging data which could be favourable to the cause of vegetarianism. In social research, a core issue is value freedom. This is a debate about the neutrality and objectivity of the researcher. The purest distillation of value freedom in sociology stems from a European movement of the 1920's and 1930's known as the Vienna Circle. In their 'logical positivism' morality fell outside the scope of science. In philosophical terms this is 'the duality of fact and value' (Halfpenny, 1982: 46-7). More plainly, for these scholars science has the ability (under certain conditions) to predict what will happen, but not what should happen.
The idea that facts and values can exist in isolation from one another is not limited to positivist methodologies. Interpretavists like Weber also argue that researchers must keep their personal preferences out of the processes of research. His concept of 'ethical neutrality' suggests that scientists should not impose their own values upon the subject matter (Weber, 1949). This is rebuffed by Gouldner, who states that the 'image of a value-free sociology is no more than a neat intellectual theorem demanded as a sacrifice to reason' (1962: 199). However, the difference between Gouldner and Weber is not as wide as sometimes presented. Weber's position of 'ethical neutrality' was taken within the context of political interference; it was a stance against indoctrination rather than a 'sacrifice to reason'.

It is Becker (1967) who takes a polarised position to value neutrality. Like Gouldner, he rejected the possibility of research 'uncontaminated by personal or political sympathies' (1967: 15). Yet, in his view, the question is not 'to have or not to have' values, but whose side the researcher takes given their personal and political commitments (1967: 25). Problematically, research can then become a political tool whose evidence is value laden. Researchers may be uncritical of the information which they are gathering or the research subject may get too committed to the research and become 'over-enthusiastic in the provision of information' (Ackroyd and Hughes, 1992: 142). However, as Becker and Geer suggest:

The participant observer is both more aware of these problems and more equipped to deal with them [...] because he builds an evergrowing fund of impressions, many of them at the subliminal level, which give him an extensive base for the interpretation and analytic use of any particular datum (Becker and Geer, 1970: 141).

The heightened awareness of one's own position in the research (and the problems that may ensue) are considered a strength of interpretative methods over those that claim neutrality.

While Becker and Geer (1970) make a good case about the role of the active researcher, Becker's (1967) approach of taking sides would unduly bias systematic and thorough social scientific research. Instead, Weber's (1949) position is preferable. The position of
the researcher should be acknowledged and monitored, although neutrality should be attempted as good practice. It would be a naïve to deny the possibility of political bias in social science research as all researchers are individuals and as such possess opinions and desires. The burden falls on individual researchers to be aware of their own positions and how these affect the research (considered further in section 3.5).

3.4.2 Validity of case study research and issues of theoretical bias

Case studies view 'the particularity and complexity of a single case, coming to understand its activity within important circumstances' (Stake, 1995: xi). The 'important circumstances' are those implied by the researcher or their theoretical approach. Much of the success depends upon the 'fit' between the case and the questions which are being addressed. Prior knowledge may be necessary for a suitable case to be selected (Hakim, 1987: 64). As already shown, personal knowledge was employed to select and approach a range of potential organisations. As Stoecker advises, case studies require historical and structural boundaries, integral theory, and an involved researcher (1991: 108).

Stoecker (1991) identifies the common criticisms of the ethnographic case study method advanced by proponents of 'scientific' models of social science. The first relates to objectivity and bias on the part of the researcher which I have addressed above. The second is validity: the ability to generalise from case study findings. Often, quantitative social scientists will argue that it is impossible to generalise from one case because it is historically located and idiosyncratic. To them, ethnographic case studies are merely descriptive accounts.

However, as Weber argued, social science is not based on empirical observation alone, this must be in tandem with understanding. Reasoned accounts must not only be empirically sound, but adequate at the level of meaning. Even in the most statistically accurate models, a correlation between variables does not necessarily equate to causality. The point is that 'logical inference is epistemologically quite independent of statistical inference' (Mitchell, 1983: 200). In case studies it is not a statistical generalisation which should be
sought, rather an analytical generalisation. (Yin, 1994: 36). A case study is chosen for its explanatory power (Mitchell, 1983: 203). Rather than trying to 'nullify the context in order to find the most general and pervasive explanatory relationships', it is the uniqueness of the case that generates understanding (Stake, 1995: 39; Mitchell, 1983).

Unlike quantitative social science, the aim is not prediction. Notions of sampling and sample distribution are not relevant in case studies; 'more important than relative frequency is the variety of meaningful patterns' (Ragin, 1989: 52). Qualitative accounts of process are important for establishing the meaningful nature of connections. As Gluckman (1961) argues, complex case studies deal with events over an extended period of time, emphasising the 'processural' aspects by mapping how events are related through time (cited in Mitchell, 1983: 193-5). This accords with Becker (1966) who states that case studies are an examination of process: providing evidence of rules and their exceptions, of how things occur and why (cited in Stoecker, 1991: 94).

One of the potential uses of case studies is to substantiate claims of causality thought to underlie observed patterns and correlations (Hakim, 1987: 62):

\[...] the extent to which the concrete empirical processes specified by different theoretical perspectives exist in our case (Stoecker, 1991: 101)

Following this, some ethnographers look upon case studies as an opportunity for 'theory testing' (for example, Hammersley, 1985; 1990). Eckstein (1975) identifies 'disciplined-configurative' case studies, where patterns are interpreted in terms of general theoretical postulates. The utility of this is viewed to be dependent upon 'valid' theories and disciplined interpretation (cited in Mitchell, 1983: 195-6). Mitchell agrees that the extent of generalisation 'depends upon the adequacy of the underlying theory' (1983: 203). This effectively fails to recognise the equivocacy of theoretical thinking (Ragin, 1992). Theoretical validity is something which is always open to question.

In establishing understanding from case studies, the relation between theory and data becomes an important one. At one extreme, theory explains data; at the other, data produces theory. Polarised as such, both extremes share a common flaw. Only by
objectifying or neutralising the role of the researcher can either extreme be justified. Instead, a 'mutual interdependence' between data and theory should be emphasised (Bulmer, 1986):

Theory informs our thinking which, in turn, assists us in making research decisions and sense of the world around us. Our experience of doing research and its findings, in its turn, influences our theorizing [...] (May, 1993: 20)

This again underlines the fact that attempts at direct theory testing may fail to appreciate the dynamic relation between theory and data.

Stoecker (1991) argues that theory testing has a tendency to explain both rules and exceptions in relation to a pre-given theoretical position.

It is [...] possible that researchers will omit a whole range of data in order to confirm their pre-established beliefs, leaving the method open to the charge of bias. (May, 1993: 130)

This does not even have to be insidious; researchers can simply find what they expect to. However, such accusations transcend methodological positions: theoretical bias is possible in both qualitative and quantitative research. Again, the responsibility lies with the researcher and bias can only be combated by reference to thorough and systematic collection and evaluation of data.

The original proposal of examining 'globalisation and the individual' was informed by sociological theory. Theoretically, globalisation was presented as actively produced by human agents in local contexts (Giddens, 1990; Robertson, 1992) informed by the principles of structuration. Jones suggests that relatively little research has applied 'structuration' principles, i.e., attempted to account for both structure and agency, although attempting this would require methods which favour ethnography (1993: 165). Since we are creators and re-creators of the social world, research must be sensitive to 'complex skills' involved in day-to-day activities (Layder et al., 1991). As pragmatic, knowledgeable individuals are at the centre of structuration, research was based in an existing social context:
To 'get to know' an alien form of life is to know how to find one's way about in it, to be able to participate in it as an ensemble of practices. But for the sociological observer this is a mode of generating descriptions which have to be mediated, that is, transformed into categories of social-scientific discourse. (Giddens, 1976: 169-70)

The relation between data and theory was mediated by the researcher, guided by the disciplinary boundaries.

Structuration theory was the framework which shaped the research strategies and was used to interpret empirical evidence. As actors work within conditions which may be unacknowledged and produce consequences which may be unintended, a wider frame of reference can be drawn upon to produce a fuller account. Knowledge of how actors 'get on' must be combined with an awareness of conditions and consequences which extend beyond individual recognition or understanding. Paul Willis' (1977) Learning to Labour is an example which is commended by Giddens (Jones, 1993: 165). As Walton (1992) suggests, justifying a case stems from one's theoretical perspective and in this case, it was evidence of globalisation which was being sought. Of course, this can lead to accusations of theoretical bias.

Stoecker (1991) suggests that overcoming theoretical bias requires researchers to avoid functional explanations which are 'reality-free', to recognise that causal relations occur over time and that actors have intentions. By emphasising process, case studies can specify how theories perform in given circumstance. However, the role of researchers should not be underplayed. It is they who are organising evidence and interpreting theory (1991: 104-5). For Mitchell (1983), it is the locus of interaction between the theory and the specific instance, embodied in the interpretation of the analyst, which generate useful social scientific case studies.

To achieve this, 'carefully selected robust and central items of data' need to be presented 'in combination with the various questions and issues addressed by the study' (Hakim, 1987: 74). The goal is to link ideas (theory) and evidence, both to make sense of evidence and to sharpen ideas. Ultimately 'the equivocal nature of theory and the complexity of the empirical realm' are problems which confront every researcher (Ragin, 1992: 224-5). Case
studies limit the empirical realm and allow the possibility of connecting it to general theoretical ideas. As such a case study is neither theoretical category nor empirical unit, but the product in the middle which aids the 'process of producing empirical social science' (Ragin, 1992: 225).

The match between ideas and evidence is achieved by the researcher, something which has surfaced time and again in this section on bias and validity. Overcoming personal/political bias was viewed as a matter of good practice. Simple neutrality or objectivity is a naive expectation in the face of knowledge that all research is socially constructed. However, an aid to overcoming the worst excesses of bias can be a clear awareness of personal and theoretical preferences (so that they can be accounted for systematically). The validity of case studies relies on an active agent to match the ideas of the chosen theoretical influence with the empirical complexity of the social world. The final section introduces the idea of reflexivity in research as a potential guard against self-fulfilling research and shows how this was applied to the case in hand through a research biography.

3.5 Research Biography

'Reflexivity' in research is the critical awareness of one's own values, theories, assumptions and methods. Applied in the research context, it is supposed to help researchers to become aware of their ongoing relation to the situation being studied. An early expression by Dalton notes that:

In current practice, the listing of fears, mistakes, and interpersonal problems in collecting data is likely to seem unorthodox and to be interpreted as a mark of ineptness. Yet these are accompaniments, and they may greatly influence what is seen and how it is presented. (Dalton, 1959: 274)

Thirty years later, the awareness of this potential source of contextual information has become widespread. Interpretivist accounts in sociology now draw heavily on the idea of reflexivity as a means of accounting for personal and theoretical bias in the research process.
The practice of reflexivity can be informed by fairly strict criteria. Bruyn's (1966) sets out indices of 'subjective adequacy' as time, place, social circumstances, language, intimacy and social consensus (cited in May, 1993: 122-4). Alternatively, (and as I have followed here) May (1993) advises a self-informed process of questioning 'in the form of considering explicit theoretical formulations or reflecting on personal experiences' (124). What should be clear is that the responsibility for reflexivity is in the hands of the researcher: it is a self-critical approach.

Here I shall present a brief reflexive research biography which identifies examples of my relations with the research subjects and considers the influence of my pre-held theoretical position (n.b., I will go on to describe the organisation, its aim and activities in Chapter Four and thus, some of the detail here is not contextualised). The period of 'acclimatisation' was a mixture of uncertainty and excitement. The visit coincided with the build up to The Society's National Vegetarian Week campaign and time was predominantly spent with the Campaigns team and Research and Information Unit. This first period was spent getting to know the people, their working relations and interrelations, the working environment, the organisational ethos and practice.

During this period I was an 'outsider looking in'. The Society encouraged interested parties (researchers, students and journalists) to utilise their resources. Like those that had gone before me, I was viewed by staff as a transient outsider in their work place. Nevertheless there was a willingness on the part of research subjects to 'open up' on a range of personal, professional and organisational issues. As an outsider to the organisation I enjoyed candid and detailed opinion and explanations of practice. It seemed that my outsider status and a genuine interest in their working lives encouraged open participation. In this exploratory stage, my own vegetarian beliefs seemed to have been an asset; a connection which encouraged trust. This prior knowledge was useful in gaining access and facilitated engagement with the research subjects.

The Society staff were unaware of the themes of my research (but at this stage, so was I). When questioned I provided vague outlines of an interest in global issues. The example I
used to explain myself was environmentalism in their campaigning. Some 'interviewer effect' was perceivable here. I had many consequent conversations regarding this specific topic as subjects tried to locate their knowledge or experience within the research parameters. However, their wish to understand my interest can be viewed as a search for common ground and an understanding of who I was and what I was doing. As the aim of a non-covert ethnography is to gain access to peoples' lived experience, it seemed to me that mutual trust needed to be established.

From this first period then, there were two issues surrounding bias: my status (an outsider to the organisation, but an insider as a vegetarian) and the impact of pre-held ideas over research themes. My outsider status encouraged open discussion regarding organisational issues, while being vegetarian seemed to encouraged trust. Some evidence arose from a dialogue between researcher and subject. Research themes were initiated around my conveyed interests, but, the variety of campaign messages, food industry sponsorship, the use of the mass media for promotion and collation and distribution of information were all prominent issues which arose out of observation rather than pre-determined ideas about globalisation.

When I returned some 3 months later, National Vegetarian Week had passed and The Society had had an office reorganisation. These changes of spatial relations, workloads and the season (key staff were on holiday) altered the setting. I was unable to collect the amount of direct observational data that a fresh eye and a busy office had provided on my first visit. However, this enabled me to move on and examine in greater depth the already established themes of interest. Furthermore, as I now shared experiences with the research subject from the first visit, our interrelations shifted. Rather than being an outsider, I was more included in the working environment.

In the second visit, I established contact with the Sales team and explored their work practice. Soon I was joining in, having been asked to collate the results of a merchandising survey for the Sales team and to write an article for Greenscene (the youth magazine) about vegetarianism in education. My observation notes were sparser as a
consequence, but both experiences established trust and presented a depth of insight into
the work practices of Sales, Campaigns and the magazine. To some extent, I felt part of a
team rather than an observer. In terms of bias, what arose here was the common issue of
'going native' (Ackroyd and Hughes, 1992: 136-7). This means becoming so immersed in
the situation under observation that any semblance of neutrality disappears.

During the fieldwork I played out a range of roles, from impassioned participant to neutral
observer and stages in between. I recognised that a researcher and the environment under
scrutiny are not mutually exclusive. I did not choose for myself a single stance or role for
the duration of the research (or at any particular moment during the research). Numerous
factors impinged upon my self presentation. I changed my stance during the course of the
research and even during the course of a day. The role which I would take on depended
upon the social context which I was in: who was there, how they treated me, how they
interacted with other present or absent people, the day, the time, the immediate and
foreseeable tasks, etc. Being the tool of data collection required attuning myself to the
research environment in ways that would encourage respondents to share their knowledge.

Returning for the final visit, I tried to re-establish the boundaries of the initial observation
period. Despite the depth gained by participating, I lamented the early research period,
feeling that I had lost an inquisitive edge. As my relations to the research subjects had
changed, recovering some previous state of affairs was an impossibility. I had a greater
personal understanding of their working context: the internal organisation, the subject
matter which they dealt with on a daily basis and the charity sector. However, I
attempted to maintain a greater distance and re-assert my role as a researcher. If at points I
had 'gone native', I was now 'going academic' (Hobbs and May, 1993).

During this final period I accompanied staff who were doing work with the media and
attended a weekend course with local activists, but the focus remained on established
themes of interest. I explored these themes in greater detail by asking direct questions,
collecting documentary evidence and conducting interviews. In considering the problem
of theoretical bias, it is interesting to consider how these themes distinguished themselves
and became reinforced. I noted earlier how initial interests were spurred by preconceived ideas of global issues in campaigning. This remained a theme of interest throughout and greater detail was sought about their use and relation in terms of the other work of The Society.

At times I tried to ignore the 'background noise' of the staff’s daily work to look for 'real data' about globalisation. However, I realised that the themes of interest which I wished to explore further during the final stages were those that had arisen around the interactions, relations and work practice I had witnessed at The Society. Themes were coaxed out by the active participants in the research. They were a combination of what I found interesting and what the research subjects were doing, or were willing to talk about. Only over time did the themes of interest become distinguished from the background. Of course this does not mean that they were free from theoretical bias (either in their identification as relevant or in the analysis), but it indicates that evidence was not generated by the researcher in isolation.

In terms of personal biases, just as insider knowledge and outsider status can have advantages, so they also have drawbacks. As an outsider, one can also be deliberately or unintentionally excluded. Also, insider knowledge can override the experience, action and opinions of the research subjects. My bias toward vegetarianism had little influence for it was not being evaluated as a topic in itself, rather used as a source of empirical evidence. I had some concern about the selection and presentation of data, especially critical opinions about the role and purpose of The Society and the associated dilemmas. However, this information was important for understanding The Society's relations to a globalised world. Furthermore, a range of viewpoints existed, both supportive and critical. My concern was simply that information could be employed 'out of context' by opposition groups. This related to a feeling of responsibility toward informants who had been open and helpful rather than to a defence of my beliefs.

This biography aimed to show how reflexivity was applied to issues of bias in the research process. In terms of theoretical bias, themes of interest arose out of interaction between
the active participants in the research. Much of the data regarded work practices and internal relations, neither of which were theoretically preconceived. This does not preclude bias, but indicated the active influence of the setting on the research. My vegetarian beliefs encouraged trust and as an outsider I was party to candid accounts of organisation issues. As a researcher I had ever-changing roles. The contexts of data collection were fluid and I had to be adaptable to these.

Finally, the research design was flexible and open to change over the course of the work. The ethnographic approach stimulates, or even requires, a degree of flexibility over the themes of interest. It was not until some time had elapsed that it became clear where my own areas of interest lay (which I found difficult to explain to the respondents). However, when hindsight is applied to enable the final write-up of the research, an air of inevitability arises. A smooth course is implied, moving from one stage to the next, which disguises some of the uncertainty which I felt at the time. On arrival, the journey took on a perspective which was not always clear en route.

Chapter summary

My first goal for this chapter was to establish how the research project was designed and executed. An organisation promoting vegetarianism was selected as a context to study ongoing globalisation. A range of overlapping research methods was used to access data on actions, interactions, beliefs and opinions. Themes of interest (i.e., related to global awareness or systems) developed over time as I became familiar with the organisation's activities and outputs and interpreted these within the concepts drawn from the sociological literature. Over the course of the investigation my relations with the research subjects shifted, from observer to participant and back again, as time-constraints directed and re-directed my attention. The empirical evidence, in the form of field-notes, interview transcripts and documents, was a combination of what was relevant to me and what the research subjects were willing and able to express about their activities.
Secondly, I wished to indicate some key issues regarding the interpretation of evidence and boundaries of inference. The former was addressed in terms of bias, personal and theoretical. Those issues which became themes of interest stemmed from my initial orientation to discover how globalisation occurred in an existing social setting. As such, this thesis is not a full explication of The Society, what it does and what it aims to do, but rather a case study of globalisation in situ. Reflexivity in the research process was introduced as a guard against biases and attempts were made to fully recognise the influences (positive and negative) of prior knowledge and the initial theoretical perspective. In terms of validity and inference, a case study approach can produce analytical inferences by relating theory and data. My contention that globalisation was impacting upon The Society requires that I link the theories and concepts (in Chapters One and Two) with an interpretation of the evidence that was collected.

To explore the routine, perhaps unacknowledged and unintentional, production and reproduction of globalisation required invading the lives of people active in the social environment. Accusations that this approach produces flawed or partial evidence fail to appreciate that social science itself is part of social life, and that social researchers are not automatons, but active, knowledgeable agents. The debates around epistemology, methodology and methods are not 'solvable' and thus, should not prevent social researchers confronting the social world by means appropriate to the research project and social situation. At the same time, researchers must be aware of the boundaries of their chosen path. The researcher is actively interpreting data and theory alike: the responsibility for the 'best fit' (or otherwise) between globalisation and The Vegetarian Society lies solely with me as the author.

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**Notes to Chapter Three**

1 At the Local Action Weekend approximately forty people gathered for a weekend to exchange views, advice and information in support of voluntary local action. Delegates were representatives from The Society's Local Groups Network (further details in Chapter Four) and independent activists who were members of either The Society, Animal Aid or both. While these people were a useful source of information about the promotion of vegetarianism, they were not representative of The Society's membership per se, or even of local volunteers.
CHAPTER FOUR

VEGETARIANISM, THE VEGETARIAN SOCIETY(UK) AND ITS PROMOTIONAL ACTIVITIES

The aim of the research is to assess globalisation in situ by employing an ethnographic case study. In this chapter I will introduce the case study that will be used to explore globalisation as an ongoing process. Having chosen an ethnography to access routine, entrenched and perhaps unacknowledged examples of globalisation, the context of the setting must be understood. This will aid both understanding and evaluation of the empirical examples in later chapters and help with judgements regarding the impact of globalisation on the setting. Also, as explained in Chapter Three, a case study approach can elicit analytical generalisation and develop theoretical positions. The context is integral to the research findings and it must be appreciated to enable theoretically pertinent reflections. To abstract the evidence from its context would undermine the ethnographic case study approach and its perceived benefits, therefore, relevant background information will be provided in this chapter.

I will begin by introducing the vegetarian diet, vegetarianism and 'animal advocacy'. To show the diversity within these, the relationship between individual belief and its organisational expression will be given due consideration. Of particularly interest in this study is 'simple modern vegetarianism': a choice made by individuals which also has an ideological dimension (promoting a vegetarian diet as a replacement for the orthodoxy of meat eating). It will be indicated that, while the core arguments for vegetarianism remain set, their manner of expression has changed over time. Then turning to The Vegetarian Society as an organisational entity, I will consider its aims, organisational structure and work. Also, I will specify the nature of its campaigns and its forms of communication. Finally, although the organisation is treated as an analytical entity (i.e., a unitary whole or an object) for the purposes of this case study, I will show the influence of individuals in its ongoing reproduction. Using examples of their influences upon campaign messages this will also highlight that the organisation's output is not completely fixed and can shift over time.
A vegetarian diet involves an abstention from using animals as a source of food. Such a simple definition of human activity (or rather inactivity) disguises a number of complexities. As a part of social life, eating is imbued with symbolic, cultural, religious and political meanings which can change over space and through time. Initially it can be difficult to define vegetarian food, not least because there is no universal consensus about what counts as 'meat' (Richardson, MacFie and Shepherd, 1994). However, the following range definitions are relevant to the thesis:

- **Vegan** (avoids all animal products)
- **Ovo-vegetarian** (avoids all meat - including fish, slaughterhouse by-products and dairy, but consumes eggs)
- **Lacto-vegetarian** (avoids all meat - including fish, slaughterhouse by-products and eggs, but consumes dairy)
- **Ovo-Lacto vegetarian** (avoids all meats - including fish, slaughterhouse by-products, but consumes dairy and eggs)
- **Demi-vegetarian** (usually avoids meat, but often consumes fish)
- **Meat-reducer** (avoids certain types of meat, usually red meat)

Ovo-Lacto vegetarian is the definition adhered to by The Vegetarian Society (although only 'free-range' eggs are considered appropriate).

In fact, such definitional boundaries exist in the context of 'Western' society and its belief systems. Before exploring the type of vegetarian beliefs common in the UK, the vegetarian diet must be located in a wider context. Humans have a biological necessity for food; its consumption is (ostensibly) a matter of individual choice within pervasive food systems (see Chapter Two). However, food choice is constrained by material factors such as access to pervasive systems, food availability, wealth or geographical location. Individuals need to consume food, but do so within the constraints of their physical and material environments. Also, there is a vast array of other social constraints which affect peoples' approaches to eating. While I cannot give their variety serious consideration, matters of taste, culture, socialisation and health can all shape
food preferences. Accordingly, the specific application, meaning and beliefs of a vegetarian diet (as one specific type of food choice) vary across time and space.

Useful in this respect is Fiddes' (1991) anthropological investigation into the social aspects of meat: its meaning and symbolism. By framing one cultural orthodoxy against the historical and contemporary range of beliefs and practices, the 'normality' of any diet can be viewed relatively. This theoretical approach to understanding food has a long tradition, with Mary Douglas, Claude Levi-Strauss and Roland Barthes as important figures (Fiddes, 1994: 272). Understood in this manner, the consumption of food is not simply a matter of individual taste, but is culturally shaped and socially controlled (Mennell, Murcott and van Otterloo, 1992: 8). In the example of a vegetarian diet, the use of animals for food is a common issue addressed in culturally specific ways. An abstention from certain types of meat figures in most world religions (see for example, Esme Wynne-Tyson, 1962). Restrictions surround preparation and acceptability of animal foods in Islam, Judaism and Sikhism. Ascribing to a wider principle of abstention are the faiths of Buddhism, Hinduism and Jainism. Apart from the influence of religion, there are also cultural differences regarding the identification of certain flesh as food. In the most obvious examples, animals that are treated as pets in one culture are happily consumed as food in others (Fiddes, 1991: 132-143).

However, as Fiddes (1991) recognises, eating patterns are not entirely dependent upon religious or cultural perceptions. Adherence to religious or cultural doctrines are variable, especially when combined with issues of food availability (or the lack of it). Some people abstain from meat as they are unable to afford or access it. While such problems have been virtually overcome in 'Western' nations (by virtue of mass production), elsewhere the value and availability of meat can make it a luxury item. On the outskirts of the pervasive food systems, the economic value of farmed meat remains high (compared to other food proteins) as it requires money to buy animal feed. Also, meat from wild animals can have a high value relating to its scarcity and the time required for hunting. In countries where it is relatively cheap and readily available, certain meats (or cuts of meat) are afforded greater status. However, in these places the
cultural status of meat has also taken on a negative significance. This may not relate to religious or cultural doctrine or the lack of availability or income, but is rather a personal choice to abstain (Twigg, 1983: 19; Fiddes, 1991: 29).

This type of vegetarian diet can be termed 'simple modern vegetarianism'. It is a reflexive choice which involves the conscious decision to abstain from meat by recourse to reasoned justifications. The justification for a vegetarian diet began with a moral stance about killing for food, circa. 500 BC (Spencer, 1993: x). Although couched in different religious/ cultural creeds this has remained central, with two other reasons - benefits to human health and efficiency in food production - developing alongside. Contemporary research has shown that the reasons for adopting this vegetarianism are varied but usually involve one or more of the following: spiritual/ moral conviction, health concerns, issues of animal suffering, the inequitable distribution of food around the globe, environmental degradation, taste and value for money (see Draper, et al., 1990; Beardsworth and Keil, 1991a, 1991b, 1992; Silverstone, 1993; Neale et al., 1993; Richardson, Shepherd and Elliman, 1993; Richardson, MacFie and Shepherd, 1994). Motivations are often multi-layered, with underlying moral considerations cited as a crucial factor (Beardsworth and Keil, 1991b: 24).

At face value, such vegetarianism would appear a very individualistic reason for abstention, especially when compared to religious doctrine. However as Antrobus observes, 'diet is never a matter of individual choice' as food choices are 'constrained and constituted by the society we live in' (1997: 11). The choice to abstain from meat can be viewed as less individualistic when contextualised within the post-traditional culture of choice (see section 1.3.3) and the social reformist roots of the vegetarian movement in the UK (see section 4.2). Beyond individually expressed reasons, vegetarian beliefs have become an 'ism' (Wynne-Tyson, 1975: 11). Reasoned justifications for the vegetarian diet have become an ideology which argues that meat-eating is wrong (Twigg, 1983: 18). This is vegetarianism, a word coined in the 1840s (Spencer, 1993: xi). It is 'simple modern' because it asserted an alternative model of food orthodoxy in place of (near) universal meat eating². Vegetarianism is essentially
oppositional; it draws on themes already present in the dominant cultural attitude to meat (Twigg, 1983: 29).

The vegetarian diet has been championed by a variety of social outsiders, often groups and individuals who berate society's lack of moral worth (Spencer, 1993). In the nineteenth century, vegetarianism in the UK had a strong links to a variety of social reformist groups, including the Fabian Society (1993: 279). Abstinence from alcohol and tobacco, health and dietary reform and humanism all overlapped with vegetarianism (1993: Chapters 11 and 12; Antrobus, 1997: 109). In the contemporary era, vegetarianism is popularly received in the various expressions of the 'counter-culture' which questioned modernity (Spencer, 1993: 320-2). Fiddes explains that vegetarianism challenged normal eating practices and thus added to awareness about an underlying divergence of social values (1991: 40). As an oppositional voice, vegetarianism often signals attachment to other beliefs and social issues (Dwyer, 1991; Twigg, 1983). Environmentalism, anti-corporatism, alternative medicine, sustainable agriculture, self-sufficiency and 'animal advocacy' are common concerns for present day vegetarians. I will give the last of these further consideration to illustrate the relationship between individual vegetarians and organisational expressions of vegetarianism in the UK.

'Animal advocacy' is a collection of individuals, interest groups and organisations motivated by a concern to change the relations between humans and other animals. While there is no single coherent agenda, concerns include the welfare of farm animals and pets, the use of animals in laboratory testing, 'blood sports' (such as fox hunting, bull fighting and fishing) and most relevant here, the use animals for food. It is pertinent to consider animal advocacy as some groups promote vegetarianism or veganism to help alleviate what they see as the exploitation of animals. Many animal advocacy groups have a minority status, although certain issues (anti-fox hunting, pet welfare or 'unnecessary' animal testing) enjoy popular support in the UK. However, as factory farming, vivisection and eating meat are, implicitly or explicitly, condoned by the majority of the country's population, animal advocacy and vegetarianism are
peripheral to mainstream political and social concerns. This is particularly true of vegetarianism which criticises the foundations of orthodox eating patterns central to the lives of most people.

Animal advocacy is not a unified movement; organisations may have similar agendas but they are unable to co-ordinate their efforts. In a post-traditional culture of choice, socio-cultural pluralism and liberal democracy support and enable the self-defined pursuit of personal belief and action. However, the individualism which is encouraged can have implications for social organisations. A good example of this in a different context is explored by Bruce (1990), who argues that the individualism inherent in Protestantism make its social organisations prone to schism. The variety of expressions around animal advocacy and vegetarianism have become institutionalised into organisations and groups who actively initiate social change by publicly promoting their agendas. Similar to Bruce, it is argued that the very source of individualism which initially inspires people to reject culturally orthodox eating patterns leaves organisational expressions of animal advocacy and vegetarianism open to in-fighting and disagreement. Outlining the key axes of these disputes will aid understanding of the context of vegetarian organisations and a problematic relation between individual beliefs and organisational boundaries.

Primarily, there is no consensus about issues of concern and the suggested solutions. An individual may have beliefs which cover a range issues (e.g., vivisection, farm welfare and fox hunting). For each issue, more than one group can exist, each with a different focus or approach to instigating change. Small groups such as 'animal liberationist' or 'hunt saboteurs' take direct action to intervene in animal suffering and raise awareness. Other groups are more 'mainstream': animal sanctuaries and welfare organisations are active in their service to animals, but they fit more readily within the dominant norms, rules and laws of society. This range of individual concerns and solutions can produce some apparent contradictions. For example, the RSPCA operates a Freedom Food seal of approval for meat products 'produced to high welfare standards' (Freedom Foods Limited, 1996). While some people involved in animal advocacy view
this as a contradiction, the RSPCA is not expressly or intrinsically against eating meat. Many people who express concerns about animal welfare do not adopt vegetarianism as a solution.

Furthermore, individuals within animal advocacy cover the entire spectrum of socio-political viewpoints, ranging from 'the blue rinsed conservative cat lover to the hard core anarcho-liberationist' (campaigner, speaking at Local Action Weekend). Equity and compassion link animal advocacy to the traditional concerns of the political 'left'. Many find the connection between vegetarianism and fascism more difficult to understand, but links to the political 'far right' have some historical foundation (Spencer, 1993). The rise of the Nazi party in Germany was allied to a nostalgic back to nature mythology about the country's past, which for some people included eating raw and natural foods. Although Hitler was a vegetarian, groups that promoted the ideals in Germany were quickly 'snuffed out' (Spencer, 1993: 303-09). In the democratic and pluralist climate of contemporary Britain, political freedoms allow freer expressions:

Due to a very vocal minority of bigots who hate anyone that does not totally follow their political line, I (and others) have been unable to work in some groups. Therefore, the Patriotic Vegan/Vegetarian Society has been set up, the aim of which is to promote veganism, etc. in 'Right Wing/Fascist' circles. (Vegan Views, No. 60, letters page)

In his/her own terms this activist wanted to help animals, however, others involved in animal advocacy expressed deep feelings against linking fascism with veganism (Vegan Views, No. 61 and 62, letters page).

The diversity within animal advocacy shows that individuals have a wide variety of beliefs, opinions, concerns and strategies. This has implications for the organisations which arise to promote these concerns. Disagreements within organisations can lead to splinter groups: individuals who disagree with a policy may form other rival groups. Also, coherence across animal advocacy is undermined even if groups share similar concerns. Further, organisations can become pitted against one another over aims, primary concerns and methods, particularly if they compete to attract support/members. Although vegetarian organisations do not operate solely within the boundaries of animal advocacy, the overlap in agendas leaves them susceptible to similar problems.
Furthermore, organisational problems arise from the position of vegetarianism within an 'ethical hierarchy' of food consumption. When categorised in this way, from vegan to meat reducer, the vegetarian diet lies somewhere in between. Beardsworth and Keil (1992) note that vegetarianism is a social career: habits and practices change over time. The movement toward a vegetarian diet usually develops gradually, but can also change abruptly or involve lapses or regression (Beardsworth and Keil, 1991a: 42). For individuals, definitions are open to interpretation (a common example is people who view themselves as vegetarian, but conform to a definition of demi-vegetarian). Further, individuals may have different degrees of commitment to vegetarianism. The term 'lifestyle vegetarian' has derogatory connotations, referring as it does to people whose motives are selfish (e.g., fashion, or perhaps health) or those who do not strictly vet ingredients for hidden slaughterhouse by-products (e.g., gelatine).

This may not be problematic for individuals who, in a post-traditional social order, are free to choose their own level of participation and commitment. For an organisation, however, the debates about definitional boundaries are more serious. The definition adhered to by The Society, ovo-lacto vegetarian (with free range eggs), becomes its organisational boundary. Full members of The Society should be committed to at least that level of vegetarianism (those who are not are still entitled to associate membership). Food approved by The Society as 'suitable for vegetarians' has to meet the definition of acceptability. The definition also becomes an enforced boundary between The Society and other organisations. From a vegan point of view, vegetarians continue to exploit animals by eating dairy foods and eggs. This accusation of an inconsistency in vegetarianism can become a tension between vegetarian and vegan organisations (or within them). This problem arises when translating individual aspirations about ethical consumption into set organisational principles which are promoted as an agenda for social change.

As an illustration, during preliminary research I interviewed a self-sufficient vegan. Her initial concern had been famine and she had sat on the Oxford Committee for Famine
Relief (the foundations of Oxfam) after World War Two. She became a vegetarian in the 1960s and had later been secretary of The Vegan Society. After deciding that "supermarket veganism" didn't go far enough, she boycotted the pervasive food systems. Self-sufficient veganism became the defining characteristics of a 'network' she and her husband organised called the Movement for Compassionate Living. However, by her own modest admission, she sometimes failed to live up to her own standards: 'It is difficult to strike a balance between living as I would like to and what is realistically possible' (organiser of the Movement for Compassionate Living, December 1994). Occasionally she bought basic ingredients like oats, or a lemon to squeeze in her 'fair trade' tea. The admissions of this most heart-felt and committed vegan, whose individual beliefs were at the core of an organisation, aptly demonstrated that living one's life to a set of ethical guidelines is a matter of personal conviction, hard work and continual aspiration.

At the level of the individual, the vegetarian diet is simply a personal food preference. At an organisational level, groups promote agendas (which overlap animal advocacy and other social issues) and offer the vegetarian diet as a solution. While the moral imperative, health and efficiency have remained the central reasons for adopting vegetarianism, the expression of the arguments used by organisations to promote the vegetarian diet have altered. The way in which core vegetarian beliefs are rationalised has changed over time (Antrobus, 1997: 109). The promotion of vegetarianism occurs within the ever-changing social environment. The first organisation to expressly promote vegetarianism in the UK justified meat avoidance within its religious creed (see section 4.2). Its vegetarianism was 'the natural diet and the one God intended, hence meat was injurious to health while vegetables were life giving' (Spencer, 1993: 262). This expression has changed to fit the pervasive medical science world-view. The health giving properties of vegetarianism are no longer represented as God given, but rather as scientifically provable (explored further in section 4.4 and Chapter Seven).

As religious views have declined in importance, vegetarian debates became related to the dominance of science and the self-asserted superiority of 'rational man'. Where
Christianity had given humans dominion over the animal world, twentieth century modernity gave them domination. In this scenario, animals were treated simply as objects that could be controlled and employed for desired ends (Fiddes, 1991: 197-8). To oppose this, expressions of 'ethical vegetarianism' replaced the religiously inspired arguments. Regan defines ethical vegetarianism as including motives other than self-interest (1993: 102) and writings on animal rights questioned the treatment of other living species as objects for human gratification (for example, Singer, 1976; Clark, 1977; Midgely, 1976, 1979, 1983; Linzey, 1976, 1985, 1987; Patterson and Ryder, 1979; Regan, 1983, 1984; Duffy, 1984). While this idea of selflessness is rejected by Tester (1991), such writings placed the issue of moral obligation firmly into a secular humanist framework of rights and responsibilities. It is now debated whether there is a moral obligation for people who can be vegetarian, to be so (see for example, Pluhar, 1992; George 1990; Regan 1983; Webster 1994). Hypothetically, if globalisation is altering our social context evidence of this should be visible in the way vegetarianism is currently promoted.

4.2 The Vegetarian Society (UK)

The Vegetarian Society was the first organisation in the UK expressly to promote the diet and as such, it has gained authority and legitimacy as the 'guardian' of vegetarianism in the UK. I will now provide contextual information about the organisation, including: its history, aims and objectives; the setting and spatial context of the working environment; its organisational structure and the activities undertaken by staff. I will then show the form and content of promotions by explaining the primary campaigning issues and The Society's different forms of presentation/communication. Finally, I will explain how the tone and style of output changes in relation to the form of communication, the topic, the target audience or the beliefs and opinions of staff. This will underline that the organisation is produced and reproduced by active individuals within a changing social context (even though it is treated as an entity for the purposes of this case study).
Organised support for vegetarianism in Britain was initially connected to the religiously driven abstinence movement and humanist educational reformers of the nineteenth century (Spencer, 1993: 252-61). The fierce religiosity of the abstinence movement and the reforming zeal of humanism helped promote vegetarianism as part of a wider trend of social intervention. Antrobus (1997) links the rise of modern vegetarianism to the Bible Christian Church, a religious group that had developed a political programme of emancipation which linked their private ethics to their idea of the public good. Freedom from war, slavery and exploitation were combined with the advancement of health (abstinence from tobacco and alcohol) and education. The Church's underlying religious belief in the kinship of nature linked animal rights and vegetarianism to the general extension of rights (1997: 109-112). In 1807 the founder of the Bible Christian Church advanced the principle of abstinence from flesh eating. In 1812, the wife of a church member wrote a cookery book devoted to vegetarian recipes (The Vegetarian Society, n.d.1).

The Vegetarian Society was established in 1847, based in Salford, near Manchester. By the next year there were 478 members of the group, 232 of whom attended the dinner which followed the first annual general meeting. The Society's magazine, The Vegetarian Messenger first appeared in 1849. Almost five thousand copies of the publication were circulated. Also in 1849 a separate group, the London Vegetarians, formed their own committee to promote the message in London. During the 1850s meeting were held in other parts of the country and some local branches were formed (The Vegetarian Society, n.d.1).

The isolation of vegetarianism from the general abstinence movement (from alcohol and tobacco) and the relations between the London and Manchester organisations were not straightforward. The Manchester based organisation merged in 1885 with the London based abstinence campaigners, the National Food Reform Society, but this soon disintegrated. What then became the London branch broke away and flourished into a
second national association: The London Vegetarian Society. In 1958 a merger of publications prepared the way for an organisational re-union. In 1969 The London Vegetarian Society and The Vegetarian Society amalgamated as The Vegetarian Society of the United Kingdom Limited. It operated a system of Northern and Southern committees, although this twin structure was later dissolved (The Vegetarian Society, n.d.l). Recently, the London premises were sold leaving a sole national organisation based in Altrincham, Cheshire.

The Vegetarian Society was registered as an educational and campaigning charity and a limited company. The governing Council of twelve elected trustees had ultimate responsibility over both charitable and commercial practices. The aims and objectives of the organisation were set out as follows:

[...] to increase the number of vegetarians in the UK in order to save animals, benefit human health and protect the environment and world food resources. The Society, a registered charity, is dedicated to fundraising to drive its programmes in campaigning, education, information and research.

Commercial enterprise, membership fees and donations funded a range of activities to promote vegetarianism and support those who had chosen the diet. Its membership comprised approximately eighteen thousand individuals and a 'Network' of affiliated local groups. At the time of observation twenty-two full-time staff were employed at the headquarters, headed by the Chief Executive.

The Society's headquarters, 'Parkdale', was a large Victorian house set in its own grounds. The main house had been converted for use as office space and The Society's 'Cookery School' was located in an extension. Consequently, Parkdale was not widely accessible to the public; visitors without their own means of transport faced a short walk or taxi ride from the nearest town (Altrincham). Security, maintenance, technological and spatial organisation were all pertinent issues in this working environment and, at the time of visiting, the house was for sale. There were plans to move to purpose built premises with drop-in facilities.
Internal communications were enabled and constrained by the spatial organisation of the house. Many work interactions were carried out face to face; staff moved from room to room if they wished to communicate with others in the building. Also, there were internal telephone lines, a computerised office diary and e-mail to provide other means of internal communication. External communications included telephone lines, e-mail and fax. Most telephone enquiries were channelled to staff through a switchboard by receptionists, who also welcomed visitors to the building through an entry-phone system. I shall now move on to consider the various groups of people who constituted The Society's organisational structure.

4.2.2 Organisational structure

In a very essential way, The Society was its members. It worked as an interest group, representing and asserting the needs of vegetarians who live in the UK. Membership of The Society provided discounts, quarterly magazine and a direct telephone hotline for an annual subscription. Donations from members were an important source of income for campaigning and were usually promoted through a quarterly magazine, The Vegetarian. Aside from the direct membership The Society also retained contact with individual vegetarians through the local 'Network': The Society's 'extension into local communities all over the country' (The Vegetarian Society, 1995: 4). At Parkdale, the Local Network Co-ordinator had responsibility of co-ordination and liaison with this 'Network' of local activists.

The 'Network' was multi-tiered, consisting of Branches (14), Groups (40+), Information Centres (50+) and Youth Contacts. The Branches were throwbacks to a previous organisational system and have gradually been changed into affiliated Groups. Branches had supported all local membership, while Groups only wished to tap the more active supporters to support social events, fundraising and campaigning activities. Groups required less in the way of administrative costs, financial responsibility and burden upon the organisers. Information Centres were usually just one person who
advertised themselves as a local contact for information on vegetarianism. Their activities may also have included being a 'school speaker' or 'media contact'.

In contributing toward *The Society* as a whole, the main tasks of the Network were fundraising, campaign support and recruitment. *The Society* provided local activists with support in the form leaflets and information, the Local Network Co-ordinator and occasional support workshops (e.g., the 'Local Action Weekend'). Individuals in the Network undertook activities in a self-directed manner. These could take various forms, including practical advice and support for newly interested converts, sign posting further sources of information and organising street stalls, fairs and food tasting events. Their strategic role was 'localising' campaigning issues. The role that active local members saw for themselves was to educate the general public and encourage potential vegetarians. However, the desire of some activists was toward animal advocacy in general, rather than simply working as part of *The Society*.

*The Society's* members can stand for election to a committee, from which a number are elected to serve on the policy making group called the Council. Council members were both company directors and charity trustees, responsible in law for the management of *The Society*. They decided and oversaw *The Society's* policies and were headed by the Chair of Council. The role of the Chair of Council included liaison with the Chief Executive especially regarding finance and the co-ordination of agendas and reports. Council formulated policy, but under:

> [...] advice from the Chief Executive and staff, particularly the heads of departments who will produce papers for us to consider and Council then have to consider the financial implications, the political implications (with a small 'p' in terms of our policies) and whether or not it's something we feel desirable to push. (Chair of Council).

The Council took decisions based on legal imperatives, financial implications and in concord with *The Society's* Memorandum of Association (aims).

Officially, policy making was the responsibility of the Council, while the staff acted upon its decisions. However, as indicated, the staff played an important role in
proposing the policies which the Council decided upon. During the fieldwork, relations between some staff and Council members were unsettled:

"[...] we did have problems last year and Council became more intrusive in the day to day running of Parkdale, which is not something you can sustain in the long run [...]" (Chair of Council).

For their part, some staff were embittered about the limitations which Council interference placed on the scope of their work. They also had support from some of those on the Council: 'Council should act as a board of Directors and not do the work of charity employees' (Council member). However, in defence of 'interference', it should be recalled that Council have legal and financial responsibilities to consider. The link between the Council and staff was the Chief Executive. On my arrival, The Society was without a Chief Executive which could explain the discontent regarding day-to-day management (one was appointed during the research). This was not an issue directly relevant to the case study, yet it was an important context of the working environment.

The Society's paid staff were divided into teams/units, including Administration, Membership, Accounts, Design and the Cookery School. Of primary concern for the project were the Sales and Campaigns 'teams'. These were headed by their respective Directors who reported to the Chief Executive. Hierarchies of responsibility were not completely straightforward. For example, the Campaigns team, included the Research and Information Unit. However, the Research and Information Unit had tasks separate from pure campaigning and were utilised by many staff. The Public Relations Officer came under the auspices of the Sales team, but her work was self-directed and involved contact with a wide variety of staff (as she edited The Society's magazine). The Local Network Co-ordinator's work kept her relatively isolated, but she retained the Campaigns Director as a line manager.

To summarise, The Society's organisational structure begins with the members and the grassroots Network. At the other end of the spectrum, the core policy making body was the elected Council. Policy was largely formulated by key staff and Council members and it was ratified by Council in line with The Society's aims, financial implications and legal imperatives. The staff were organised into teams, with a hierarchical structure
headed by two Directors who reported to a Chief Executive. In relation to the thesis as a whole, this information is largely contextual, provided to aid understanding of the empirical evidence collected at *The Society*. I will now move on to explore how the work of the staff related to the aims and objectives of the organisation.

4.2.3 Meeting organisational aims

The aims of the organisation were to increase the number of vegetarians in the UK through campaigning, education, information and research. Before I address how *The Society*’s staff met organisational aims, it should be recognised that campaigning, education, information and research were not mutually exclusive tasks. As explained in Chapter Three, the research project required a population to observe. This population was the staff, whose routine work was at the core of *The Society*’s promotional activities. I decided that the ways in which they worked, the context of their jobs and their output could be analysed to assess the impact of globalisation upon the organisation. In this section I will introduce key staff and set out the main tasks which the staff teams undertook.

The spread of information influenced much of the work at *The Society*. New and updated knowledge was channelled through the Information and Research Unit. This work team consisted of an Information Manager and Research Manager, both of whom had individual responsibilities which will be considered presently. As a team they were effectively treated as a resource, drawn upon by staff in need of support and information (predominantly the Campaigns team and less frequently the Sales team, Cookery School and other staff members). There was some reciprocity as other staff produced knowledge which was pooled by the Research and Information Unit for common use (say, nutrition from the Cookery School or suitable vegetarian ingredients from the Sales team).

*The Society* actively supported research and welcomed researchers into its resource library. The Research Manager acted as an initial point of contact for those interested
in vegetarian issues, monitored ongoing projects in relevant areas and published a Research Bulletin aimed at both a professional and lay audience. However, *The Society* did not undertake research of its own or fund others to do so. The other half of the Research and Information Unit, the Information Manager, monitored media activity, kept lists of vegetarian facilities (guest houses, restaurants, etc.) and organised *The Society's* range of 'Information Sheets'. These numbered over sixty, covering diverse subjects from Footwear to Flatulence and from Pets to Pulses. Both had routine duties answering written and telephone inquiries (usually from Society members, school children, journalists, researchers or members of the general public). The Research and Information Unit contributed to the aims of *The Society* by supporting research, monitoring/ distribution of information and facilitating the work of other staff. In contrast to the rhetoric sometimes required in campaigning, the Research and Information Unit were described as 'the voices of reason' (Campaigner, Publications).

*The Society's* aims of campaigning and education were most directly attributable to the work of the Sales and Campaigns teams. There was, however, a thin line between campaigning and providing information/education: persuasive activities can also be viewed as having informative and educational affects upon the audience. Obviously, the work of the Campaigns team falls on the campaigning side of this line. Their focus was largely on the justifications behind the vegetarian diet, i.e., vegetarianism. This was addressed within a promotional framework, with dual motives: to encourage conversions to a vegetarian diet and increase the membership of *The Society*. This usually involved designing promotional literature and other campaigning and fund raising materials (see section 4.3). Promotional materials were designed using the campaigners' knowledge of vegetarianism, but they were also able to draw on the support of the Information and Research Unit.

Campaigns was a four person team headed by the Campaigns Director. Individuals within the team were responsible for the tasks of 'publications' and 'fund raising'. Greenscene (a youth oriented magazine) was the responsibility of the former, while the latter targeted sponsorship from the food industry and donations and legacies from *The
Society's members. Also under the auspices of the Campaigns team was the Network Co-ordinator. She supported the work of the local groups and edited the bi-monthly Network News with information, advice and contributions from within the Network. Despite individual responsibilities, staff also worked together when the work load demanded (most obviously during the build up to the National Vegetarian Week campaign). As a team, they serviced enquiries (phone calls and letters) from members, other interested parties and representatives of the mass media and were the spokespeople for radio or television appearances. In sum, the work of the team covered a range of promotion activities which included designing posters and leaflets, information packs for schools, magazines and advertising, plus doing media appearances, adversarial work, talks/visits, seeking sponsorship and fundraising and generally disseminating information about vegetarianism.

The Sales team's main concern was licensing The Society's seal of approval - the V symbol (officially termed the 'seedling' device). The V symbol was developed by The Society as a label for food products which were certified as 'suitable for vegetarians'. Initially, food manufacturers were able to use it free of charge if their product was authorised by The Society as suitable. Once The Society began to charge for a license to use the V symbol, some manufacturers and distributors designed their own symbols. However, The Society argued that, because of the emphasis on profits rather than ethics, the food industry may be susceptible to 'dubious self-certification' (Chair of Council) (explored in Chapter Six). Nevertheless, both official and unofficial symbols acted as free advertising; their prominence on food packaging was viewed as bringing the vegetarian diet to the public's attention.

In this indirect way the V symbol encouraged awareness, but it also had a more direct effect upon those in the food industry who were licensees. The licensing of individual products raised awareness in the food industry about the rules and boundaries of a vegetarian diet. The licensing procedure was an area of negotiated relations between The Society and the food industry. For The Society, this provided an opportunity to change industry practice in its favour. However, it was recognised that licensing
products had benefits for the food industry, which could market the vegetarian niche for its own profit (explored in Chapter Six). In a similar vein to the V symbol on individual products, The Society had also begun licensing restaurants and other food outlets as part of a 'Food and Drink Guild'.

Licensing the V symbol to food manufacturers and outlets served a number of functions. I have already noted that it educated food producers and consumers as to the requirements of a vegetarian diet and raised the profile of vegetarianism by being displayed prominently on food produce. Also, it also brought in revenue, advertised The Society's existence, formed and cemented relations with the food industry and provided a service to vegetarians regarding which products were suitable for them (members of The Society or not). The administration of existing clients and chasing 'new business' were the remit of the Sales team. Their work had direct campaigning, informative and educative qualities, but also supported other more direct aims by supplying revenue to run The Society.

The Sales team also offered merchandise to members and sold advertising space in The Vegetarian magazine. Merchandise included a range of products (kitchenware, items with V symbol logo, clothing and literature) purchased by visitors or mail order. The magazine raised income through both commercial and classified advertising. It also provided members with a quarterly publication as part of the membership deal which kept them abreast of Society activity and vegetarian issues. The Public Relations Officer was nominally a part of the Sales team with key responsibility for editing magazine. Contributions to the magazine came from many sources within The Society. Items on cookery, campaigns, research, food markets, holidays, services, etc. were written by staff responsible for the relevant area, making the magazine multi-functional in terms of The Society's stated aims.

There were other staff at The Society working toward the aims, although for this case study their work was not considered as observable. 'Membership', 'Accounts' and 'Administration' were functional for The Society, supporting and facilitating members.
The 'Cookery School' taught vegetarian cookery skills to both the general public and professional cooks. This could be seen as contributing to the aims of educating and informing people about vegetarianism. In a very practical way it was also expanding the choice of those who had adopted the lifestyle (both at home and when they eat out). Also, dietary and nutritional knowledge promoted vegetarianism in its most direct aspect - food consumption. However, it was the work of the Campaigns, Sales teams and the Research and Information Unit which comprised the core of the data.

The activities of The Society in promoting the aims of campaigning, education, information and research stretch across different teams and units. The clarity of links between direct aims and work were unclear due to the degree of overlapping of activities and outcomes. The Society had a direct membership who had to be served; it was constantly seeking new members; it was involved in raising funds from commercial activity, charitable giving and sponsorship to support its continued activities; it engaged with the food industry in the form of producers, retailers and consumers; it supported research and made information available; it retained a library of resources; ran magazines, a Cookery School and a Network of local contacts. On a limited budget and meagre staff numbers the breadth of activity was expansive. This contextual information demonstrates that The Society was not a static entity. At one level, The Society was its members, at another it was the Council; most importantly for me, it was the staff. It should be clear from this that within The Society were a variety of interests and opinions.

4.3 The Society's Output: Themes and Forms of Communication

This section will focus mainly on the work of the Campaigns team, although this does not imply that they were the only part of The Society which produced outputs. While all the teams contributed toward The Society's aims, the Campaigns team had responsibility for prompting conversions to vegetarianism and encouraging new members into the organisation. As they produced persuasive materials for the public arena it is predominantly their output which will be considered here. To re-iterate from Chapter
Three, the materials and arguments presented are empirical examples and the purpose is not to assess the validity or coherence of the claims. I will merely detail the themes covered and the forms of communication used. The core justifications for a vegetarian diet are moral/spiritual, health and efficiency; I wish to show how these were presented by *The Society* at the time of the fieldwork.

4.3.1 The themes

Clearly stated in *The Society's* aims are the four key themes which it campaigned upon: 'to save animals, benefit human health and protect the environment and world food resources'. These issues were presented as problems generated by the mass production and consumption of meat, with improvements stemming from individuals turning to a vegetarian diet. In addition there was campaigning on 'lifestyle', which predominantly aimed to portray the vegetarian diet in a positive light (by countering the perceived problems and poor public image). It was around these themes that *The Society* promoted social change. Interestingly, health and efficiency were easily visible in contemporary themes, while the moral imperative (the initial motivation of vegetarianism and common underlying reason given for adopting the diet) was subsumed within the themes of animal welfare, environment and developing world. There was no direct exhortation by *The Society* that killing animals to provide food is morally wrong.

Many of *The Society's* staff considered that animal advocacy was the primary issue for its members: 'animals are unable to speak up for themselves, they need us to do so for them' (Campaigns Director). Preventing animal suffering was the primary moral imperative in *The Society's* vegetarianism. Spencer suggests that around the 1870s, vivisection and mass animal transportation were the focus for the meeting of interests between animal welfare and vegetarianism (1993: 285-8). *The Society* was concerned with animal welfare rather than animal rights, even if some of the trustees, staff and members may have had personal views which extended beyond this (discussed in Chapter Seven). In campaigning against animal suffering *The Society* highlighted the
practices of intensive (or factory) farming. Campaigns materials focused upon the methods of breeding, husbandry, transportation and slaughter. Farm animals (chickens, pigs, cows, sheep) were the focal point, providing examples and evidence of poor practice and conditions. Also, turkeys, fish and more recently the farming of 'exotic creatures' provided alternative vehicles for promoting animal welfare.

The promotion of vegetarianism using human health was presented in three ways: negative/avoidance, positive benefits and dispelling 'myths'. Taking each in turn, The Society linked certain diseases (heart disease, specific forms of cancer and high cholesterol) with meat consumption. Diseases associated with an omnivorous diet were then presented as being curtailed by abstaining from meat. The Society also suggested that people can avoid the risks associated with meat, which it listed as food poisoning, production residues (pesticides, antibiotics and growth hormones) and bovine spongeform encephalopathy (henceforth B.S.E.). A healthy eating message was also promoted, stressing the positive benefits of a vegetarian diet which is high in fibre and low in fat. Current health promotion guidelines recommend five portions of fruit and vegetables per day, advice which The Society used to its advantage. Also, the image of vegetarianism had suffered from being perceived as nutritionally unsound (and more recently linked with eating disorders). The Society attempted to dispel such claims by reference to medical evidence.

Continuing with the perceived problems of vegetarianism, I shall now turn to lifestyle campaigning. The vegetarian diet was viewed as suffering from a poor public image. Common accusations were the limited range of choice, lack of taste and the difficulties of planning and preparation. These were countered by emphasising the positive aspects of a vegetarian diet. The Society promoted commercially available food, gave advice on cooking and preparation and underlined how tasty and enjoyable good vegetarian food can be. Other tactics included high quality, colour recipe leaflets with pictures of food and the use of sports people, celebrities or personalities to highlight the popularity (and normality) of a vegetarian diet. Lifestyle campaigning could be polarised as a positive
theme pursued by the Sales team or Cookery School, against the negative themes addressed by the Campaigns team.

The remaining two campaign themes were the environment and the developing world. Both of these relate to the long established vegetarian concern about the inefficiency of meat production, but also could be seen to contain aspects of moral imperatives about collective humanity and the planet. The environment was portrayed as a sustainable resource and meat farming as an inefficient and not sustainable. At the national level, farm pollution (pesticides, slurry, methane emissions, fertilisers) was criticised. Animal farming was also considered inefficient because less land is required to farm a vegetarian diet than an omnivorous one. The extra land, it was suggested, could be returned to wildlife. On a wider geographical plane, global warming, acid rain, desertification and rainforest destruction were all linked to intensive animal farming. Claims to inefficiency also translated into the global arena with regard to the inequitable global distribution of food resources.

The developing world argument suggested that using animals for food is an unnecessary link in the chain between production and consumption. It was considered inefficient to farm meat because food protein derived from animal sources feeds relatively few people, while an equivalent amount of food protein in plant form could feed more. On the global scale, meat eating was presented as reflecting existing inequality. The idea of a 'protein ladder' best explained the perceived problem (Rifkin, 1992). Animal protein has a high status because it is further up the food chain than grain or vegetables. Historical and contemporary political and economic domination allows the populations of the wealthiest nations to eat higher up the food chain, while those living in countries with the least resources eat lower down. Worse still, some less developed countries farm grain to sell as animal feed while their own populations have been seen to starve to death. At the same time, people in richer countries continue to have access to animal protein fed on cheap imported grain. These final two themes will be given more consideration in Chapter Five.
4.3.2 Forms of communication

Later in this chapter I will cite campaigning literature to show examples of the above themes, but firstly I wish to explain the ways in which The Society's messages were communicated. Campaigning aimed to convey information on the issues and beliefs which the organisation was promoting. These were presented to the public in various forms of documents (including: leaflets, posters and stickers, information packs for schools, magazines, videos, information sheets, research publications and advertising) and through a number of approaches. The nature of the literature and approaches reflected a number of influences, not least the intended target. The Society had a range of potential targets: youth or adult members, potential converts to vegetarianism, potential new members, the general public, health professionals, the food industry and representatives of the mass media. I will introduce the main forms of campaigning material under the categories of information, education and persuasion. These were not mutually exclusive tasks (The Society's magazine, for example, spanned across all three).

Beginning with information sources, as already noted, the Information Manager was responsible for a range of Information Sheets. As the aim was to communicate The Society's position on any topic, they were written in a neutral, factual and informative style. They were accessible to almost any audience and were sent to people who made written or telephone enquiries: the general public, media representatives, members, school children or people undertaking research. Another source of information were the reports made for specific campaigns (e.g., B.S.E., issues around fishing and the farming of exotic creatures). Directed toward both lay and professional audiences, these were an in-depth examination of a particular issue, complete with referenced sources. Of course, such reports were also designed to be persuasive.

In terms of educational materials, there was 'Vegetarian Issues. A resource pack for secondary schools'. This was designed for use by teachers as an educational tool and
covered the range of campaigning topics, complete with referenced information and activities for students. Again, such materials can also be seen to have a persuasive capacity. Other educational materials related more directly to vegetarian food. Recipe leaflets (some of which included nutritional and dietary advice) were an important part of The Society's repertoire of communications. These were designed as information for members and to attract potential converts. Finally in education, a regular Research Bulletin and 'Vegetarian Vitality' (a report on vegetarian health and nutrition) were produced by the Research Manager for lay and professional audiences.

Other output was more directly persuasive: posters, flyers, leaflets, adverts, videos and stickers were all used to promote the cause. This variety of materials were designed and deployed for identified targets depending on the decided requirement (such as school aged children, generating new members, raising awareness among the general public). One or all of the above themes would be promoted; membership leaflets drew attention to all of them, while one particular video concentrated on environmental issues. Also, the target may have related to a particular topic or event: generic campaigns attempted to cover general themes during the event of National Vegetarian Week and single issue campaigns addressed specific topics.

National Vegetarian Week (NVW) was the most prominent generic campaign for raising awareness and encouraging membership by promoting the themes of health and lifestyle. The main promotional tools were posters, flyers and recipe leaflets which were distributed nation-wide through healthfood stores. Alongside the advertising of sponsors, the main recipe leaflet included celebrity recipes, nutritional and practical information on changing to a vegetarian diet. The flyer sketched an outline of The Society's activities, accompanied by images of animals, flowers and food. Posters promoted the health giving aspects of vegetarianism. The visual images were of individuals living dangerously (mountain climbing, wing walking and chainsaw juggling). Vibrant colours and active poses aimed at a young audience, using the slogan 'She expects to Live Longer: she's a vegetarian'.

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The Society had recently tried a single issue approach with the 'Suffering Seas' and 'B.S.E.' campaigns. Arguments promoting vegetarianism were located around a lone theme. For example, The Suffering Seas campaign addressed health, welfare and environmentalism around the issue of fishing. Marine pollution was treated as both an environmental and health issue; while factory fishing practice was viewed as environmentally destructive, inhumane, inefficient and financially flawed. For these single issues, campaign packs included posters, reports, press releases, leaflets and information sheets. While attracting converts and new members these campaigns also supported existing members with fresh information.

The final form of communication which was observed were press releases and 'press notes'. These were attempts to gain promotion through the mass media. Press releases were used at specific moments to raise general awareness over campaigns which were being run (as in NVW and single issues). 'Press notes' were prepared for central campaigning issues (health, animal welfare and the environment). These conveyed The Society line on each campaigning issue and supported their case with references, statistics and quotes. Such communications were designed to present a point of view appropriate to a wide audience, but also appeal to the needs of media representatives (discussed in Chapter Six).

While the general aim was to inform, educate and persuade people of the worth of vegetarianism, campaign themes, tools and approaches were tailored by The Society staff for particular campaigns, situations and audiences. Accordingly, staff had influence over the style and tone of specific materials. In the final section of this chapter I will underline the socially constructed nature of The Society's messages.

4.4 Influences on the Style and Presentation of Output

I will demonstrate the influences upon The Society's materials for three reasons. Firstly, to dispel a decontextualised interpretation of The Society's literature. This relates to the interpretative nature of an ethnographic case study. Chapter Five will explore the
impact of globalisation upon output. By introducing other contexts here, I am acknowledging that globalisation was an analytical framework adopted for the purposes of the research project. This will allow some critical scope for highlighting alternative explanations for changes in The Society's output. Secondly, I wish to underscore that it was the staff who were the population under observation and that it was their activities which reproduced The Society. While I am treating The Society as an entity for the purposes of analysis, it is important to show outputs were related to the beliefs and opinions of staff and the context in which they were produced. Thirdly, while the central themes outlined above were discernible in much of the literature, I wish to show that changes over time indicated a degree of fluidity in The Society's position.

Having outlined the campaign themes and forms of communication above, what follows can be viewed as some empirical examples. As the selection and presentation of such materials is interpretative, two implications follow. Firstly, I am unable to say how these messages might be read by others, either the public at large, potential converts or other researchers. Secondly, each outputs selected was produced in its own context, impacted upon by a range of influences. Exploring some of these, such as the proposed audience, the style (rational/emotive, positive/negative) and the opinions and outlooks of the staff, will show the variations in the presentation of campaigning themes. This said, it is important to acknowledge that The Society's output was still controlled by Council policy and the hierarchies of authority in the workplace.

As The Society targeted a range of audiences there were differences in tone. For example, literature designed for general public consumption dealt with slaughterhouse procedures clinically, backed up with supporting evidence. For example:

Stunning cattle and some sheep prior to slaughter is carried out by shooting a six-inch metal bolt through their skulls, but it can only be effective if the bolt is correctly positioned and the animal remains still. An RSPCA report on the stunning of bulls claimed that 50% were stunned ineffectively. ('Meat, the Price Animals Pay', The Vegetarian Society Press Notes)

This can be compared to output which was directed at potential converts. Here the language used was more emotive:
The pig's heart will be beating rapidly as he is hoisted into the air by a chain around his back leg. The electric shock should leave him unconscious but frequently the tongs are not applied for long enough. He may be fully conscious when his throat is slit and may bleed to death in agony. ('Scream' campaign leaflet, The Vegetarian Society)

It is suggested that the intended audience dictated the tone of message which was employed. However, as I shall show presently, the target audience was not the only factor involved here.

In terms of style, there was the influence of emotive versus rational approaches. Emotive messages were used to make direct impacts on awareness. For example, there were comparisons between farm and domestic animals:

Imagine the outcry if cats and dogs were subjected to treatment or conditions we have described.' (Why you should join The Vegetarian Society' leaflet, The Vegetarian Society).

The 'Dog on a Plate' image was popular with The Society's membership and was successfully used for posters and T-shirts. This use of pets to highlight contradictions in peoples' perception of animals can be regarded as emotive. In contrast, The Society approached the issue of health by employing rational evidence. The health report, 'Vegetarian Vitality', was an archetype of rational persuasion. The subtitle ('A report on the health benefits of the vegetarian diet and the nutritional requirements of vegetarians') and a foreword by a Professor of Food Policy indicated its serious-minded tone. Medical and nutrition practitioners (plus interested lay readers) were the target for this fully referenced report format publication.

In rational campaigning, credibility was an important factor. For example, a membership leaflet cited the advice of the World Health Organisation and British Medical Association findings. The Suffering Seas campaign provided supporting evidence from Ministry of Agriculture, Food and Fisheries and utilised favourable veterinary and welfare reports. The Society also confronted the arguments of its opponents. The meat industry suggests that poor practice and conditions would be against their best interests as sellers of produce. The Society retorts:

To maximise profits the farming industry is continually seeking new ways to alter the natural life-cycle of animals and develop more cost-conscious
Recalling the idea of detraditionalisation, engagement in such reasoned argument can be viewed as *The Society* legitimating its viewpoint in dialogue (explored in Chapter Seven).

Recent campaigns showed a mixture of rationality and appeals to welfare sensibilities. The single issue campaigns (B.S.E. and the 'Suffering Seas') ran under the slogan: 'The Vegetarian Society. Feeding you the Facts', portraying an authoritative campaigning style. However, research findings were shown alongside depictions of practice. For example, in the Suffering Seas leaflet, emotive animal welfare arguments remained, but they were supported by figures (wildlife numbers destroyed as pests and predators), studies (pain response, pollution and its potential effects) and government advice to consumers. Retaining the emotive appeals to welfare did not seem to preclude the use of authoritative sources to aid legitimacy and credibility (explored in Chapter Seven).

Another divide in campaigning styles was the difference between positive/ negative approaches. Health campaigning did employ what can be termed negative messages, such as those which play on the worries of health conscious individuals. These included associating meat and food poisoning, production residues, B.S.E. and the diseases of over-consumption. However, *The Society* also employed positive messages to convey its case. Vegetarian food was presented as healthy, nutritionally suitable, easy to prepare and tasty. The Vegetarian Vitality report, for example, also accentuated the positive benefits of vegetarian diets and aimed to dispel common myths still held by some health practitioners.

Promotional materials were all produced by staff member and it is important to recognise that the above shifts in tone also reflected the outlooks of different staff. For example, an employee from a previous era explained that:

> [...] millions of trees are destroyed to provide cropland for meat production. In Central America alone, 90 per cent of the forest has been cleared primarily for cattle ranching. For every burger eaten, half a tonne of vegetation is lost. ('Membership' leaflet, The Vegetarian Society)
In the same leaflet, vegetarianism was also presented as a way to end the imbalance between 'well fed cattle' and starving human populations. This was reinforced by employing the image of a starving African child. A current example showed a different tone:

Water pollution, global warming, acid rain and the destruction of the rainforest are all issues connected to the intensive rearing of animals for food. Hunger in the developing world can also be related to meat eating because vast areas of grain and crop land are diverted to feeding livestock instead of people. ('Food that costs the Earth', The Vegetarian Society Press Notes)

More recent literature stated that 'land which could be used to grow human food is used to grow crops to feed the cattle in Europe and America' (National Vegetarian Week 1995 flyer). While there were differences in the target audiences, the underlying change in tone (from causation to connections and relations) was reflective of the approach of present Campaigns team.

To give another example, the following excerpt was written in a previous era:

In the UK, thousands of salmon are crammed into small cages where pesticides are pumped in which may give them cataracts. Before they are killed, these naturally wild and beautiful creatures become infested with parasites and weakened by disease. (Generic 'membership' leaflet, The Vegetarian Society)

Again a 'like for like' comparison is impossible because the following has a slightly different target audience. However, the differences of the contemporary approach were plain:

The overcrowded pens in which the fish are kept provide an ideal breeding ground for disease. Farmers have tried to treat the problem with a pesticide called dichlorvos. This highly toxic chemical appears on the government's Red List of dangerous substances and kills crustaceans and other marine life forms in concentrations as small as 0.01 ppm. It has also caused many of the salmon to develop cataracts ('The Suffering Seas' leaflet, The Vegetarian Society)

In the latter example, the use of empirical evidence and authoritative information were blended with a concern for welfare. Changes in staff were reflected in the tone and content of campaigning material.

Another influence that the staff had was the issues which were campaigned upon. The contemporary Press Notes addressed environmentalism in terms of British farming
pollution. This local rather than international concern was related to the approach of the Campaigns Director (explored in Chapter Five). Similarly, the Vegetarian Vitality report reflected the interests, approach and background of the Research Manager. The video 'Devour the Earth', released in 1995 but originally made 5 years previous, represents the period of cross over between Campaigns personnel. Consequently, the video was re-edited and narrated, including the addition of some statistical information over the images. The present Campaigns team showed preference for promoting animal welfare and health arguments over those of environmentalism and the developing world. Also, lifestyle campaigning was prominent within The Society. This shifting emphasis also shows that The Society's can change its priorities over time.

A range of campaigning messages were given in The Society's literature. Materials were written by individuals within the organisation and as such they were subject to variation. Not only does this reinforce the fact that The Society was an entity which was reproduced over time by active social agents, but also that its output is not completely fixed and can shift under a range of influences. I have shown how The Society's output changed in relation to the target audience, the chosen style (emotive/rational, positive/negative) and the beliefs and opinions of staff members.

Chapter summary

The Vegetarian Society and its promotional activities are being assessed as a case study of how ongoing globalisation occurs. In an ethnographic case study evidence is gathered in context and needs to be presented in the same way. This consideration of vegetarianism, The Vegetarian Society and its outputs is the context for the empirical materials presented in the remainder of the thesis. A vegetarian diet is the abstention from using animals for food explained by religion, culture, access, availability and choice. Simple modern vegetarianism has a social and ideological dimension: it involves the promotion of a vegetarian diet as a replacement for the orthodoxy of meat eating because of reasoned justifications. While the reasons for promoting vegetarianism have changed little, the manner of their expression has shifted in relation
to social context (e.g., from religious to secular). Furthermore, *The Society's* output was socially constructed and thus open to change over time. Given this fluidity, in the following chapter I will consider the impact upon globalisation upon the language and imagery employed by *The Society* in its promotion of vegetarianism.

To observe globalisation in an established social context, as an ongoing part of social life, I decided that an observable population and a stable research environment would be preferable. *The Society* itself was an organisation that had a number of levels: it comprised members, the local Network, a governing Council and a team of full-time staff. The main focus of the fieldwork was the staff and their routine activities because, unlike the other levels of *The Society*, they lived the promotion of vegetarianism day in and day out. Having shown how *The Society's* overlapping aims of campaigning, education, information and research were met in the activities of the teams, in Chapter Six I will consider how these occurred within the globalised social systems of food and communications.

The social context which *The Society* operated in has been defined as post-traditional, where there is no choice but to choose. In this chapter I have shown the diversity of beliefs and opinions apparent within animal advocacy and vegetarianism. As individual beliefs become organisational boundaries the problems of splinter groups, in-fighting and the lack of a coherent agenda were seen to arise. Vegetarianism was placed in the middle of an ethical hierarchy of food consumption within which aspirations and social careers were fine for individuals, but problematic for organisations. Later, I showed that *The Society's* arguments have opened up to dialogue and make claims based on rational argument and authoritative sources of evidence rather than emotion. However, I had earlier noted that it made no direct exhortation that killing animals for food is morally wrong. These issues will be considered further in Chapter Seven, where I show how a post-traditional social environment has impacted upon the organisation's self-perceived role.
Notes to Chapter Four

1 Fiddes interest is in the symbolic value of meat, particularly the status attached to its consumption. His concern with symbolism lies in the implications about meat eating and control over the natural world. He also considers the reasons given for abstinence from meat (1991: 3-5).

2 In Chapter One, I showed that Beck distinguished between 'simple' and 'reflexive' modernity. In simple modernity certainty and universalism are acceptable goals. This vegetarianism has its roots in such a context, hence the prefix 'simple'. However, as I will explore in Chapter Seven, in a post-traditional social order (once reflexivity has radicalised modernity itself) certainty and universalism are undermined.

3 'Ethical hierarchy' is used to indicate the range of definitions for acceptable food, but it remains a problematic term. Firstly, it implies that individuals who are categorised lower down on the list of definitions are not as ethical in their actions as those toward the top. It can also imply that vegetarians should aspire to become vegans. Such ideas of simplistic progression blur the reality of vegetarian careers (Beardsworth and Keil, 1991 and 1992) and the problems of translating ethical beliefs into patterns of consumption.

4 The key difference between animal welfare and animal rights is that the former attaches a duty of care and compassion, while the latter espouses ideas about equality between species.
PART THREE:
EVIDENCE FROM THE CASE STUDY

In Part Two I outlined the research process and contextualised the case study, but I wish to reiterate some points before I present the empirical evidence. In Chapter Four I showed a diversity of groups, opinions and practices existed, but for this study The Society was treated as an entity or 'social actor'. In Chapter Three, I noted that the findings from a case study can be used to make analytical generalisations (through the interaction between theory and data undertaken by researchers). The empirical evidence is not a full reflection of the range of activities undertaken, rather I isolate and evaluate those relevant to a case study of globalisation. I use the concepts and theories from Chapters One and Two as a framework for interpretation. Nevertheless, the empirical examples are both interpretative and specific to time and place: they are from one social organisation as it was experienced by me during the period of fieldwork. Further, I am not seeking to support or refute the case for vegetarianism. Evidence includes materials from a range of campaigning materials and documentary sources. These are presented for their value as evidence of changing social relations; their accuracy as arguments is not the concern.

Overtly, the selected and presented materials explore ongoing globalisation at The Society. I divide the evidence collected during the fieldwork into three themes related to the working definition. The first is the use of global images and language in the promotion of vegetarianism in the UK (to explore 'consciousness' of globalisation). The second is the relation between the organisation and external agents in the mass media and food industry (to examine the reproduction of globalised social systems). The third is the changing self-image and perceived role of The Society (to consider reflexive re-assessment in light of a globalised (post-traditional) social environment). In Chapter Eight I draw together the empirical, conceptual and theoretical issues to address the impact of globalisation upon The Society and how this demonstrated ongoing globalisation.
CHAPTER FIVE

GLOBAL LANGUAGE AND IMAGERY IN THE
PROMOTION OF VEGETARIANISM

In this chapter I examine The Vegetarian Society's use of global language and imagery in its promotional materials. The significant findings can be summarised as follows: the language and imagery of the globe was discernible in some of its materials; they were used instrumentally, to promote vegetarianism in the national context (global contexts were linked to meat eating in the UK); individual action was encouraged as a way of creating social change (e.g., becoming a vegetarian to help to alleviate environmental destruction); however, staff were aware of the complexities of global issues and of the difficulties of linking them with food consumption in the UK; consequently, global language and imagery was increasingly treated as implicit context or made locally relevant.

While pursuing its own agenda, The Society's messages contributed to global awareness. The Society added to ongoing globalisation because, as a context for its activities, global language and imagery were drawn upon and thus reproduced. Evidence of this is presented from three campaign themes (selected from the wider range of its interests detailed in Chapter Four). These are, firstly, environmentalism, secondly, the developing world and thirdly, the 'Suffering Seas'. Using these I provide examples of global language and imagery, explain the difficulties which arose and their resolution. Once these examples have been explored, I evaluate their relevance in the light of ongoing globalisation, using the concepts introduced in Chapter One (specifically, interpenetration, relativisation and institutional reflexivity).

Using global language/imagery and encouraging people to consider their activities as having wider consequences both illustrate the concept of interpenetration (where global influences are reproduced by human agency in specific local contexts). I will show that The Society 'recontextualised' information to make it relevant for its audience. Linking local action to global themes also highlights relativisation (where personal perception is placed into a comparative global framework). While trying to promote its vision of social
change The Society was in reflexive engagement with a changing social world. 'Weaknesses' had been recognised through ongoing assessments of its campaigns. Consequently a new approach was discernible, where the global was less explicit or made locally relevant, indicating that the processes of globalisation were continuing.

One reason I chose The Society as a case study was its use of environmentalism and the developing world as campaigning issues (see Chapter Three on selection of case study). However, early in the field work I discovered that the promotion of both of these arguments has been declining in prominence, particularly those around the developing world. In Chapter Four (section 4.4) I showed that campaigning materials could change according to the views or aims of the author. I reiterate this because staff opinions were related to changes in the emphasis and nature of campaigning materials. Other reasons for the shift included financial constraints and also the number of themes on which The Society campaigns. However, in this chapter I predominantly highlight the problems associated with using global issues to promote vegetarianism in the UK and how this contributed to a decline in their use.

The Society drew upon and/or promoted global knowledge; it used information from outside national contexts and employed images and language which had the globe as a frame of reference (e.g., events occurring in distant countries or pictures of the earth). Nevertheless, both the fact that we stand on one earth and knowledge of other countries are common parts of (Western) socialisation. This posed the questions: 'why is this evidence of globalisation and what is 'new' about it?' I suggest, The Society messages implied an interconnection between local activity and distant outcomes which promoted an awareness of 'interrelations'. Geographically distant problems were related to local action, thereby inter-linking social relations at distance. This indicates, as Albrow (1990, 1996) suggests, the values of globalism can include elements of finitude and human obligation. Nevertheless, The Society's use of global images and language is just one example among many in contemporary social life which can be seen to contribute toward a global awareness.
5.1 Vegetarianism and the Environment

The use of the 'environment' as a campaigning theme by The Society mirrored the rise of environmentalism as a social and political concern in Europe and the 'Western' world. The meteoric growth and highly public work of campaigning organisations like Greenpeace or Friends of the Earth and the electoral successes of the Green Party during the 1980s were related to this growing environmental awareness. The green agenda was important to the growth of a global awareness: public attention was directed to concerns which were not directly local, but nevertheless had a perceivable impact (among other issues, the rainforests, ozone depletion and wildlife extinction). The earth itself (as pictured from space) became an icon for the environmental movement. The 'oneness' of the environment portrayed a fragile interconnected ecosystem threatened by humanity's action.

The Society's use of environmental issues owed much to the success of the green movement, whose 'population' were viewed as a source of potential allies and converts:

[...] environmental groups like Greenpeace and Friends of the Earth are our allies ... if you go to an environmental conference, all the food is veggie, so I'm trying to build bridges with them. (Chief Executive)

An article by the Campaigns Director entitled 'Eat up you Greens' (reproduced on The Vegetarian Society Internet web-site) and membership materials were targeted toward environmental concerns (e.g., generic leaflets and donation appeals). The Society's youth magazine was entitled 'Greenscene (for young people who care about the planet)'. This portrayed vegetarianism as a 'practical way to help the earth' (Greenscene, June/July 1994). Such examples support the premise that The Society saw parallels between environmentalism and vegetarianism. Both shared concerns regarding geographically distant events and a particular worry regarding the influence of actions in the 'Western' world upon the planet as a whole.

To draw on the popularity of the 'green' movement to carry its own vegetarian message, The Society's campaigns linked the farming and consumption of meat to the destruction of the natural environment. The language and imagery which was used to connect the production of food to environmental concerns strongly promoted a sense of the global. For
example, slogans like 'Food that costs the Earth' or a picture of the planet with a chunk bitten out were founded on, and reinforced, awareness of the globe. The arguments which it employed closely mirrored the concerns of the 'green' movement (namely, deforestation, desertification and global warming).

To link the industrialised food systems and the destruction of the rainforests, The Society emphasised land use and meat production.

In Central America, two-thirds of the tropical rainforest have been cleared for grassland for cattle ranching. [...] the meat produced is generally exported to the developed or Northern countries. In some countries the rainforest land that is cleared is used to grow 'cash crops'. [...] As rainforests are being destroyed to grow crops to feed farm animals in the North, eating meat is helping to destroy them - forever. (Vegetarian Issues. A Resource pack for Schools. 'Vegetarianism and the environment', Section 2.1, The Vegetarian Society)

Desertification was also linked to animal farming:

The United Nations now estimates that twenty-nine per cent of the world's land now suffers slight, moderate or severe desertification. The areas of the world that are most at risk are the Western USA, Central and South America, Australia and sub-Saharan Africa, all of which are major cattle producing areas. (Vegetarian Issues. A Resource pack for Schools. 'Vegetarianism and the environment', Section 2.7, The Vegetarian Society)

The link to global warming was made as follows:

Methane from belching cattle, and nitrates from chemical fertilisers used to produce feed crops, are helping to increase levels of ozone in the troposphere which is harmful to crops and destroying the ozone layer in the stratosphere. By cutting out meat and switching to a vegetarian diet we can help protect the ozone layer and the future of our planet. (Vegetarian Issues. A Resource pack for Schools. 'Vegetarianism and the environment', Section 2.6, The Vegetarian Society)

Large-scale livestock farming was thus cited as a contributory factor in the 'green' issues of deforestation, desertification and global warming. Similar evidence was seen elsewhere: in 1995 The Society re-launched a video entitled 'Devour the Earth' which aimed to 'expose the damage and suffering which can be linked to meat production' ('Devour the Earth', video sleeve).

Outside the 'green' agenda of global warming, deforestation and desertification, The Society also promoted environmental vegetarianism with regard to allocative efficiency. The assertions were that:
vegetarians can exist on around thirty percent of the agricultural land used to produce meat. (The Environmental Impact of Meat', reproduced on The Vegetarian Society Internet web-site)

The amount of land needed per person to provide them with all the food energy (calories) and protein they need is different depending on the types of foods that are produced. But, on average, a meat eater's diet uses twice as much land per person than a vegetarian's [...] (Vegetarian Issues. A Resource pack for Schools. 'Vegetarianism and the environment', Section 3, The Vegetarian Society)

A vegetarian diet would make fewer demands on the land because it does not require such intensive farming nor so many pesticides and fertilisers to boost production, resulting in less pollution and waste. ('Food that costs the Earth', The Vegetarian Society Press Notes)

The implication was that a vegetarian agriculture would be more sustainable and equitable.

I established in Chapter Four that efficiency is a long standing argument used in the promotion of vegetarianism. The above examples indicated that The Society framed this existing argument within global environmental concerns. The promotion of vegetarianism was repositioned in relation to contemporary and popular global awareness. Nonetheless, promoting environmental issues in the form described above seemed to be declining.

This was due to a number of reasons. A new Campaigns Director had brought his own ideas and opinions. He believed that his predecessor had effectively 'ended up blaming meat eating for everything that is wrong in the world' and that the 'glorification of issues' was ineffective. Other staff had also departed and new people felt unqualified to explore such issues. For example, the Research Manager explained that he had been asked to write about desertification when his area of expertise was biochemistry.

If you're talking about environmental issues, I don't have any background in that, I wouldn't say I'm 'not interested' it, but I suppose I just prefer to focus on just health and nutrition because its something I do know quite a bit about anyway. (Research Manager)

The preferences, opinions and expertise of key staff were one reason for the shift in focus toward other aspects of vegetarianism, such as health, lifestyle and animal welfare.

For the purpose of the thesis I was more interested in the influences of globalisation, which seemed to take two forms. Firstly was the problem of connecting individual action to global consequences. To illustrate I shall continue the example of desertification just mentioned:
what I found hardest of all [...] was trying to relate some figures regarding spreading desserts in Africa to why people should stop eating meat in the UK. (Research Manager)

To make such issues useful for the purposes of The Society they needed recontextualising. This would mean explaining why desertification related to British vegetarians and how it will change if meat sales decrease. This related to the second influence of globalisation. Recontextualising an environmental topic was recognised as difficult because of the complexity of global environmental problems.

With environmental issues, you might be aware that there's a link with eating meat and you might be aware that there are other issues involved [...], but you don't know how big a part meat eating or animal farming [...] plays in a wider picture. Even though you know there's a wider picture you don't know how much of a part vegetarianism has to play. (Research Manager)

With environmental issues, it just seems there's so many of them ... that video [Devour the Earth] is linking together all kinds issues which, to a large extent are completely unrelated - like it's got global warming and over fishing and soil loss and [...] you have to make a link between each of these individual issues and vegetarianism or livestock farming [...] (Research Manager)

Identifying unequivocal causal relations between vegetarianism and environmental problem was considered a difficult task.

To take another environmental problem, the Campaigns Director explained how he had completed a study of the rainforest issue and had found great complexity:

the land may be used for grazing cattle, although often only after its logging value is realised. Alternatively, it may be used to grow food; this may be animal feed but it could be for the world or local market. Also, all the parties involved [multi-national corporations, national and local government, loggers, farmers, ranchers and local people] have different needs and desires.

Furthermore, local (indigenous) populations presented a further dilemma:

we've developed and industrialised, why shouldn't they want to ... but still I don't think that means they should cut all the rainforests down. (Campaigns Director)

The recognition was that The Society may be providing support for the imposition of one 'Western' ideology (environmentalism) over another (modernisation). He made it clear that The Society did not aim to 'develop the Third World' in a vegetarian way as:

Whilst problems are visible in the Third World, they are related to consumption in the West - it is us who have to change our lifestyle. However, as they develop we have to be aware of the habits they pick up ... if the Chinese start consuming a 'Western' diet, we could be in big trouble. (Campaigns Director)
To present a clear causal relation on complex multi-sided issue to potential vegetarians in the UK was considered difficult and had connotations of cultural imperialism.

A new campaigner was trying to establish some simple environmental 'facts' to use as 'bullet-points' in fund-raising materials that she was designing. After some discussion with the Information Manager and Research Manager, she admitted to finding the arguments complex, when she had considered them simple and straightforward. Exasperated, she commented, 'so, what I've been telling people down the pub is bollocks?'. However, it should be reinforced that the decline in use of global environmental problems for campaigning was not because The Society did not have a case to argue. Instead it wished to avoid the over-simplistic reduction of complex issues:

> to portray environmentalism in a simplistic way doesn't do it justice and could probably be refuted as a decent argument. (Research Manager)

This fear of over-simplistic arguments was related to The Society's use of the mass media as an outlet for campaigning and communication (explored in Chapter Six):

> I don't use it [the rainforest argument] because it's just too complex to get over in a sound bite. (Campaigns Director)

These concerns had contributed to the decline of environmental arguments.

It was argued by The Society that becoming a vegetarian contributed toward a sustainable use of the environment at a global level. However, a direct causal relation between rainforest destruction and meat production were difficult to explain simply and there were problems in effectively linking distant events to individuals undertaking vegetarianism in Britain. One solution was to prioritise environmental materials with more local relevance:

> There is enough evidence of problems at home, the issues are real enough and need to be promoted. What isn't needed is the glorification of issues out of all proportion - the information just needs to be put across. (Campaigns Director)

This approach was not new (it was visible in 'in-depth' materials, such as the resource pack for schools), however, it was being made prominent in other promotional literature:

> In Britain, farming accounts for thirteen per cent of all major water pollution incidents. [...] Once animals have been killed there are still inedible remains which must be dealt with. Britain's abattoirs produce 100 000 tonnes of blood each year! ('Food that costs the Earth', The Vegetarian Society Press Notes)
In Britain, almost ninety percent of agricultural land is devoted to grazing animals or growing feed crops. ('Food that costs the Earth', The Vegetarian Society Press Notes)

More land needed for more cattle means the continued destruction of otherwise valuable wildlife habitats. Though we've long since lost most of our forest here in Britain, we still have our hedgerows, yet over 52 000 km of hedgerow have been lost since 1984 through agricultural expansion. ('The Environmental Impact of Meat' reproduced on The Vegetarian Society Internet web-site)

Supporting environmental concerns with evidence from the national arena was seen as bringing the issue closer to the target population.

_The Society_ was a national organisation, but events and issues which fell outside of the nation-state were employed in promoting vegetarianism. 'Food that costs the Earth', 'Devour the Earth' and a picture of the planet with a chunk bitten out all played on awareness of the globe. This use of global language and imagery promotes global awareness and reproduces globalisation. However, global environmental issues were related to consequences and solutions which people in the UK could comprehend. The presentation of environmental issues changed with individual authors, but also in light of changing social relations. Awareness of the complexity of global problems and the difficulty of showing causal relations seemed to have altered _The Society's_ approach. As materials were designed to appeal to the audience, _The Society_ assumed the public has a perception of the globe which it could use to promote its agenda. I cannot draw conclusions about the effects on the audience, but an existing global context enable _The Society_ to use this language and imagery. While promoting environmental vegetarianism, _The Society_ reproduced global imagery and language.

5.2 Vegetarianism and the Developing World

Food scarcity is not as visible or prevalent in the 'West' as it is elsewhere around the world. However, it was presented by _The Society_ as a distant consequence of the nation's diet. Popular concern in the UK about famine and food scarcity in other parts of the world arose mainly after the Second World War. The widening of this concern can be seen as related to the globalising qualities of the mass media. News coverage of the Biafran famine in the mid-1970s heightened the place of 'Third World' famine in popular awareness. Media
coverage of the Ethiopian famine (1984/5) re-emphasised public awareness, while the fundraising activities which then took place to alleviate the problem were themselves massive media events. However, unlike famine, the everyday problem of food scarcity is not 'newsworthy'. As explored in Chapter Two, many people are marginalised in the pervasive, globalised systems of food (because of poverty).

To link the 'developing world' to vegetarianism, The Society most basically argue:

> By using up far less of the world's resources of food, land and energy, vegetarianism is a positive step that we can all easily take to help feed people in poorer countries. (Vegetarian Issues. A Resource pack for Schools. 'Vegetarianism and the developing world', Section 7, The Vegetarian Society)

The arguments used to arrive at this suggestion ranged across issues like historical relations between nations, international trade, development, debt, food production and distribution, land use and the nutritional value of foods. In each The Society highlighted the role that meat production and consumption plays in the problems associated with the developing world, particularly food scarcity and famine. It presented these as the consequence of unequal distribution, indicating that people in the developed world need to change their eating habits. Vegetarianism was thus a positive contribution for individuals to make.

The Society drew attention to the inequalities of global food production and distribution by highlighting colonial and post-colonial international relations. Aside from underlying power relations between nations, the operations of TNCs were also cited as a major cause of food scarcity and famine:

> 'Natural disasters' like drought, which local people have always planned for, are often blamed for causing famines. Although they may be the 'trigger' that starts a famine, one of the main causes is rich countries having the power to make poor countries grow crops or raw materials for them. (Vegetarian Issues. A Resource pack for Schools. 'Vegetarianism and the developing world', Section 1.2, The Vegetarian Society)

The use of resources is a global issue because the boundaries to the resources for humanity are planetary. In Chapter Two I showed that globalised systems of food inter-connected social relations at a distance. There was a global context, both for participants in the pervasive systems and for those who exist relative to it (i.e., even local production and
distribution has a context of scarce global resources). The complex historical and contemporary political and economic relations which have led to globalised systems of food were recontextualised by *The Society* to show how the mass production of meat is intrinsic to these inequalities.

The argument was supported by various means. The first was evidence that food is exported from the rich to the poor nations, even in times of famine:

At the height of the Ethiopian famine in 1984 to 1985, Britain imported £1.5 million worth of linseed cake, cottonseed cake and rape seed meal. Although none of this was fit for humans to eat, it still meant that good quality farm land was being used to grow animal feed for rich countries when it could have been used to grow food for Ethiopians. (*Vegetarian Issues. A Resource pack for Schools. 'Vegetarianism and the developing world', Section 1.2, The Vegetarian Society*)

[It] is not a case of there not being enough food to eat, it is a problem of some people not having enough food to eat (*Vegetarian Issues. A Resource pack for Schools. 'Vegetarianism and the developing world', Section 2.2, The Vegetarian Society*)

Food scarcity was thus presented as matter of inequitable distribution of resources around the globe. Making another connection between this inequity and vegetarianism was achieved by using the idea of animals as inefficient food:

Breeding animals is a very inefficient way to try and feed the world's growing population. For every 10 kg of grain fed to animals, only an average of 1 kg is converted to meat - the other 9 kg is wasted, mainly as manure. (*Vegetarian Issues. A Resource pack for Schools. 'Vegetarianism and the developing world', Section 2.1, The Vegetarian Society*)

This efficiency argument, also used to make connections to environmentalism, has long been a part of the justifications for vegetarianism. Its expression here (and in the last section) show the impact of globalised social relations. The argument has been reformulated into the contemporary context. This made it relevant to an audience which recognises a globalised social world.

Continuing the evaluation of the argument regarding the developing world, British and European statistics showed a massive post-war increase in animal farming. This increase was then related to the import of animal feeds from developing countries:

People are going hungry while ever increasing numbers of animals are fed huge amounts of food in a hopelessly inefficient system. By not using animals as meat producing machines, this food could be freed to help those that need it most.
What we eat in Britain and other rich countries has a direct effect on world hunger. It would make much more sense to grow food for humans rather than feed it to animals. By not eating meat, vegetarians are reducing the need to import food from poor countries to feed to animals. (Vegetarian Issues. A Resource pack for Schools. 'Vegetarianism and the developing world', Section 2.2, The Vegetarian Society)

In many of these examples, the contribution of vegetarianism ties local action to a global problem. Every attempt was made to establish connections between food consumption in the UK and its consequence in distant countries. Vegetarianism was portrayed as a way of 'making a difference' to the problem of food scarcity.

International food relations were also explored with regard to world trade, debt and aid. The basic premise which The Society communicated was that the power relationship between donor and recipient renders the poorer nations helpless to the demands of the richer ones. Using examples from Thailand, Nicaragua and Costa Rica, the conditions and consequences of loans and aid were connected to the production and export of meat and animal feed:

When Costa Rica borrowed money from the banks in the rich countries, one of the conditions set was that they had to cut down rainforest and clear the land for cattle grazing to supply rich countries with cheap beef. (Vegetarian Issues. A Resource pack for Schools. 'Vegetarianism and the developing world', Section 4.1, The Vegetarian Society)

Furthermore, the issue of development for other nations across the world was also related to meat:

Although meat remains the food of the rich countries, large companies are selling factory farming systems to poorer ones. Meat eating is seen as a sign of wealth and progress by poorer countries and they are only too keen to copy the lifestyles of 'the West'. (Vegetarian Issues. A Resource pack for Schools. 'Vegetarianism and the developing world', Section 6.1, The Vegetarian Society)

If we were trying to feed the world with an American-type diet which is high in animal products, then every person would need at least 0.62 hectares of land. The available land for growing food with today's world population of around 5 million is 0.30 hectares per person. There is simply not enough land. A vegetarian diet would offer us a better chance of feeding the world[...]. (Vegetarian Issues. A Resource pack for Schools. 'Vegetarianism and the developing world', Section 5. The Vegetarian Society)
Bangladesh, India, Thailand, Nigeria and Malaysia were all countries used to illustrate the spread of industrial farming methods. *The Society* promoted the idea that meat eating was not sustainable on a global basis.

As with the environmentalism examples, the use of developing world arguments for vegetarianism had declined. In this case, the decline was more pronounced, to the extent that material on the developing world was sparse (as indicated by my reliance upon one document, 'Vegetarian Issues. A Resource pack for Schools', for the above examples and quotes). However, three of the staff working at *The Society* cited the developing world as their ostensible reason for turning vegetarian. The turning point for one member of staff came in 1974, when she was watching television coverage of the famine in Biafra, the first famine where pictures were widely seen.

The commentary explained the role of the Common Agricultural Policy, and how this meant that corn and wheat was still being purchased from this starving country to feed our cattle. I put down my beef sandwich and never ate meat again. (Local Network Co-ordinator)

The impact of this paradox, combined with the horrific nature of the pictures was immediate.

Nevertheless, contemporary use of the topic was certainly minimal and where it did appear, it was often as an addition to environmental materials (as indicated in Chapter Four). For example, the recent press notes which concentrated on the environment issues gave just a single sentence to the developing world:

Hunger in the developing world can also be related to meat eating because vast areas of grain and crop land are diverted to feeding livestock instead of people. ('Food that Costs the Earth', The Vegetarian Society Press Notes)

Similarly, the general leaflet produced for distribution during National Vegetarian Week only made passing reference to the topic in the section on the environmental reasons for vegetarianism:

In many areas of the developing world, land which could be used for human food is used to grow crop to feed to feed to the cattle in Europe and America. (NVW leaflet 1995, The Vegetarian Society)
As with the general decline in use of environmental arguments, this change in emphasis was related to changes in staff. The Campaigns Director was of the opinion that past tactics (the use of pictures of children) were 'inaccurate and patronising'.

Food scarcity was seen by some at The Society as declining in relevance to the target population. One campaigner was doubtful as to whether people really wanted to know or cared about the issue of food scarcity. She juxtaposed the developing world campaigns to health issues, which were 'closer to home' (Campaigner, Publications). In targeting campaigns, the interest of the general public was an important factor. Of course, issues which stimulate public concern change over time. The occurrence (and particularly the television coverage) of famines can be seen as an issue here. The absence of provocative images of starvation in the mass media contributes to low levels of popular concern (and perhaps awareness) of everyday food scarcity.

The inequitable distribution of food was an issue which does have links to meat eating, although a direct causal relation proved difficult to establish. Even more than environmentalism, the developing world was viewed as a complex issue that was difficult to promote effectively:

you might be aware that there's a link with eating meat and you might be aware that there are other issues involved, but you don't actually know what they are and you don't know how big a part eating meat or animal farming plays in a wider picture. (Research Manager)

The reasons for food scarcity and famine in the economically least developed countries are incredibly complex. Connecting them to meat eating in Britain was a hard task. To simplify the links so that they could be included in a brief leaflet to attract new members or as a 'sound bite' for media coverage was even more difficult.

Evidence of globality was clear in the material on the developing world; they were based on the premise of unequal global relations. The historical and contemporary picture of relations between nations was an international dimension. Added to this was the globalised capitalist economy and the role of TNCs in mass producing cheap meat. The production and farming of meat was integrated into the context of global political and economic relations. Trade, aid/ debt, development and (particularly) unequal consumption...
were all issues which encouraged individuals to consider their lifestyle within a global context. The examples used by *The Society* attempted to relate the experiences of people in Britain and Europe directly to the problems of people in the developing world. By promoting vegetarianism as a contribution toward the resolution of inequality in food distribution, *The Society* was using values of globalism (including a sense of obligation at an individualistic level).

The relationship between the choices of people in the UK and globalised social systems were underlined in the developing world materials. *The Society* encouraged ideas that food resources, international politics and economic relations all provide a wider context for meat production and consumption. Food was presented as a resource which is unevenly distributed and responsible relations were encouraged between individuals in the UK and other inhabitants of the planet. *The Society* used examples and language which promoted an awareness of globalised food production, distribution and consumption. By promoting vegetarianism in Britain, perceptions of the globe as a single social space were drawn upon and thus reproduced.

5.3 **The 'Suffering Seas' Campaign**

The two examples used above have been campaigning issues at *The Society* for some time. Both directly draw upon or reproduce ideas of the world as a single social space. They were expressed as examples of how choices made in one country have affects elsewhere in the world. In this way, they were examples of the use of globalised language and imagery. In a more recent campaign, I found evidence that the global context was becoming more implicit. In Chapter Four I introduced the 'single issue' as a form of campaigning. The promotion of a single issue was achieved by presenting the various arguments for vegetarianism in the context of a single concern. I shall consider how globality can be seen in the example of the 'Suffering Seas'.

In the Suffering Seas campaign, health, animal welfare and environmentalism were all related to the consumption of fish. The topic itself was placed into a global social context:
Of the 24,000 known species of fish in the oceans, only 22 are eaten in any significant numbers by humankind. Globally fish represent around 16 per cent of our diet. In Asia and the Far East they can contribute up to 27 per cent of diet, while European consumers eat around 9 per cent fish and North American 6.6 per cent. [...] If 'demi-vegetarians' convince themselves that fish are fine to eat on health grounds (a dubious and doubtful case indeed) our levels of consumption could rival those of the East and the competition for dwindling fish stocks will increase. (The 'Suffering Seas' Report, November 1994: p. 12, The Vegetarian Society)

Sustainability and food distribution place fishing into a global field. The five themes integrated into the Suffering Seas campaign were factory farming of salmon, animal welfare, wildlife destruction, over-fishing and pollution. The first three of these were all supported by research and examples generated within the borders of the UK.

It was the latter two themes which account for globalised aspects of the theme of fishing.

Beginning with pollution:

A Dutch study in 1987 found 40 per cent of plaice, flounder and dab to have cancerous tumours or skin disease. Pollution was thought to be the cause. A survey in Germany in that same year found that 42 per cent of its fish were diseased. (The 'Suffering Seas' leaflet, The Vegetarian Society)

The North Sea is one of the most polluted stretches of water in the world. (The 'Suffering Seas' leaflet, The Vegetarian Society)

In these examples, evidence was drawn from other countries, but every effort was made to localise the issue. The same applies for over-fishing:

Across the world we spend US$124 billion every year to catch just US$70 billion worth of fish. (The 'Suffering Seas' leaflet, The Vegetarian Society)

Between 1950 and 1989 the world fish harvest increased from 22 million to a massive 100 million tonnes [...] (The 'Suffering Seas' Report, November 1994: p. 4, The Vegetarian Society)

The United Nations has noted a worrying new trend developing in industrial fishing known as 'biomass fishing'. Fine mesh nets are used to drag literally everything out of the sea with complete disregard for the intricacies of the ecosystem. (The 'Suffering Seas' Report, November 1994: p. 5, The Vegetarian Society)

Nine of the world's major fisheries are in serious decline and we've pushed the other eight as far as they can go. In the North Sea the cod and herring populations have been all but destroyed as fishermen land one half of the fish population every year. (The 'Suffering Seas' leaflet, The Vegetarian Society)

In these extracts, the information has been given a global frame of reference. In the last example, it can be seen how the issue was placed back into the national context.
In this campaign, global language and imagery appears as a backdrop. It was implicit to the information being presented. This was related to the subject matter: fishing (undertaken in the seas and oceans) has connotations beyond immediately understood national boundaries (of land). Secondly, the fishing industry has been subject to industrialisation creating floating fish factories which trawl the open seas. Local fisheries remain, but they now exist relative to such mass production. Thirdly, pollution of the oceans and seas does not respect national boundaries. The consequences of industrialisation, international trade and pollution are implicit areas of concern to fishing which provide a global context.

This implicit globalism supported my hypothesis of a movement from crude to more subtle representations of the global context. While examples and evidence were not directly associated with the target population in the UK, the 'Suffering Seas' campaign highlighted the wider context for reasons not to consume fish and seafood. However, the majority of the information and examples remained located in the national context, with the reproduction of this global language and imagery as implicit to the chosen topic. This implicit globalism, when added to the problematic use of global contexts in the previous themes, indicates that The Society's conception and representation of global contexts was changing.

5.4 Summary of Key Findings

Firstly, in the above examples I have shown that global language and imagery were distinguishable in The Society's campaigning materials. In the cases of environmentalism, the developing world and the Suffering Seas campaigns, The Society employed examples from across the world to highlight what it saw as the wide repercussions of mass production and consumption of meat and fish. From deforestation to food scarcity, the impact of meat eating was presented in a global context.

Secondly, I have underlined the instrumental nature of its approach. The influence of popular awareness (e.g., the green movement and media coverage of famine) upon
promotional strategies indicated that *The Society* did not exist in a social vacuum. *The Society* aimed to change its social environment to better reflect its outlook. Thus, information presented by *The Society* was framed by this engagement with the social world. The global aspects of its promotional strategy highlighted in the examples simply aimed to increase the number of vegetarians in Britain. Global language and imagery was predominantly contained within the framework of the issues, to which vegetarianism was then linked. Global contexts were not important in themselves, but served as a way to communicate the subject matter (and message). Examples were chosen (largely) regardless of their geographical context.

Thirdly, this meant that some effort had to be made to recontextualise materials which were not immediately applicable to the intended audience. *The Society* operated within national parameters; it attempted to convert the British public to vegetarianism. However, it drew upon examples and evidence which extended beyond the boundaries of this locality. These materials were recontextualised by the linking distant (but interrelated) events to meat eating in the UK. *The Society* also recontextualised in terms of individual action. In each campaign, vegetarianism was presented as a contribution that people could make toward solving perceived global problems. Slogans like 'Eat lower down the food chain and you won't devour the earth' emphasised individual action in a global context.

Fourth, I have shown that this intersection of global and local brought dilemmas. One problem was making explicit connections between ceasing to consume meat in the UK and improving the balance of global ecology or world food distribution. Some campaigners felt that interconnections may have been oversimplified. This was reinforced because global issues were seen to be, by their very nature, complex. Establishing direct causal relations between meat eating in Britain and issues like deforestation or food scarcity was problematic. While there certainly are connections between the mass production of food and the destruction of the environment, or the entrenched power of industrialised nations and inequitable distribution of food, making the links with vegetarianism (as a solution) necessarily simplified the interconnections. To compound this problem, campaigning
entails simplification for ease of communication. The depth of argument was constrained by The Society's methods of communication (see Chapter Six on media relations).

Finally, I have suggested that explicit global issues were being replaced by a more implicit, localised and applied approach. An idea has been sketched about The Society moving from crude to subtle use of the global context. The environment and developing world issues were still addressed, but animal welfare, health and lifestyle were the dominant themes during the fieldwork. Recent campaigns shied away from the grand global problems, using instead global context to single issues as shown in the campaign against fish consumption. When used, the environment and developing world arguments were often linked together. With environmentalism it was national context which was increasingly underscored. This was related to a number of factors which connect with the impact of globalisation upon organisational output: a recognition of complexities, difficulties in recontextualising, difficulties in linking the global to individual action, the nature of simplifications and sound bites in campaigning, less direct emphasis on explicit global topics and more use of an implicit global context.

To summarise, I have argued that ongoing globalisation was promoted by an awareness of the interrelations over distance. The above examples of campaigning materials all showed examples of this. The Society, in its capacity as a purposeful local actor, was instrumentally using global issues to promote its cause. This entailed recontextualising them into contexts of vegetarianism, the national arena and individual action. Difficulties included the complexity of global subject matter and the difficulty in making links to vegetarianism. As a consequence, global themes seemed to become more implicit as a general context, or expressed in a more localised form.

5.5 Relation to Ongoing Globalisation

To analyse the data for evidence of ongoing globalisation I will employ the concepts of interpenetration, relativisation and reflexivity. To briefly recap, interpenetration explained how global social influences were reproduced by human agency through active use in
specific locales. Relativisation encouraged globalisation by repositioning individuals and their activities in relation to global parameters. Reflexivity explained how social and individual actors monitor their changing circumstances and continually re-adjust their orientation toward them in attempts to shape their social environment. I will consider illustrations of these concepts in the findings and how they explain ongoing globalisation. I also give consideration to the working definition which emphasised 'increasing consciousness' as integral to contemporary globalisation.

In Chapter Four, I suggested that the arguments for vegetarianism have remained similar over time, while their form of expression has changed. In the above examples the influence of globalism seemed particularly clear (for example, in the use of environmental issues). Axford suggests that environmental groups deliberately promoted global values as they are 'constrained to identify' (Robertson, 1992) with globalised conditions and that this collective agency has the potential to channel individual concerns (Axford, 1995: 5). In this way, global environmental concerns have become influential in the promotional materials of The Society. These were a globalised context within which the justifications for vegetarianism were expressed. Efficiency was a long-standing vegetarian argument, but the globalism associated with the environmental and developing world campaigns framed this in a wider spatial context.

Vegetarianism, as promoted by The Society, had been influenced by the globalism inherent in environmentalism. In accepting and promoting environmental concerns as legitimate to its cause, The Society can be viewed as reproducing global values within its own context. Arguably, The Society's agenda was not globalist like environmentalism. The vegetarianism which it promoted was itself peculiarly 'Western'; a rationally justified choice. It was deliberately promoting global values, but these were more a backdrop for its messages rather than The Society being constrained to identify with global conditions. This has implications for understanding ongoing globalisation, for in this case globalism was reproduced as a context. Furthermore, the use of global issues was declining or used
more implicitly. Global values were already an unacknowledged condition behind some of the materials and reproduced as an unintended outcome of their communication.

Interpenetration can help to explain the situated expression of global values. Linking situated action to global awareness required recontextualisation. This tied the use of global language and imagery to the specific concerns of the organisation. Issues of environmental destruction, food scarcity and over-fishing were presented as vegetarian concerns and the diet promoted as a way of addressing them. Global issues were actively drawn upon by actors in local circumstances and recontextualised to make them relevant. This required re-framing them within the organisational context. In this case, the interpenetration of global issues with local concerns was an instrumental activity. Once made relevant, the global language and imagery was reproduced as an element of promoting vegetarianism in the UK.

This interpenetration also demonstrated that global contexts were popular on the public agenda. To promote social change, The Society had to be 'in tune' with the world it was trying to alter. In trying to raise awareness and generate converts to vegetarianism, The Society was mirroring public concerns: 'you have to look at what they're interested in ..., what's going to capture their imagination' (Public Relations Officer). I argue that The Society instrumentally used globalism because it considered the global perspective to have popular credence. This added to ongoing globalisation because The Society was drawing upon and reproducing global language and imagery in the public arena.

Relativisation is also indicative of ongoing globalisation and it was evident in the use of global language and imagery. Relativised knowledge underpinned the recontextualising of global themes into the contexts of vegetarianism, the UK and individual action. The choice to become vegetarian was relativised within a global frame of reference by the instrumental promotion of issues which reinforced ideas about the globe as a single social space. At another level, The Society argued that individual engagement with the world could help create social change. It promoted the belief that everyday action has wide ranging and geographically distant consequences. This was relativisation because The
Society positioned individuals relative to a global context. Further, it also promoted the belief that people should be actively engaged in changing the global social environment.

Nevertheless, the use of global language and imagery (shown above as interpenetration and relativisation) created problems which were recognised by The Society. As the definition of global is not fixed (shown in Chapter One), so The Society's attempts at interpenetration and relativisation were contested. Expressions of global interconnections were shifting over time, becoming implicit, more subtle and used as context. There was also an awareness of difficulties regarding complexity (and The Society's partial standpoint) and of making simple and convincing recontextualisations of global issues to promote vegetarianism to individuals in the UK. The reproduction of globalisation was not simply spreading unity and universalism but promoting awareness of diversity and discord (as suggested by Robertson, 1992; Appadurai, 1990).

Furthermore, these contested and changing expressions of globality demonstrated that the processes of globalisation were ongoing. This continuing globalisation was fuelled by institutional reflexivity. The awareness of potential weaknesses essentially came from within the organisation rather than from external criticism. Internal debate and understanding helped the organisation re-orient itself to the continually shifting social environment which it sought to change. The reflexive monitoring of The Society's output lead to a shifting stance within a global frame of reference. I have shown how ongoing globalisation occurred in this case through interpenetration and relativisation, which drew on and reproduced global language and imagery as a result of reflexive, purposeful local action.

I now explore the idea of global consciousness. 'The intensification of consciousness of the world as a whole' (Robertson, 1992: 8) is central to contemporary globalisation. In 'experience and expectation' individuals help the structuration of the world as a whole (1992: 102). If in the current period the consciousness of the world as a whole is being intensified, this begs the question: 'if one is already conscious of the world as a whole, how can this be intensified?' For Robertson intensification is driven by relativisation:
In an increasingly globalized world there is a heightening of civilizational, societal, ethnic, regional and, indeed individual, self-consciousness. There are constraints on social entities to locate themselves within world history and the global future. Yet globalization in and of itself also involves the diffusion of the expectation of such identity declarations. (Robertson, 1992:27)

Awareness of the globe as a unified social space is intensified by the positioning of individual/social actors in relation to the global frame of reference. However, it also involves 'diffusion' of 'identity declarations' within global parameters. I suggest that this promotion of difference encourages awareness of overlaps in social relations previously considered discrete.

'What is new' about globalisation is not the idea of a global 'whole' (although such a conception is required initially), but an awareness of the interrelations within this. The work of The Society demonstrated this at a number of levels. Examples were shown of inter-societal relations and also globe-wide activities of economic and political actors. A better reflection of contemporary globalisation was the connection of action at a distance promoted at the level of individuals. By linking geographically distant outcomes to changes in activity, The Society encouraged personal action toward its ends. This promoted awareness about other parts of the globe, but also their relation to the lives of individuals. Interrelations do not simply promote personal awareness, but also linked this to a responsibility regarding the causes and consequences of global issues.

I found the term 'consciousness' to be rather vague when trying to detail how globalisation was produced and reproduced. While consciousness implies awareness, in this case, the global parameters were often contextual, hidden by the instrumentalism of an organisation promoting its version of social change. As the reproduction of global parameters took place at a contextual level there are potential problems in regarding this a 'conscious'. A global frame of reference was employed and understanding the implications of the campaigns messages would seem to rely on the audience sharing this. Furthermore, instead of just awareness, a relationship between individual action and outcomes was suggested (indicating a degree of obligation). To recontextualise global issues as relevant to the promotion of vegetarianism, a connection was made between individuals and distant outcomes at the level of everyday food consumption.
Thompson's (1995) idea of 'mediated quasi-interaction' (introduced in Chapter Two) illustrated how contemporary social relations are changed as information flows join the lives of geographically distant people. The idea of obligation in aspects of The Society's promotional materials can be explained using this idea. The everyday activity of food consumption was connected to distant, but interrelated events. To the audience this would seemingly imply a degree of personal involvement. That is to say, linking vegetarianism to global issues promoted a realisation that activities in one part of the world has an effect on people in other parts of the world. Furthermore, promotional material encouraged the orientation of individual action to help solve perceived problems, i.e., giving up meat-eating.

Albrow's (1996) 'human obligation' in the values of globalism was consistent with these examples, perhaps suggesting that global consciousness has an element of a global conscience. However, the sense of obligation referred to may relate closely to the expression of globalism in the case study (and perhaps the examples that Albrow based his argument upon). This obligation comes from the desire to initiate change, seen by those undertaking the promotion of it as positive and progressive. Of course, progress is relative to one's opinion regarding change and thus, this sense of obligation may be overstated. Global values are involved in selling arms, logging rainforests or airport terrorism. Arguably, such activities have little relation to an obligation to make the world a better place, but they still help to make the world a unified social space. Values of globalism would be better understood (as would the 'newness' of global consciousness) as an awareness of a relation between situated activity and a distant outcome (positive, negative or neutral).

Chapter summary

In this chapter I have presented evidence of the promotion of global awareness on the part of The Society and explained how this contributed toward ongoing globalisation. It used images and language which drew upon or reproduced ideas of globality to promote its
cause. The Society's use of the global frame of reference suggested to me that it believed the public would recognise and identify with this. The distant consequences of the mass production and consumption of meat were linked to perceived problems in the environment and the developing world (prominent issues on the public agenda). The long-standing arguments for vegetarianism were recontextualised to reflect the globalised social environment. Efficiency was presented as a problem of global food scarcity and environmental sustainability, while the moral arguments about vegetarianism were framed in terms of global inequities. As I indicated in Chapter Four, the presentation of arguments regarding vegetarianism has changed over time. An impact of globalisation on The Society has been the re-framing of vegetarian concerns within a global frame of reference.

Linking global outcomes to individuals' activities was a key strategy, although the difficulties of this were recognised (complexity of global issues and the problem of making a convincing connection between them and individual action). Partly as a consequence, global themes became more inherent, a backdrop or a context rather than the central concern. The use of global language and imagery was thought to contribute toward the increasing consciousness of globalisation among individuals. However, I consider the term consciousness to be analytically vague as global frames of reference were used in different ways (as implicit contexts and to promote a sense of individual obligation).

I used the concepts of interpenetration and relativisation to explain how the work of The Society contributed to ongoing globalisation. By recontextualising global issues into the promotion of vegetarianism, these were drawn on and reproduced as implicit contexts to instrumental, localised action. Institutional reflexivity showed how The Society monitored and adjusted itself in light of the changing social environment, indicating continuing globalisation. In this case, what was 'new' about contemporary globalisation was the interrelation made between individuals and global issues. This included a sense of obligation (although this may have been related to the case study context). The use of a global frame of reference was based on an awareness of unity and the world as a single social space, but it may also contribute toward an awareness of the relative nature of different perceptions.
CHAPTER SIX
RELATIONS TO FOOD AND COMMUNICATIONS SYSTEMS

In this chapter I consider the reproduction of globalised social systems by examining relations between *The Society* and representatives from the food industry and the mass media. The context of engagement differs for these two examples. The mass media was both a source of information and an outlet for *The Society*'s campaigns, while the food industry was both a set of structures which required changing (better to serve vegetarians) and a source of income to help fund campaigning. The significant findings can be summarised as follows: *The Society* actively engaged with the pervasive systems of food and communication; it did so instrumentally (to achieve its aims), in negotiation with representatives from the food industry and mass media who were also seeking to further their own ends; dilemmas arose from these negotiated relations and *The Society* addressed them pragmatically.

*The Society*'s activities will be examined within the framework of active production and reproduction of social systems and the globalised systems of food and communication. In Chapter Two I detailed how social systems were the outcome of human social relations and rejected reductionist ideas about global systems. Also, historical and contemporary political and economic power was shown to have globalised social relations around food and communication into pervasive social systems (other systems remained, but exist in relation to those which have become globalised). As a context and an outcome of *The Society*'s social relations globalised social systems were actively reproduced.

Appadurai (1990) underlined the essentially fluid and fragmented nature of globalisation (section 1.2), an argument that is conceptualised in Robertson's (1992) idea of interpenetration (section 1.3). In Chapter Two, globalisation was re-asserted as negotiated, contingent and a local 'articulation' of global structures and subjects (Robertson, 1992: 8; Axford, 1995:7). The globalisation is not complete or uncontested, but instead 'up for grabs' (Robertson, 1992: 62; Spybey, 1996: 13-14). In this chapter I will show evidence of this ongoing globalisation through the localised reproduction of global systems. The
examples are negotiated and contested relations between The Society (as a self-interested, purposeful social actor) and other parties in the social world. Negotiated interactions with The Society were one element in the continual production and reproduction of those other parties and of the globalised systems which were their context.

I present the evidence in two separate sections: 'food industry' and 'mass media'. The Society interacted with producers, manufacturers and distributors of food (including health products such as vitamin supplements). In terms of the 'mass media', it interacted with specialist publications, magazines, newspapers and broadcasters. As a social actor instigating change, The Society's relations with the external world were characterised by negotiation. It actively engaged with the social systems within which it operated. In each section I show The Society's relations, but also the dilemmas which arose and their resolution. Linking this evidence to theoretical threads from Chapter Two, I argue that instigating change through engagement contributes to the reproduction of global systems.

Before presenting the evidence, I must reiterate some contexts. The aims and status of The Society as a social actor are both important. The Society aimed to further the interests of existing vegetarians and campaign on issues related to vegetarianism. It undertook a range of activities in order to fulfil these goals, some of which entailed interaction with external organisations (See Chapter Four). Thus, relations with external parties were driven by its aims: it engaged with the existing social world to support its members and to promote its vision of social change. Indeed, this was central to its choice as a case study (see Chapter Three). The activities of The Society were purposeful, characterised by instrumentalism. In other words, the very aims of the organisation pushed it into engagement and thus, the findings to this extent were unsurprising. Nevertheless, it was the contribution to ongoing globalisation that I wish to emphasise.

In terms of the organisation's status, I need to qualify the extent to which the reproduction of globalised social systems can be evidenced from this case study. While vegetarianism has grown in popularity, The Society remained an organisation representing a minority interest. The Society was not a 'major player' in pervasive food and communication
systems and its contribution to their production and reproduction was small and indirect. Nevertheless, The Society's engagements with representatives from the food industry and mass media contributed to the reproduction of those actors' social context. To briefly illustrate, negotiation to extend the available range of vegetarian food products contributes to the future of the food processing industry, itself part of globalised food systems. Notwithstanding The Society's lack of power, I argue that globalised social systems were a broad context for its work. With regard to inferences, although I show that engagements with external parties had different aims, contexts, rules and outcomes, a general orientation of pragmatism and dialogue was discernible. While perhaps a consequence of the selected case, this does not preclude an analytical consideration of how these reflected ongoing globalisation in this particular context (i.e., a peripheral interest group operating within globalised social systems).

The Society's activity within these systems was articulated in terms of the benefits and constraints of engagement. By virtue of The Society's desire to initiate social change, engagement with external parties was demanded. However, dilemmas arose within The Society because it was recognised that external parties were part of wider social relations. For example (as illustrated in the previous chapter) The Society considered the globalised production and distribution of food problematic. Engaging with organisations and representatives from the food industry, was thus seen by some as 'selling out'. On the contrary, those who considered engagement with external parties as beneficial to The Society's members saw this as 'buying in'. This chapter will show how such dilemmas were resolved pragmatically, while further consideration will be given to the divide between 'buying in' and 'selling out' in Chapter Seven on The Society's perceived role.

6.1 Relations with the Food Industry

Evidence of The Society's relations with the food industry came from a number of sources, but particularly the work of the Sales and Campaigns teams (the Cookery School dealt with the food industry too, but this was not explored). The Society aimed to facilitate the supply of vegetarian products to the market place and to raise the profile of vegetarianism
by 'educating' the food industry. The examples begin with the work of the Sales team to show how The Society engaged with the food industry. By 'selling' its members, The Society put itself in a position to negotiate benefits for them. Secondly, using examples from both the Sales and Campaigns teams, I explore the dilemmas which arose from food industry relations. Finally, I give some consideration to the resolution of the dilemmas. After summarising the key findings I evaluate these in terms of ongoing globalisation.

Recalling Chapter Four, the three activities of the Sales team were: securing advertising for the magazine, merchandising and running the V symbol. The V symbol involved the most negotiation with the food industry. When it was first introduced, The Society licensed it without charge. It was simply a useful device for Society members to identify products certified as 'suitable for vegetarians'. To the food industry, the symbol presented a marketing opportunity and a chance to profit from a specialist (niche) market. The commercial possibilities also became obvious to The Society, who began charging for its use. The V symbol raised approximately £150 000 per annum which, running costs aside, supported campaigning activities. The type of produce which The Society licensed included packaged food and drinks, catering products, household goods, cosmetics and toiletries.

The Sales team vigorously sold the V symbol by encouraging dialogue with the food industry:

The Vegetarian Society recognises the vital role the food industry plays in driving the market forward and the need for two-way communication. We need to keep talking to each other. Communication is the key. ('V Symbol' sales pamphlet, The Vegetarian Society)

The fastest growing food market in the UK is currently worth £11.1 billion. [...] Vegetarian food appeals to everyone - it's healthy, innovative and it's profitable. ('V Symbol' sales pamphlet, The Vegetarian Society)

The V Symbol promotional literature sold vegetarianism as a profitable, mainstream market. To encourage relations with the food industry, The Society employed the language of that industry. The Society sold its expertise in a expanding market sector (using phrases like 'profit from our capital').

We can help you capitalise on this dynamic new market trend. Food consultancy, product testing and qualitative research, all these services can be tailored to your
individual requirements. You can access the world's largest data bank on vegetarianism, health, nutrition, research and consumer trends. Can you afford not to consult the experts? (V Symbol' sales pamphlet, The Vegetarian Society)

A similar policy applied to selling advertising space in The Vegetarian magazine. Potential advertisers were told:

The Vegetarian gives its readers editorial with integrity, which gives your products the benefit of a relevant and influential environment backed by the authority of The Vegetarian Society. (excerpt from standard letter sent to potential advertising clients)

The readership are described as an:

[...] influential, opinion forming target audience that is totally committed to a vegetarian lifestyle. [...] Vegetarians are more likely to be female, age group 18-35, from the ABC1 socio-economic groups [...] and means that our readers are affluent "reformers" who are willing to pay more for your specialist product. (excerpt from standard letter sent to potential advertising clients)

It was clear that the Sales team engaged with the food industry on the industry's own terms: marketing consumer profiles to attract advertising and 'selling' The Society's expertise and membership.

Nevertheless, the relationship between the Sales team and the food industry had relatively well-defined boundaries. Official guidelines governed the licensing of the V symbol and the standards of suitability were strictly defined by The Society. In the process of gaining a licensed V symbol, manufacturers were required to 'self-certify' their ingredients and submit a list of these for further scrutiny. A member of the Sales team checked these:

I just send them a list of things that I want to query. Like, here I'm querying flavourings, beta-carotene, eggs ... what they are [i.e., free-range or otherwise], lemon juice .. if its been clarified, we need to know what its been clarified with. And then I'll wait for them to reply. (Commercial Sales Executive).

The stringency of the guidelines meant some applicants had to check with their own suppliers to get the appropriate information. Once a license fee was agreed (usually a percentage of the product's turnover or an annual £250 minimum) manufacturers could use the symbol on packaging and literature for the approved product.

While many manufacturers approach The Society for approval, others were persuaded of the benefits. Key factors in selling the V symbol were The Society's claims to independence and authority. As the sales literature expounds:
Independence from the manufacturers was a guarantee of serving the interests of vegetarians over the profit making activities of food companies. In terms of authority, the Commercial Director explained how one prestige client has taken 2 years of intermittent negotiation to approve. An important factor in this example was a demonstration of the knowledge and professionalism to the client. After the ingredient checks had brought up some potential problems, the Sales staff showed knowledge and awareness beyond that of the manufacturer, effectively underlining The Society's claim to authority.

Even within the highly monitored relationship of guidelines and approval in the Sales team, there was evidence of some negotiated interaction. A degree of financial flexibility was admitted with regard to the larger clients:

we have a standard policy, to keep everybody in line. So what we say is, if the turnover on the product being approved is less than £100 000, we charge a minimum fee [...] If it's more than £100 000, we do 0.2%. Sometimes that ends up really high ... say, with Heinz, the turnover is so huge. So we just negotiate [...] we know we'd lose them if we started saying we want £15 000 off you for a license fee for a year ... there's no way. (Commercial Sales Executive)

Negotiation was clearest where difficulties arose in the guidelines for approval. This particularly occurred where new or updated knowledge was involved. The Society's official approval guidelines did not always cover changes in knowledge or new technology. Examples included ingredients such as lanolin, shellac, Vitamin D2 and the use of genetically synthesised enzymes in cheese manufacturing. Interestingly, new knowledge was not always generated from within The Society, but through its relations with the food industry (i.e., information which clients provide on forms and in discussions). In these cases, decisions regarding 'suitability' were taken within the hierarchy of organisation.

One decision to change The Society's policy which was imposed from above was that regarding eggs. Based on ethical grounds (of animal welfare), the choice was made to stop condoning the use of battery eggs in products approved by The Society as suitable for
vegetarians. A consequence of this had been the loss of clients who were unable to guarantee a supply of free-range eggs for their produce. This also meant that \textit{The Society} lost income from V symbol licenses:

\begin{quote}
We don't say: 'oh, we don't want to upset Sainsburys or whoever'. After all, they are only in it for the money and if they see money being made on vegetarianism then they'll support it. They're not bothered about the principles, are they? (Chair of Council)
\end{quote}

This demonstrated that \textit{The Society} was not beholden to the food industry. It was happy to pursue policies which went against the interests of its clients (and perhaps even itself) on the grounds of an ethical principle.

There were some more routine examples of its power. \textit{The Society} had some input into its licensees presentation:

\begin{quote}
If there is something with the V symbol on it and we're not happy with what they've said, we can get them to change it. [...] Like McCormack had the V symbol on a gravy mix and it had this plate of steak on the front of the packet! (Commercial Sales Executive)
\end{quote}

Limitations to \textit{The Society}'s influence over its customers were admitted (related to the stature and 'newness' of the client), but a simplistic one-sided domination over a minority interest group by the powerful food industry was not the case. In some situations \textit{The Society} was well represented in its relations. The Information and Research Unit was sometimes used by food manufacturers for 'facts and figures', or correcting promotional 'copy'. A member of the Campaigns team successfully approached corporate contacts to donate raffle prizes for a Christmas draw (although it should be noted that the lure of free advertising was a factor). \textit{The Society} was involved in negotiation with a company over the launch of vitamins supplements specifically for vegetarians. The product was V symbol approved and offered membership of \textit{The Society} at a discounted rate.

Despite the position of \textit{The Society} as a minority interest, it was still able to actively exert influence over organisations in the food industry with whom it dealt. The impression was generally one of congenial relations. \textit{The Society}'s Chair of Council suggested that it was trying to educate the food industry. In dealing with queries over the origins of particular ingredients, \textit{The Society} had a knowledge of alternative sources which were 'vegetarian equivalents'. Rather than dismissing enquiries the Sales team helped potential clients find
suitable alternatives to 'slaughterhouse by-products'. The benefits of doing this were two-fold: vegetarians had an expanded range of goods to choose from and the food industry was educated by *The Society*.

To summarise, *The Society* had firm policies on licensing the V symbol, which it imposed upon manufacturers who wanted to get their products approved. Within these rules, there was some flexibility and negotiation on cost, presentation and 'new' knowledge. For representatives of the food industry, the prime motivation to license the V symbol or take advertising space was the prospect of product loyalty though *The Society's* knowledge, expertise and 'client base'. In return, *The Society* used the lure of its 'purchasing power' to promote vegetarianism, generate income and 'educate' the food industry.

### 6.1.1 Dilemmas and resolutions

At the core of arising dilemmas was the question of 'agendas'. For food companies who dealt exclusively in the vegetarian market, 'a continuous marketing campaign comes free with every advertisement!' (excerpt from standard letter sent to potential advertising clients). Excluding the few companies in the food industry that would benefit from a completely vegetarian population, there was a mis-match of *The Society's* agenda and that of the food industry.

[...] it's an example that their aims and ambitions aren't ours, they have a different agenda, our agenda is never solely money, their agenda always is really something else. So there's always going to be a compromise. (Campaigner, Publications)

Expressed simply, this was 'profit versus principles' (explored in more detail in the following section). In this section I consider how these dilemmas surfaced.

The food industry sought profit, while *The Society* aimed to increase the number of vegetarians and the services available to them. While these companies were profiting from animal derived produce, this did not prevent them recognising the value of the vegetarian niche market. For them, *The Society's* backing was a useful marketing tool and V symbol approval gives credibility to their vegetarian products. The dilemma for *The Society* was that the V symbol was licensed to food companies who make profits from animal products:
You may get a V symbol on OXO … they do meaty OXO and they do veggie OXO. We only approve the veggie OXO, but the money we get is from the company that also produces the meaty OXO. So, we’re constantly taking money from companies that aren’t ethically sound. (Campaigner, Publications)

_The Society’s_ responsibility toward its membership led to problems regarding association with companies that profit from meat. It was also recognised that the dilemma also applied in reverse:

One client was a little worried about our campaigning. They asked if we were into burning butcher’s shops. This was at the time when we were campaigning at Smithfield. (Commercial Director)

Companies in the food industry needed to be careful with whom they were associated. The agendas of the food industry and _The Society_ were potentially opposed.

Nevertheless, as already shown, the relations between _The Society_ and food industry could also be mutually advantageous. The Sales team (and thus _The Society’s_ income for campaigning) profited from the agenda of all food manufacturers as income was a percentage of product sales. Having assisted a client with design ideas for a recipe booklet, the Commercial Director, joked: ‘anything which increases your turnover means that we get more cash!’ The problem had become where to draw the line:

> There are ethical difficulties in working with some of these companies, especially the big food producers like Nestle. Luckily our work with them fell away. But, if McDonald’s asked us to approve a veggie burger, or Bernard Matthews, I’d have real problems in doing so. (Commercial Director)

Yet, if _The Society_ only licensed companies who produced vegetarian food, the impact of (and income from) the V symbol would become minimal. In the examples of Sales, this agenda dilemma was resolved by the context: V symbol approval did not require companies to be ethically sound (merely that the ingredients were suitable).

In the Campaigns team, however, the problem was amplified. It was the sponsorship of campaigning activities which entailed the Campaigns team deal with the food industry. The cost of National Vegetarian Week (henceforth, NVW) was approximately £40 000, much of which was raised from corporate sponsorship. I will show the negotiated nature of the Campaigns team’s approach with regard to the food industry. Accepting that income from the food industry was imperative to run a high profile, national campaign, there were
two questions which arose regarding sponsorship. What factors decided acceptability and what was the influence of the food industry on the messages which were promoted?

There was an underlying awareness among *The Society's* staff that either the Council, the members or both may have an adverse reaction to using 'unethical' sponsorship for campaigning. Accordingly, the process of selecting sponsors for NVW was fairly well established. Initially a Campaigns team fundraiser approached clients on a target list (previous sponsors and V symbol licensees) and then moved on to other potentially interested companies with 'similar or complementary aims' (Campaigner, Fundraising). This demonstrated *The Society* wished to engage with those in the food industry with whom it shared common ground. However, to illustrate the issue of agenda dilemmas there were examples of other companies who approached *The Society* directly.

Decisions regarding the suitability of sponsorship offers were not entirely consistent. Some were accepted without question, while others prompted open discussion. There were a number of overlapping factors involved which are highlighted in the following examples:

*We have to be careful who we are associated with and during NVW there was discussion about writing to Quorn for sponsorship money [...] I feel very strongly that in instances like that, if its something we wouldn't approve for the V symbol, we don't approve full-stop.* (Campaigner, Publications)

In another example, Boots (a company once targeted by other animal advocacy groups for sanctioning vivisection) approached *The Society* to ask for some campaigns materials to advertise NVW in its stores:

*They contacted us and wanted our leaflets and information ... that sort of thing. And that was seen as fine ... we weren't saying Boots were brilliant or anything, but it still seems a bit funny [...] you mention Boots and no-one says anything. It's not overtly made an issue if some people don't make an issue out of it. So it can be ignored.* (Campaigner, Fundraising)

Thus, the knowledge and beliefs of the staff were important factors in deciding sponsorship suitability. Continuing the previous example, the notoriety of the client was also an issue:

*Quorn would have gone in the recipe booklet, so a lot of people would have seen that and it would have been in print ... visually, and you know, obviously an endorsement.* (Campaigner, Fundraising)
This would have been unacceptable given that the product is not suitable for V symbol licensing. It also raised the appropriateness of potential sponsors with regard to the type of promotional material.

This issue of appropriateness was further illustrated by reference to vitamin manufacturers:

[... anything nutritional then I get very petty about working with vitamin manufacturers, so I won't touch them with anything nutritional. (Campaigns Director)

They were considered inappropriate sponsors for a recipe leaflet as they were deemed to imply a nutritional inadequacy of the diet. However, it was here that the issue of finance arises:

[... we didn't have that many sponsors, we had no money, usual panic and all that last minute stuff was going on and Sanatogen contacted us and said they'd like to be a sponsor. It was like turning down £3000 when we didn't have much money [... That one was really decided just through us lot sat in the room, debating whether or not we could or couldn't allow it ... and there's me going 'it's £3000, it's £3000, it's £3000.' (Campaigner, Fundraising)

From these examples, it should be clear the appropriateness of sponsorship was a multifaceted problem including issues of belief, notoriety, appropriateness, the material being sponsored and money.

The process by which sponsorship was agreed showed a pragmatic attitude, but as such, flexibility shaded into inconsistency. This was considered problematic. Firstly in terms of presenting a professional image:

[... if you're dealing with companies you've got to act in a consistent manner, haven't you. You can't be seen to be telling some people to piss off and then have somebody else in. (Campaigner, Fundraising)

Yet, it was not only the food companies that needed to witness 'fair play':

I think you lose a lot of face ... you do have some sort of moral responsibility to your members and to your image [...] your image is like the only thing you can sell, isn't it? (Campaigner, Fundraising)

We give in because we need their £4 000, that's the problem. We're so desperate for small amounts of money, that for £4 000 they almost buy us. (Campaigner, Publications)
The 'moral responsibility to the membership' (Campaigner, Fundraising) and having an image built on an ethical stance meant that inconsistencies over sponsorship had the potential to undermine *The Society's* credibility (particularly among its members).

A second question was: what affect does the sponsor have on *The Society's* output? The first constraint on *The Society* was timing. As the food industry has its budgets allocated perhaps a year in advance, the preparations for the following year's NVW have to begin early. Where corporate sponsorship was required, future work loads have to be planned. The second implication was the task of negotiating over wordings. This was recognised as an 'inconvenient but unavoidable delay when dealing with corporate sponsors' (Campaigns Director, memo for Council, 31/3/95). Practicalities like these not only demonstrated the influence which food industry representatives wield over *The Society's* work, but were also evidence of negotiation with the food industry.

A greater dilemma was the need to appease the food industry over the campaign message. With regard to NVW it was recognised that sponsorship dictated both the issues covered and their expression (leaving one campaigner feeling compromised):

- [...] the issues raised are largely to do with health, because the sponsors wouldn't hold with many of the other issues. (Campaigns Director)

- [...] anything that we get sponsorship for, they're very very wary about what they put in them. The modifications and hoops we've had to jump through in the last couple of years for the National Vegetarian leaflet, which we would think isn't radical at all and then someone like Asda, who was partly funding it, will go: 'we're not having that sentence in it, that'll offend all our customers', so we've had to change it. (Chief Executive)

- I feel compromised by the sponsors [...] every word has to have the sponsor involved in it and they re-write it so that in the end, instead of giving general advice on nutrition, or a store cupboard you're just plugging that particular company all the way through. (Campaigner, Publications)

However, there were positive aspects to collaboration. Without the assistance of corporate sponsorship NVW would be extremely difficult to run:

- You have to get them involved in some campaigns because you can't physically run the campaigns without them. (Campaigns Director)
For example, the distribution of materials to health food shops across the country was negotiated free with a supplier of health foods. According to the Campaigns Director this saved *The Society* £6000.

The reality of *The Society's* position - as a peripheral interest group with charity status - was that it was able to negotiate with the food industry in some circumstances, particularly if there was also some advantage to the industry. When using the industry for sponsorship, dilemmas arose regarding the choice of companies from whom to accept sponsorship. *The Society* mainly sought organisations with which it shared common ground. Where dilemmas arose, there were overlapping influences upon the decisions, but no obvious policy. In terms of the effects of sponsorship on output, it was clear that the style and tone could be influenced. However, as I shall explain, once placed in a wider picture, engaging with the food industry for NVW was justified by *The Society* as an appropriate strategy.

6.1.2 A pragmatic solution: differentiating funding in multi-issue campaigning

Having outlined the dilemmas of using the food industry above, those who defended the use of corporate sponsorship did so in two ways. The first was with recourse to *The Society's* aims:

> It would be almost criminal to provoke a change in the consumer but then not facilitate that change for them. So you want them to become vegetarian, but you want to make that change to vegetarianism easier for them and part of that is bringing the food industry with you. (Campaigns Director)

Ensuring that vegetarians were catered for in the market place was part of *The Society's* accepted remit. Secondly, as I showed in Chapter Four, *The Society* promoted vegetarianism using a range of issues. 'Differentiating' between sources of funding within a multi-issue campaign strategy was considered a way to promote vegetarianism to the widest audience.

Converts to vegetarianism were inspired by a variety of concerns and were drawn from across class, age and gender boundaries. To target an audience with disperse motivations and interests, food industry funding filled a specific niche. They helped:
The food industry was used by The Society in the areas of overlapping aims (food, nutrition, health and lifestyle). Money raised from sponsorship was channelled into specific materials (e.g., recipe leaflets). With industry funding The Society was able to print high quality leaflets for its major national campaign. This 'professional' presentation to wide audience was regarded as raising popular awareness. By using the food industry to provide funds to pay for NVW, The Society was able use its (limited) other funds to fight more controversial battles:

There's a lot of things we can't get sponsorship for. If we want to do a leaflet about the 'Cull of the Wild', about the ostrich farming and the crocodile farming and all the rest of it, well no-one's going to sponsor that because it's too radical. So we've got to get money in from the groups and from legacies and from donations and all the rest of it to cover that type of campaign. [...] we need to use our hard earned money to do the real hard stuff that no-one will pay for. (Chief Executive)

So on the slightly more hard line stuff, where it's animal rights or the environment, then you have to look to the public to raise the funds or you have to look to trusts or charities or big donors [...] whereas the big sponsorship deals will come in for the health stuff, almost exclusively. (Campaigns Director)

Differentiating between its sources of funding was used as a defence against the dilemmas of sponsorship. A pragmatic approach was taken toward food industry relations, rationalised within a multi-issue campaigning strategy.
6.1.3 Summary of food industry relations

I have developed a characterisation of an organisation which had proactive engagement with the food industry to promote its cause. It did so on the basis of two rationales: to facilitate the supply of vegetarian products and to raise the profile of vegetarianism. Using the evidence I have shown that, firstly, The Society was 'selling' its members as a commodity to the food industry. Secondly, by doing so, The Society put itself in a position to negotiate for the benefit of its members. Thirdly, the dilemmas which arise do so because of a clash of interest. Lastly, pragmatic solutions were justified by The Society.

Licensing the V symbol for individual products allowed The Society a good degree of control over some aspects of food industry relations. While the formal rules were flexible on cost, presentation and 'new' knowledge, The Society negotiated working compromises. Facilitating vegetarianism in the food market meant that its expertise was useful to the food industry, which in turn, it was seeking to 'educate'. However, when using the food industry for sponsorship during NVW, the relations were not as strictly controlled. Dilemmas which were underlying in the work of the Sales team came to the fore.

While most of the sponsors for NVW shared some common ground with The Society, in a few examples, deciding the suitability for sponsorship became a complex, unofficial process which involved assessing suitable companies (as opposed to products in the case of the V symbol). Factors involved in decisions included staff beliefs, notoriety, appropriateness, the material being sponsored and money. The influence of the food industry over work patterns and campaigning styles left some concerned about compromise, yet The Society needed food industry sponsorship to run a high profile, national campaign. This was defended in line with the two rationales above. Firstly, engagement with the food industry was necessary to support vegetarians. Secondly, differentiating between sources of funding enabled a multi-issue campaigning strategy.

The Society was a peripheral interest group and financial power resided with the food industry. This notwithstanding, it was pragmatically engaged in negotiation to further its
own ends. For staff at *The Society* there was a tension between 'buying in' and 'selling out'. For some, exploiting areas of mutual benefit was viewed as utilising the food industry to *The Society's* greatest advantage. Thus, *The Society* asserted itself in relations by 'buying in'. However, it was acknowledged that the food industry had an agenda and was using *The Society* to further its ends (i.e., using the V symbol to support niche marketing strategies which targeted vegetarian consumers). Thus for other staff, the food industry was 'part of the problem, not part of the solution' and relations with them was tantamount to 'selling out'. I will explore this tension further in Chapter Seven.

6.1.4 Evidence of ongoing globalisation

Ongoing globalisation can be illuminated by reference to the relations between *The Society* and the food industry. In Chapter Two, food systems were presented as globalised and social systems were theorised as the context and outcome of located social activity. Moreover, globalisation had occurred within the context of historical and contemporary political and economic power. Globalised food systems were those which dominate in the industrialised nations and involve mass production and consumption. Invariably, the systems of food manufacture, processing, packaging, distribution and sales are driven by the profit motive of capitalism. *The Society* was engaged with organisations who operate within these pervasive systems. As I shall show, this was implicit in examples of negotiated relations, but was also demonstrated in the compromises and dilemmas.

Dilemmas existed because of a mismatch between agendas. The motives and practices of organisations who were part of pervasive food systems did not directly correspond with the beliefs of some of those at *The Society*. Expressed basically, the industrialised, profit driven food systems exploit animals as produce. Indeed, *The Society's* own promotional materials on the environment and the developing world (examined in Chapter Five) linked global ecological degradation and food scarcity to the spread of such pervasive food systems. Hence, engaging with organisations who were integral to pervasive food systems created dilemmas (expressed in terms of 'selling out').
Some staff recognised that any engagement (even negotiated relations) was effectively legitimating and perpetuating the food industry, aspects of which run contrary to the aims of The Society. For others, pragmatic engagement was not only seen as necessary, but useful. Considered theoretically, both of these viewpoints were 'in situ' recognitions of structuration. Individual and social actors produce and reproduce social systems by virtue of situated activity. While The Society was faced with decisions which existed solely in its context, its choices and actions have consequences beyond its immediate social environment. Its relations with the food industry were a small part of the widespread reproduction of food systems.

Wallerstein (1990) notes a crisis for 'anti-system' movements, whose actions not only undermine but also sustain the world system by acting within its constraints:

[...] most particularly by taking state power and operating within an interstate system which is the political superstructure of the capitalist world economy. (Wallerstein, 1990: 169)

By acting within the existing parameters of pervasive social systems, social actors can effectively reproduce the very parameters which they seek to change. For example, Sklair (1995) argues:

[...] anti-capitalists (principally socialists) of many kinds have seen no alternative to using capitalist practices to achieve anti-capitalist ends [...] (1995: 507-8).

The problem, as posed by Sklair, is that:

Ordinary so-called 'counter-cultures' are regularly incorporated into the consumer culture and pose little threat. Indeed, by offering both real and illusory variety and choice, they are source of great strength to the global capitalist system and of personal enrichment for those able to enjoy the abundance of cultural forms undeniably available. (1995: 504).

However, remembering Chapter Two, Sklair's and Wallerstein's theoretical positions were rejected as economistic and determinist.

Nevertheless, these approaches still accurately describe the 'selling out' aspect of the polarised opinions at The Society. Without the economistic overtones, which reduce cultural expressions to false consciousness, the essence of the above theories is that pervasive systems constrain and enable action. While The Society's ability to exert its will
was constrained, it was able to change pervasive food systems in its favour (by educating the food industry, supporting existing vegetarians in the market place and utilising sponsorship as part of a multi-issue campaign strategy). As expressed in the dilemma of compromise, The Society should be recognised as contributing to the reproduction of globalised food systems (if only in a minor way), but also instigating change within them.

Dialogue, central to the concepts of detraditionalisation and institutional reflexivity, was indicative of ongoing globalisation. Detraditionalisation underlined 'dialogical' relations: people rationalise their beliefs and justify them against those of others. Institutional reflexivity explained how social actors enter into dialogue with the institutional forms which they produce and reproduce. The negotiated relations at The Society highlighted an organisation instigating social change by pragmatically engaging with the food industry. Dialogue was evident in the engagement between The Society and representatives from the food industry.

This was clear in two instances. The first was the Sales team's use of food industry terminology to encourage companies to license the V symbol. By 'selling' The Society's members as a resource and potentially profitable market the Sales team were effectively rationalising vegetarianism into the discourse of the food industry. In this example, further dialogue (the chance to 'educate' and influence) could only come after initial contact was made. The second instance was the pragmatism over food company sponsorship and its justification by recourse to a multi-issue campaigning strategy. The Society accepted the pluralist framework within which it operated and exploited areas of mutual benefit to its best advantage. Both examples show dialogue was used as the means to encourage social change indicating the influence of ongoing globalisation.

Other links can also be made between the evidence and globalised food systems. In Chapter Two I introduced some issues which arose out of the globalised nature of food systems: the global framing of food issues (Unklesbay, 1992), delocalisation (Pelto and Pelto, 1993) and finally choice and niche marketing. I will now demonstrate how these issues arising from the globalised food system were expressed at The Society. The global
framing of food issues was shown in Chapter Five: the choice to become vegetarian was contextualised by the global production and distribution of food. In this chapter, food industry relations and the dilemmas attached to them, showed recognition of interlinked food systems. Fears of compromise over sponsorship by 'unethical' companies demonstrated awareness of such interrelations. The global context of food systems was not expressed, but underlying connections and the potential for self-contradiction were recognised.

This can also be related to niche marketing and delocalisation. Relations between individuals and globalised systems of food can bring benefits and constraints. In this example (reflecting the concerns of 'ethical consumers' in a wealthy nation), both delocalisation of food and its niche marketing by the food industry were recognised as enabling vegetarians to have a wider choice of food and fulfilling the requirements of peoples' need for convenience. At the same time, there was an awareness that companies in the food industry were self-interested and that food scares, declining local markets, the use of pesticides, exploitation of labour, etc. were all part of interconnected food systems. The strategy to differentiate between modes of funding and campaigning issues was presented as a pragmatic solution by The Society, deployed to overcome the potential conflicts of interest and difference of agendas.

The Society had not necessarily balanced the competing voices within the organisation and the pragmatic approach may not effectively deal with the issues of compromise, but the purpose here has not been to judge effectiveness of its solutions. Instead it was to show that these issues, which arise out of the globalised nature of food systems, were reflected in the work of The Society. Globalisation was recognised as contested, fluid and negotiated in Chapters One and Two; these examples show how a social actor constantly adjusted its position in relation to the social environment within which it was working. However, this was not simply reactive (as functionalist theories of change might indicate): The Society has been shown to actively engage the food industry to promote its agenda. The dilemmas which arise from engagement require resolution over time. The global framing of food
issues, delocalisation and niche marketing were all globalised contexts illustrated by The Society's choice to initiate change through engagement and the resulting dilemmas.

6.2 Relations with the Mass Media

It was predominantly the work of the Campaigns team (including the Research and Information Unit) which involved working with representatives from the mass media. The Society had relations with organisations and individuals who worked under the auspices of the mass media for two main reasons. Firstly, routine practices of information collection and distribution kept it in touch with the world it aimed to change. Secondly, the mass media were viewed as having the power to dispel myths and raise awareness. Consequently, it was an important vehicle for carrying campaign messages.

I firstly consider how The Society re-actively used the mass media as a source of information. On one hand I show the routines of collection and distribution of information and the way which this pervaded The Society's work. Then I highlight the way that The Society was used by representatives of the mass media as a 'source'. In the second section I explore how The Society pro-actively attempted to use relations with the mass media to promote the cause of vegetarianism. Like food industry relations, dealings involved negotiation, The Society was pragmatic and dilemmas arose regarding the suitability of the strategy of media engagement. Using the theoretical and conceptual framework from Chapters One and Two, I show that The Society was engaged with the globalised systems of mass communications and that it actively reproduced aspects of the mass media by using them as a source of information and an outlet.

6.2.1 Reactive

As an information source, the output of mass media was key to the operation of The Society: it was important to have 'knowledge' of outside events and opinions. Upon this knowledge, The Society aimed to impose its agenda for promoting social change. The Information Manager collected and distributed information from the mass media:
Information from the mass media was used for three main reasons. Firstly it helped *The Society* assess its own image and that of vegetarianism in mainstream culture. Secondly, it kept staff appraised of contemporary issues and thirdly, it gave them the opportunity to formulate replies to new events and criticism. I will briefly outline the sources of material and methods of distribution to show the impact of the media upon *The Society's* routines.

Routine sources of information included the national daily broad sheet newspapers (plus one tabloid) which were checked for relevant information. In addition, there was a regular supply of journals which included esoteric (mainly animal advocacy and environmental), trade journals and 'health and lifestyle' magazines. Among these, it was the meat industry's own publications which were most useful:

*The Society* use the meat industry to prove what's wrong with eating meat [...] you look at Farmers Weekly and Meat Trades Journal and publications of that sort ... and they give us the ammunition beautifully. They report every detail, if there's an outbreak they analyse it, find out why and put it all in the press and it's there for us to use. (Chair of Council)

While the trade journals were considered 'a very useful source', animal advocacy material produced by other organisations was 'mainly third-hand information' (Information Manager). *The Society* also subscribed to a press cutting service which covers the local press, some journals, coverage from television and teletext. In addition to these routine sources, sporadic information came from *The Society's* members, related interest groups, media representatives and radio and television output.

The Information Manager was responsible for information retrieval and he selected relevant articles and decided how to distribute them:

It's quite hard sometimes to decide what they need to know, [...] whether they actually need to read it in the first place [...] because I haven't got the time to read the things myself, let alone handing it around to half a dozen other people who are going to sit down and waste 20 minutes reading something which is not going to be relevant. (Information Manager)
He aimed to strike a balance between keeping people informed without overloading them with information that they would not have time to read, erring on the side of 'not giving them as much as perhaps they think they should have' (Information Manager). The broadest distribution occurs through the use of notice boards, while pieces of specific interest were distributed only to interested parties. Also, information circulates through informal discussion between staff. Materials were archived for reference, collated chronologically and by topic.

Routines of information collection and distribution demonstrated how the mass media were bound into the daily work of The Society. In the Campaigns team, great importance was attached to media coverage and interactions within the office were frequently directed by it. In a mundane way, routine use of the media provided a background to daily interactions: discussions and conversations often related to topics being covered in the news media (e.g., interest group propaganda, genetics and charity management) or interactions occurred as people searched to find a newspaper to read during their lunch break. In response to media coverage, the Campaigns team was required to undertake interaction with media representatives. A primary reason for monitoring coverage was to allow The Society to respond to issues in the public arena and to defend its position. During the fieldwork, the explicit evidence of The Society pro-actively defending its position was limited (a written response to a newspaper which did not get printed).

Much more prevalent were examples of reactive, ongoing and informative engagement between The Society and representatives of the media. The Campaigns team and Information and Research Unit spent a great deal of time 'fielding' general media enquiries. Local and national press and broadcasters contacted The Society to get secondary coverage of stories that had already broken (e.g., 'vegetarian propaganda', 'l lapsing vegetarians', 'B.S.E.', 'live exports' and 'exotic meats'). What this highlighted was that The Society engaged with media representatives to promote its cause, but frequently in a reactive manner.
Rarely was media coverage specifically 'promotional' (i.e., explicitly arguing the case for vegetarianism). For example, The Society was quoted in national newspaper over an issue of 'propaganda'. The report was about The Society's video, 'Food Without Fear', which had been shown by a teacher during an English lesson on techniques of persuasion:

For one young pupil [...] the graphic pictures of calves and chickens being put to death proved too much to bear. [...] They [her parents] believe it is evidence of creeping indoctrination in the nation's classrooms, with pupils being bombarded with politically correct views before they are equipped with the solid reasoning skills to decide for themselves what is right. (Mail on Sunday, 23 July 1995)

The Society was approached for comment by two local radio station and invited to contribute toward a 'follow-up' piece on BBC Radio Five. During these it argued for 'freedom of information' and the need to provide balance in the face of a well resourced meat lobby and food industry that give educational materials to schools. This example demonstrated that The Society was defending its right to propagate its opinion rather than promoting vegetarianism per se.

Many of the staff recognise that they dealt with the media in a reactive way:

[...] media involvement is important, but the media seem to approach us, rather than us approaching the media. (Campaigner, Publications)

We don't actually generate any news [...] so we're dependent on other things, like a new research survey, nothing that we've done, but the media will come to us and ask for a comment [...]. But it's entirely, sort of, reactive to what's going on elsewhere. (Research Manager)

Inevitably it tends to be reactive stuff rather than proactive stuff [...] just the very nature of the time frames [...] and also the fact that we don't have any money (Public Relations Officer)

For reasons such as the nature of the organisation, media practices and limited finances, The Society was often reactive to the mass media (these will be explored further in the next section, 6.2.2). Consequently, it was usually approached by media representatives, rather than setting the agenda itself. Nevertheless, the mass media drew upon The Society's expert status and used it as an information source.

As the established guardian of vegetarianism in the UK, I enquired if The Society was recognised by media representatives as a source of information:

Most normal journalists would, yeah. I mean the columnists tend to be ...
a bit ... anti, quite simply because that's what they do. But there is no-one else to turn to really..., there's only the British Nutrition Foundation, or people like that.

(Information Manager)

It was the obvious place to get a vegetarian viewpoint. Consequently, examples of media approaches were many, ranging from national broadcasters to local newspapers. The span of topics is equally wide, including agricultural land use, school propaganda, genetics, food production, exotic meat, food and lifestyle issues and B.S.E. A BBC television series entitled 'Meat' used The Society's Campaigns Director to argue the vegetarian case. Other broadcasters approached The Society to conduct interviews, appear for comment or to join debates. There were frequent telephone requests from media representatives for information and comment.

The Society was aware of its status as a source. It had prepared 'press notes' for central campaigning issues (health, animal welfare and the environment). These were synopses of key arguments supported with statistics and quotes. The press notes (and The Society's 'Information Sheets') were used as the basis for answering journalists queries on campaigning issues. Outside of the Campaigns team, the Public Relations Officer also received attention from the mass media. This was mainly requests from 'food and lifestyle' journalists. For example, a local paper wrote requesting 'copy' and photographs on food and drink related topics as it was launching a family/lifestyle supplement. In this respect, the PR Officer explained that work written by staff at The Society can appear 'under other peoples by-lines'. Thus, although in a different way to Campaigns, The Society's outlook and opinions were employed by media representatives.

The Society engaged with media representatives in a number of ways. To 'keep in-touch' with the social world which it aimed to change, it was informed by the information which came from the mass media. Media awareness pervaded The Society's work: as a means to information, but also in routine activities. It reacted to media stories to defend its position, but was recognised by media representatives as a source of information for vegetarianism. Media related activity was commonplace and the chance of media exposure was considered an appropriate means of promotion.
In this section I consider The Society's attempts to shape media relations and the limitations on its ability to direct media coverage. I introduce the practice of 'blending objectives', where knowledge of media values and practices was used to gain coverage (by presenting information in a way which media representatives would find interesting and usable). Aspects of this evidence was gathered at the 'Local Action Weekend', which The Society co-hosted with Animal Aid (see Chapter Three). A primary theme was the mass media and seminars on this were presented and facilitated by representatives from both organisations. The advice and discussions provided evidence of the knowledge, strategies and activities of these organisations with regard to the mass media. Here, advice given Local Action Weekend (henceforth, L.A.W) is interspersed with routine activities at The Society.

Publicity about the issues of vegetarianism was considered a central part of campaigning:

When campaigning, getting maximum publicity for the key issues is the main object. Successful publicity enhances all your other efforts [...] ('Guidelines for Local Groups: Press and Publicity', The Vegetarian Society)

The mass media was considered a 'main vehicle' for promoting vegetarianism because of the audience size and geographical scope. The Campaigns Director suggested that 'the spread of information has been essential ... it has the ability to dispel myths about meat eating'. Also the imagery of television can be very powerful:

information that people receive, not particularly from us, but just in the media [...] maybe somebody's seen a documentary about the meat industry [...] that's always the classic thing [...]. Maybe an issue that people weren't aware of or didn't want to be aware of and you actually see it on TV [...]. It's making people actually think about issues. (Research Manager)

The active engagement between The Society and media representatives was clearest when it was attempting to influence media coverage.

It was recognised that gaining access to the media required resources, most importantly staff and income. I address the issue of funding in the following section on dilemmas, but it was notable that at least four employees of The Society had arrived with previous
experience of dealing with the mass media. The Society's Campaigns Director felt that certain knowledge was needed to ensure effective interaction with media representatives. This included awareness of the media's organisational practices (especially deadlines) and identifying contacts. Exploiting potential opportunities to convey The Society's message was seen to involve a comparative knowledge of the practices and values of different media outlets.

To explain, animal advocacy was recognised as peripheral to the major news media. The Society's material did appear in the national press, but more usually under the 'feature' sections (health, food, lifestyle or environment). Accordingly, The Society did not consider the mass media to be solely about 'creating' news stories. As national news interest was rare, L.A.W. delegates were advised to use their local media, linking material to current headlines or local interest:

Look for a local angle as much as possible, editors of local newspapers are much more interested in what's happening in their area than in national events and news. ('Guidelines for Local Groups: Press and Publicity', The Vegetarian Society)

L.A.W. delegates were also advised to use the 'well read, relatively unadulterated' letters page in the local press, which The Society consider 'an effective way of obtaining free publicity which is open to all' ('Guidelines for Local Groups: Press and Publicity', The Vegetarian Society). A comparative knowledge of different 'formats' was also promoted. When giving recorded interviews, delegates were told to be repetitive with important points as this draws attention to them during the editing process. For a time-constrained live format, a more direct approach was suggested. They were advised to take charge, be assertive and set their own agenda.

There was also an awareness of the importance of media values. Animal Aid's Campaigns Director explained in a seminar presentation that the media was a business, producing and disseminating products: 'what sells is gossip, conflict, sex, drama and the weird and unexpected.' He advised to shape output according to a media which are not interested in 'mundane [animal] welfare issues.' This attitude was supported by a L.A.W. delegate in the discussions that followed. He suggested that: 'news is very contrived, so we might as well take part in that contrivance!' Where there was a mismatch between the issues of
interest to *The Society* (or Animal Aid) and the values and practices of the mass media, attempts were made to bridge the gap. This was termed 'blending objectives'.

Blending objectives involved the source (e.g., *The Society*) 'moulding' its output to fit with media values and practices:

Serve them up what we know to be important, but in a form they'll find both reliable and appealing. (L.A.W. 'How the media works' seminar presented by Campaigns Director, Animal Aid)

The 'press release' (a proactive statement, circulated to an extensive range of media organisations and contacts) was a good example. It should follow a standard format which presented the information which was thorough, easily identifiable and to the point. However, *The Society* was aware that newsrooms receive many press releases everyday and that it needed to make its 'news' stand out. Hints at 'officiality', catchy headlines, links to local or topical events and follow up phone calls were all ploys suggested to L.A.W. delegates to help improve their chances of coverage. However, the surest way of getting coverage was to have 'a contact' at the newspaper.

Cultivating media contacts was a piece of advice that *The Society* recommended to local groups:

If you discover some local journalists are particularly interested in vegetarianism [...] send them an individual copy of your press release in addition to any addressed generally to the publication they work for. [...] Journalists often do freelance work on the subjects that interest them most so you never know what opportunities may open up if you take the trouble to send regular information updates. ('Guidelines for Local Groups: Press and Publicity', The Vegetarian Society)

L.A.W. delegates were also encouraged to engage with media representatives. Journalists were portrayed as being able to convey information 'almost without cost, but only if the issue was made topical or interesting' (L.A.W. 'How the media works' seminar presented by Campaigns Director, Animal Aid).

It is very important that you cultivate your press contacts. Try and find someone who is sympathetic to the cause and keep them updated as to your activities. This 'social' contact is probably best conducted by phone or in person. ('The Media', Animal Aid Fact sheet M.1)

At *The Society* there was evidence of relations across a range of media industry representatives. A 'friendly' magazine journalist was given immediate and extensive help
and advice for a piece she was preparing on 'exotic' meats. Being 'known' by The Society staff had the effect of gaining privilege or priority. These relationships seemed to be developed to benefit of both parties. In another example, a television journalist who had been sent some materials by The Society wrote back expressing her thanks and offered future assistance.

Press releases and media contacts were both tools which blend the objectives of the source and the media representatives. 'Blending objectives' underlined a mutual benefit in the relation between The Society and the mass media. To its advantage, The Society was the expert in vegetarianism; it had information that media representatives required. This status was underlined for local activists at a L.A.W. seminar:

If they ask you to comment there and then, delay them, say you need more time. If they are professionals, they will accept that. They may try and get you to comment immediately to make it easier on themselves ... they may only have a short space of time to get the piece out. But they'll almost expect you to say you need some time ... breathing space. Let them get on with something else! (L.A.W. 'How the media works' seminar presented by Campaigns Director, Animal Aid)

Implicit in this advice was the privileged position of information sources and their right to demand professional courtesy. However, the limitations of the source's power was recognised as this advice carried another insinuation: journalistic self interest. Media representatives (trying to meet their deadlines) were seen as trying to take advantage of situations. A campaigner at The Society complained how a radio journalist had pre-empted an interview by trying to direct the sort of answer he wanted her to give. She believed that he had already decided on his 'angle' and wanted her to say the right thing simply to fit in.

The self-interest of journalists was seen in other ways. Animal Aid's Campaigns Director (a former journalist himself) suggested:

[Some journalists] consider it legitimate to lie and justify it in the public interest. Do not say anything 'off the record' [...] if an unknown journalist presents himself as an ally, assume he's neutral or hostile. (L.A.W. 'How the media works' seminar presented by Campaigns Director, Animal Aid)

More often media self-interest was more mundane. At the L.A.W. an experienced 'independent campaigner' (invited to speak because of his media experience) explained:

The interviewer probably won't even be paying attention to what you are saying. they'll be cueing up the next interviewee or caller, fiddling around with jingle
cartridges or whatever. They'll look up occasionally and go 'uhuh' or 'ummmm' and then go back to whatever it was they were doing, leaving you talking away to yourself. (L.A.W. 'Media Skills Workshop' seminar presented by an 'independent campaigner')

While media representatives may serve their own interests, it was recognised that this can sometimes be an aid to inexperienced campaigners. He suggested that, in recorded formats, it would be likely that 'flustered interviewees' would be edited, while on a live broadcast, interviewers would assist interviewees if problems arose. This was 'not out of any great generosity, but because the interview will look bad if they don't' ('Media Skills Workshop' seminar presented by an 'independent campaigner').

Aside from journalistic self-interest, other examples highlighted the sort of limitations influencing media coverage. Not least of these was more important news events:

[...] we did a great press release once, but it coincided with the Hungerford massacre. You can't account for those sort of things. (L.A.W. 'How the media works' seminar, comment by a local activist)

Attempts to direct media coverage take place within broader constraints; other issues and events hold priority for the news media and the public. More important news events were beyond control, however, to help overcome uncertainty The Society planned output for key campaigns. The strategies for media coverage for National Vegetarian Week drew a distinction between 'lifestyle stories' and 'hard news'. In the promotion of lifestyle stories the campaign employed celebrities, largely pop stars and television personalities. 'Mediagenic' people provide familiar names to attract interest, with photographs providing a visual element.

The Society also released a 'nugget of hard news', which concerned the amount of money vegetarianism would save the National Health Service because of the reduced rates of heart disease and cancer associated with the diet. The press release received no coverage and it was recognised that one factor this failure was that issues can also be 'mediagenic'. Media values govern which issues are used. This was also dependent on the type of media, for example, the local press and lifestyle magazines 'don't go for the down-side of vegetarianism':

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The animal welfare and environmental destruction ... it tends to be very low profile in the regional press... it's not their bag really. [...] they prefer the health aspect, they prefer [...] the delicious vegetables ... you know, people dressing up as bunches of grapes with purple balloons and that sort of nonsense. (Public Relations Officer)

It was accepted that the values which govern the selection and presentation of mass media content were beyond the control of The Society.

I have shown how The Society promoted media relations by 'blending objectives'. This meant manipulating media relations included using standardised media procedures (practices and values) and developing industry contacts. It employed practical information to enhance chances of coverage. However, some of the limitations on its ability to direct media coverage were also noted: the self-interest of those working in the mass media, other news stories and media values ('mediagenic' issues). Further limitations will be addressed in the following section where The Society's approach of active engagement will be shown to raise dilemmas.

6.2.3 Emerging dilemmas

There were dilemmas involved in using the mass media as a vehicle for communicating the messages which The Society wanted to promote. Firstly, while achieving coverage was seen as a very positive contribution to campaigning, it was recognised that the mass media had a certain approach (as noted above in the recognition of media 'values'). Many of the staff recognised that sections of the media focused on appearance rather than substance:

There's always a battle here to run it [NVW] as a softer, lifestyle thing. Again, Veg Week [NVW] has proved that it is very easy to get nice, bubbly, positive press coverage. (Campaigner, Publications)

There is a very voracious appetite among local newspapers for vegetarian issues, but they still like the 'feel-good' [...] they tend to phone up at Christmas and Easter and want a vegetarian recipe. (Public Relations Officer)

As noted in the last section, coverage for the lifestyle issues during NVW was good, but the 'hard news' received no coverage. Utilising the mass media as a vehicle for campaigning not only restricted the style and content of messages which could be communicated, but also the sort of campaigns which could be run.
Thus, using mass media outlets for campaigning was seen to influence the depth, complexity and nature of communications. One widely recognised example of this was the 'sound bite':

 [...] every week there is something on television [...], but you still ... you tend to get your ten minute slot and they want the sound bite. They don't want to [...] go into the positive benefits of it, it's just, you know, a nice bit of controversy. (Public Relations Officer)

This style of media presentation has a limiting effect in terms of fully explaining campaign messages:

 [...] the Suffering Seas campaign was very media oriented, rather than information or research based. (Research Manager)

 [...] in terms of leaflets, it's all sort of media, like little sound bites. (Information Manager)

As noted in Chapter Five, the use of the environment and developing world arguments for vegetarianism was declining. Amongst other reasons, the Campaigns Director admitted that they were 'too complex to get over in a sound bite'. As the sound bite dominated media coverage, The Society conformed to this type of presentation to enhance its chances of coverage. As a consequence, internal debates existed at The Society around the issues of 'image' and 'detail' in coverage by the mass media.

Evidence of contemporary marketing methods were visible. The Society ran adverts in Elle magazine (targeting young women) and in tandem with a food manufacturer it advertised on the front page of a broadsheet newspaper (targeting 'wealthier' socio-economic groups).

We really need to be taking the message out more. [The Campaigns Director] wants to get advertising in things like Marie Clare and 19 and The Face and things to get more members among younger people. (Chief Executive)

These examples showed that The Society was increasingly 'targeting' its use of the mass media in order to capitalise on niche markets. Furthermore, there was evidence to suggest that other types of campaigning strategies had been learned from contemporary marketing:

We're planning an ad spend if I get the OK, which will not target the daily print media but will lodge copy with consumer magazines, where you 'live' for a lot longer. And the idea would be that we would create a furore about them, through them being controversial. (Campaigns Director)
The use of controversy to gain publicity can be regarded as further example of the predominance of image over detail.

This was problematic for some staff, as marketing ploys do little to spread information. For other staff, not only was it inevitable that the organisation use such techniques, it was actually preferable:

Too many groups muddle along with their manual type writer and their hearts on their sleeves and then are savaged by massive media machines [...] if you're going to be successful in the late twentieth century then you have to speak the language of the late twentieth century, and not of the early 1960's. (Campaigns Director)

In this vein of opinion, advertising and marketing were considered to be the tools by which The Society would communicate with the mass public. The promotion of vegetarianism was viewed as something which needed to be sold:

We're talking to the mass population and that requires some higher standards and I think that ... y'know, decent looking promotional material, hot ideas, a presentable appearance, being polite, being well spoken, being clued up on the facts, using the facts properly. All those are just high standards which anybody ought to have. Y'know, you can't turn up ... I mean I've seen veggies turn up at things, TV shows and stuff in cords and huge open neck shirts and just looking an utter disaster, and that is appalling .. it is letting vegetarianism down and that won't do. (Campaigns Director)

This demonstrated that public image was considered a very important aspect, but that the communication of the 'facts' remained important.

Apart from striking an appropriate balance between image and content, the relative weight given to the promotion of lifestyle, health, environment, developing world and animal welfare messages formed another debate. As demonstrated earlier in this chapter, The Society differentiated between campaign issues with regard to sources of funding (with the food industry helping to cover the costs of lifestyle and health issues). As a source of potential divide among the staff, the issue of methods of campaigning and relative emphasis on each theme was closely tied to the appropriate allocation of scarce financial resources. The limited financial resources inevitably magnified potential divides about the funding of campaigning as staff with diverse interests struggled to have these promoted.
Spending was viewed as a major factor in the reactive nature of much of *The Society's* campaigning. Income was a constraint on self-generated media activity at *The Society*:

> [...] you can't really plan big press campaigns if you don't have any money. You can fire out press releases, but even they cost a certain amount. (Public Relations Officer)

This problem was exacerbated by the relative wealth of *The Society's* 'opposition', the Meat and Livestock Commission (MLC):

> They [the MLC] may be able to spend £10 million on Recipes For Love, but we couldn't do anything on that sort of scale. (Campaigns Director)

> If you don't have a huge advertising spend to plan organised advertising campaigns, y'know, if you don't have £23 million like the Meat and Livestock Commission to spend, then access to a media that are hungry for news stories all the time is crucial, and a knowledge of that media is crucial as well. So in terms of communicating to the mass public, there are a number of below the line solutions of which press relations is probably one of the most important. (Campaigns Director)

This last opinion showed how *The Society* was constrained in its ability to successfully access the public (in the form of advertising) and so it needed to find alternative communication outlets. While the mass media presented opportunities for communication, this was regarded as second best in comparison to the advertising budgets of *The Society's* 'opponents'.

However, exploiting the potential of mass mediated communications outlets was not without its own implicit costs. Media awareness was very time consuming and thus, should be recognised as costly. I have noted the influence which the mass media had at *The Society*: output was monitored, information circulated, media enquiries were 'fielded' and where necessary reacted to, campaigns were designed to fit in with media values and relationships with representatives of the mass media were encouraged. Media awareness and activity were a 'below the line solution', but the true financial costs of active engagement would be difficult to calculate.

There were also dilemmas surrounding the issues of the legitimacy and credibility of *The Society* in eyes of media representatives. In terms of credibility, delegates at the L.A.W. were advised not to exaggerate, provide references where they could and remain polite or 'word will get around the newsroom that you are difficult and weird' (L.A.W. 'How the
media works’ seminar presented by Campaigns Director, Animal Aid). Scientific credibility was also important: The Society were keen to employ evidence from ‘legitimate’ studies and reports like ‘Vegetarian Vitality’. The use of scientific credibility and other ‘authoritative voices’ will be further addressed in Chapter Seven in relation to The Society’s approach to changing a globalised social environment.

Nevertheless, achieving legitimacy required more than scientific and organisational credibility. The extent to which The Society and its ideas were considered legitimate by the media representatives reflected its status as a peripheral interest group. The Society campaigned on health, environment, food and farming, yet media representatives only approached it when there was an explicit vegetarian context. Its interest group status implied a bias which media representatives (with their own responsibilities and agenda) could not ignore. Further, the fractious nature of the animal advocacy movement (shown in Chapter Four) meant that no unified position can be presented to the mass media (again undermining legitimacy). Also, animal advocacy addressed issues which were not the concern of the mass population. Factory farming, vivisection and eating meat were implicitly or explicitly condoned by the majority of the population. Conceivably, a united front in animal advocacy and a swing in public opinion would aid legitimacy, but then media attention would be likely to turn to inconsistencies, contradictions and extremism.

These points illustrate that legitimacy and credibility were dependent upon interaction. Good relations with the media representatives were required to enhance credibility. The legitimacy of the organisation’s viewpoint was a more complex negotiation between The Society’s beliefs, media activity and the public at large. Legitimacy was not in the hands of The Society. Media representatives worked within a social world where meat eating is the norm and thus, The Society’s viewpoint remained that of a minority. The dilemmas identified around presentation, finance and legitimacy/credibility demonstrated that engagement with the mass media was not without difficulties. In section 6.2.5, these issues will be shown as expressions of social relations in a globalised world.
6.2.4 Summary of media relations

As an agent of change it was imperative that The Society be in touch with the social world. Awareness of contemporary issues and public perceptions were contexts which shaped The Society's outlook and the mass media helped to provide this information. Media related activity was commonplace and media awareness pervaded The Society's routine work. In this way, it was reactive to the mass media, but in other respects it was proactive. Media representatives recognised it as an 'authoritative' source of information and the chance of media exposure was considered an appropriate vehicle for promoting the cause. 'Blending objectives' was manipulating media relations by employing practical information of media procedures to enhance chances of coverage. Particularly important was comparative knowledge of media practices and values which informed the selection and presentation of materials. Limitations on its ability to achieve coverage included the self-interest of mass media professionals, other news stories and media values ('mediagenic' issues).

There were also dilemmas which arose out of engagement, most of which related to The Society's status as a minority interest group. The first were impacts upon the style, tone and nature of communications when using the mass media as a vehicle for communications. The depth and complexity of issues surrounding vegetarianism were lost in the 'sound bite' coverage which dominate the mass media. There was internal debate over which issues to promote, reflecting the financial constraints upon The Society in relation to its main 'opponent', the Meat and Livestock Commission. Finally legitimacy and credibility had to be achieved in negotiation with media representatives.

Negotiation was visible where The Society sought to manipulate the media toward its own ends. However, the pervasive and powerful mass media held most of the advantages in an uneven partnership. Frequently, The Society was directed by the demands of the mass media. It organised itself to be media aware and shaped its campaigns to be appealing. Like in its food industry relations, the attitude of The Society was pragmatic. Engaging with the mass media was considered a worthwhile exercise for raising public awareness, but it was recognised the 'rules of engagement' were not always to The Society's advantage.
As the mass media were considered the vehicle for reaching a widely dispersed audience, 'blending objectives' aimed to ensure *The Society's* message received coverage. However, this involved hidden costs in time and effort, could affect the nature of communication and required the continued negotiation of legitimacy and credibility.

6.2.5 Evidence of ongoing globalisation

The globalisation of communications systems, in particular the mass media, stems from the historical and contemporary economic and political power of the 'West' (although simple uni-directional media imperialism is rejected). Individuals are active recipients of mass mediated information and creators of the mass media output; their routine interactions make up the continuing, tangible existence of social systems. Social systems, as flows of interrelated social relations, can be unacknowledged. However, they are reproduced by the interlacing of many situated decisions and actions.

In this case, the promotion of social change was taking place within a national context. *The Society* promoted vegetarianism in the UK from its base in Altrincham by using national and local media coverage. Accordingly, there are limits on the amount of direct reproduction of globalised social systems which can be evidenced from this case study. As globalised social systems are the outcome of many geographically dispersed social relations, the impact of any one example on the overarching system can be difficult to trace. While some examples are more 'global' than others (e.g., the activities of a transnational organisation), the present case was situated nationally. As a consequence, I encountered little direct evidence of the actual global spread of the mass media.

In other words, for the simple reason that the globalised context of the mass media was not a matter of concern for *The Society*, this was not open to observation. However, the lack of directly global evidence does not refute the existence of a global backdrop to situated action. As Axford suggests, globalisation can be 'indirect and unconscious' (1995: 5) and hidden from the actors involved 'by the sheer taken-for-granted-ness of routine actions and interactions' (1995: 4). *The Society* was shown to routinely use the mass
media as a source of information and a vehicle for communication. The examples demonstrated negotiation between social actors which reinforces ideas of routine, active production and reproduction of social systems. To make the connection explicit, when interacting with representatives from the mass media, *The Society* was an active participant in a globalised social system.

An indication of the globalised context behind negotiated relations were the emerging dilemmas. As I introduced in Chapter Two, one issue which arises from the globalisation of the mass media was declining control at the national level, particularly debates over censorship. In one example above (the 'Food Without Fear' video being used in a school), the issue of censorship was raised at *The Society*. Accusations of propagandising were countered by the Campaigns Director by reference to notions of 'freedom of information' and the need for 'balance' in the face of sponsorship of educational materials by multinational food companies with their own agenda (consumer loyalty and profit). Here *The Society* was not engaged in arguments about vegetarianism. Instead, it was drawn into a complex debate about the distribution and control of information, the freedom of speech (as a 'universal' right) and educational sponsorship by multinational food companies.

A second issue related to the globalisation of the mass media was the proliferation of communications outlets and the dominance of core media values, particularly sensationalism and sound bites. While access to the mass media was viewed as open to negotiation, this was recognised as occurring within existing boundaries. As the mass media appear to be dominated by sensationalism and sound bites, *The Society* presented its materials accordingly with the hope of securing coverage. While negotiated engagement was seen by some staff as an important way to promote the cause, this pragmatic outlook was not without a price. Examples showed how instigating change through engagement required flexibility over activities, output and expectations and was the source of dilemmas. This pragmatic outlook and its dilemmas are further explored in Chapter Seven.
Other links can be made to the theoretical framework introduced in Chapter Two, particularly the idea of the ongoing reproduction of globalisation through negotiated relations. Blending objectives was an example of how ongoing globalisation can simply be the unwitting reproduction of 'unacknowledged conditions'. *The Society* attempted to secure coverage by making its information fit the expectations of those working in the mass media. By blending objectives, *The Society* actively perpetuated the dominant values and practices of the mass media and the superficial coverage of its own issues. As was shown, some staff at *The Society* complained of this 'media-oriented' campaigning which promoted 'image' over 'detail'. Accordingly, emerging debates at *The Society* were reflective of problems arising out of globalised systems of mass media.

*The Society*'s desire to promote social change encouraged engagement with those who can provide the means of spreading its campaigning messages. This reflected detraditionalisation and the encouragement of dialogue, especially with some journalists. However, this 'dialogical' element should not be overplayed. Studies into relations between journalists and their 'sources' reveal instrumentalism on the part of both parties (See for example, Molotch and Lester, 1974). In the creation of media stories, both parties have much to gain from interaction. Thus, any evidence of dialogue was tinged with professional self-interest (further considered in Chapter Eight).

Staff also commented upon the reactive nature of relations and even when *The Society* was being pro-active, decisions over access still resided with media representatives, or involved following established media values and practices. Realistically, a lack of organisational resources and crucial legitimacy can be seen as a limit to potential success. While *The Society* was frequently approached as a source of information on vegetarianism, there were severe limits on its power and status in relation to the representatives of the mass media. Effectively, both as a source of information and a vehicle for mass communications, media representatives were in possession of the resources which *The Society* required.

Institutional reflexivity has been introduced as indicative of globalisation (Chapter One) and mass communications were shown to encourage a reflexive relation with the social
world which provided a context for institutional reproduction on a global scale (Chapter Two). The use of the mass media as a source of information showed evidence of such reflexive relations. The Society monitored of its own image and that of vegetarianism. The output of the mass media helped The Society to keep informed of current debates and issues. This knowledge then shaped its outlook, strategies and working knowledge. Above I qualified the inferences which can be made about the experiences of The Society within a global context. Again, examples of reflexive relations and institutional reproduction on a global scale were not overt. However, media coverage of issues like 'exotic meats', the 'B.S.E crisis' and 'live exports' all had implicit connotations which stretch experience and knowledge beyond local or national contexts.

Chapter summary

In this chapter I have examined relations between The Society and representatives of the food industry and mass media. This detailed an active engagement, driven by the aims of The Society; it was instrumental, seeking to instigate change by developing relations with parties useful to its ends. These relations contributed to the production and reproduction of globalised social systems. While an organisation promoting social change was negotiating for its own advantage, an 'unintended consequence' was an active contribution to the continuing production and reproduction of social systems it engaged with. However, the social systems of food and mass communications extend far beyond the boundaries of interrelations which were open to investigation in this case study.

Overtly, The Society contributed to globalised social systems of food and communications in a limited way (related to its status as a peripheral social actor and a national organisation). However, active and instrumental engagement with external parties was evidence that the social systems are not simply imposed but rather actively reproduced. Globalised food and communications systems were a context and outcome of The Society's routine social activity. The Society's instrumental action contributed to ongoing globalisation by adding to the continued reproduction of globalised social systems. Relations with the food industry reproduced global systems by encouraging mass produced
vegetarian products and a demand for foods from across the world. The practices and values of the globalised mass media were reproduced as *The Society* attempted to gain coverage by blending objectives.

This was also visible in dilemmas, which arose as a result of a mismatch of agendas. With the food industry, a contradiction arose when engaging with parties who were implicitly or explicitly involved with the meat industry. With the mass media, *The Society* was drawn into presenting image over detail in order to improve its chance of gaining coverage. In both cases, it was trying to exert influence by fitting into the broader social environment. This was related to power and legitimacy. I have recognised that vegetarianism is a minority interest and that the organisation was instigating social change with limited economic resources. Nevertheless (posed against the alternative of withdrawing from the social environment), encouraging change from within was considered an appropriate strategy for promoting vegetarianism. Pursuing engagement from a position of limited power and legitimacy required the pragmatic resolution of dilemmas. *The Society* had to justify how campaigning methods which presented dilemmas still promoted the end of vegetarianism.

To underline the negotiated and fluid nature of ongoing globalisation, I can re-iterate the evidence from both Chapters Five and Six. From the former, the contexts of global awareness and individuals 'making a difference' were used in campaigning despite the underlying complexities. In this chapter, dealings with the food industry continued regardless of dilemmas and the mass media was a useful vehicle for communication despite limitations on style and depth. The awareness of problems did not preclude continuing activities, but the dilemmas were not simply ignored. Instead, *The Society* persevered in its routine work driven by its aims and objectives with emerging dilemmas as a matter of ongoing discussion. Shifting strategies occurred over time: inappropriate campaigns materials were re-designed, the food industry dilemma was integrated into a differentiated campaigning strategy and the mass media were targeted as niches.
Institutional reflexivity explains how information and contexts were monitored by *The Society* and its activities shifted to achieve desired outcomes. In a changing social environment, organisations must change to stay relevant. In some circumstances *The Society* was simple reactive to its social environment. However, it was also active in negotiating for its ends. It was not simply the passive recipient of a changing social context, but was active in re-shaping itself. This was shown in the ongoing internal questioning over its changing role, between buying in and selling out. In the next chapter I will show how the dilemmas of engagement and their pragmatic resolution reflected a wider challenge posed to *The Society* by detraditionalisation and a post-traditional (global) social environment. The dilemmas and their resolution just described were a surface incarnation of deeper challenges to the role and identity of *The Society*. 
CHAPTER SEVEN
THE IMPACT OF GLOBALISATION UPON THE SOCIETY'S SELF-IMAGE AND ROLE

*The Society's* role was to instigate social change in two ways: it actively engaged with the social world to promote the cause of vegetarianism and it supported existing vegetarians. In this chapter I present evidence that it was recognised within *The Society* that challenges were being posed to its future role. I argue that changing perceptions of *The Society's* role were evidence of a shift in the social world. The debates reflected the impacts of globalisation upon the social world, particularly the context of a post-traditional social order. Within this context, socio-cultural pluralism and the control of information were issues which altered the social environment within which *The Society* worked. The pursuit of legitimacy by using pervasive values and the repositioning of vegetarianism into the 'mainstream' were future strategies for encouraging social change.

To show this as part of ongoing globalisation I recall concepts of relativisation, institutional reflexivity and detraditionalisation. Relativisation (the re-positioning of identity and culture in relation to awareness of others) has created problems for an organisation promoting an ethical position within a pluralised social world. Institutional reflexivity (the re-assessment of orientations in relation to changes in the social environment) is used to explain how activities within the organisation were related to its social context. I illustrate the globalised nature of that social context by showing evidence of detraditionalisation and a post-traditional social order (in which dialogue and choice are encouraged). Prior to presenting the evidence, I shall locate this chapter within the context of the thesis and introduce an ideal-typical characterisation used to analyse the data.

7.1 An Ideal-typical Characterisation: Post-traditional and Fundamental Approaches

Ongoing globalisation (reflected in internal debates at *The Society*) is related to the shifting of modern contexts toward detraditional ones. To explain the link between the debates
over *The Society's* role and the shifting social world I present an 'ideal-typical' characterisation of post-traditional and fundamental approaches to instigating change (defined presently). An ideal-type 'refers to the construction of certain elements of reality into a logically precise conception' (Gerth and Mills, 1948:59) for analytical purposes. Max Weber deployed ideal types as benchmarks against which specific instances could be compared. He had aimed to make explicit the use of generalised concepts by social scientists and to allow better scope for comparative analysis. The choice, as Weber saw it, was between:

logically controlled and unambiguous conceptions, which are thus removed from historical reality, or of using less precise concepts, which are more closely geared to the empirical world. (Gerth and Mills, 1948: 59)

Ideal types are analytical tools; characterisations formed around general attributes. They do not reflect the complexities of individual cases, but do create a standard for comparison.

The ideal type in this analysis regards perceptions about *The Society's* future role and connects with the concept of detraditionalisation detailed in Chapter One (section 1.3.3). I noted that Giddens (1994) distinguishes between two types of social outlook: post-traditional and fundamental. The former justify their stance within a global social order, while the latter merely assert their beliefs and resist entering into such 'dialogue'. While this scheme could be applied to characterise the approaches to instigating change visible throughout *The Society* (from Council members to local activists and members), it is predominantly the outlooks of staff which are evidenced. Within these, some people held clear opinions, others had none and some espoused views which did not correspond directly to the terms of the ideal types. This does not imply self-contradiction, but merely reinforces that ideal types are analytical characterisations which simplify the complexities of individual instances.

A tension existed between fundamental and post-traditional approaches to promoting vegetarianism. The fundamental approach viewed *The Society* and vegetarianism as distinct from the rest of the social world. Of course, converts were encouraged and welcomed, but they must subscribe to the values and norms of *The Society*. It was like a club, whose legitimacy rested on its historical foundation as the first organisation
promoting vegetarianism in the UK. From this 'inward-looking', dogmatic perspective. *The Society* was the guardian of official vegetarianism that retained control over centralised knowledge and its own boundaries. The post-traditional approach viewed *The Society* as having a more open role, with less control over the boundaries of vegetarianism. Knowledge about the diet was recognised as widely available and no longer specialist. This approach was less stringent over the pace at which people adopted vegetarianism (embracing an 'incrementalist' approach). It was outward looking, pragmatic, played on populism and confronted the perceived practical difficulties of vegetarianism as well as its ideal goals.

*The Society*'s role as an organisation instigating change was undergoing re-assessment in light of ongoing globalisation. As I showed in Chapter Five, the use of global language and imagery was changing to account for complexity, local relevance and the link between individual action and global problems. In Chapter Six, I showed *The Society* differentiated between sources of funding to justify food industry sponsorship and recognised the limitations of mass mediated campaigns. Such dilemmas and their ongoing resolution were evidence of an organisation adjusting itself in the light of changing external circumstance. The tension between the fundamental and post-traditional outlooks was further evidence of *The Society*'s reflexive engagement with a changing social world.

The ideal-type polarises *The Society* along lines indicated in the last chapter: 'buying in' versus 'selling out'. For the post-traditional approach social change would come through engagement, by 'buying in'. A fundamental approach actively promoted change, but tried to maintain clear ethical boundaries to prevent *The Society* from 'selling out'. In Chapter Six I showed that dilemmas arose when instigating change through active engagement. The benefits of 'buying in' had to be balanced against the constraints which then arose, namely 'selling out' the aims of *The Society*. The quandaries which arose out of relations with the food industry and the mass media were resolved pragmatically. This pragmatism showed the dominance of a post-traditional approach during the case study fieldwork.
Further, this ideal-typical polarisation at The Society reflected post-traditional society and demonstrated how ongoing globalisation was challenging its role. The Society currently had a dual role: to represent the collective interests of its members and to increase the number of vegetarians through campaigning. This dual role required three functions: supporting existing vegetarians (particularly those who were members, but indirectly other vegetarians), converting people and generating new members for The Society itself. These were facilitated by the same activities, i.e., campaigning, the V symbol, information and research. All of these sought to enable converts in their dietary choice (through support and advice), convince others to become vegetarian by raising awareness and push converts into becoming members of The Society by promoting its benefits. However, while the aims and objectives, organisational hierarchies and routines of work provided continuity, The Society was subtly shifting to remain resonant with the social world it aimed to change.

It was necessary for an organisation promoting change to be aware of its public profile. By monitoring the image of vegetarianism and the organisation, The Society kept abreast of the changing social climate. I employ the internal debates over The Society's roles as a kind of barometer to show the changing nature of the external world. The Society adjusted through the process of reflexive monitoring. In order to be successful, the organisation was positioning itself as relevant to the outside world and assessing the extent to which it achieved its own aims. The ideal-type reflects the two poles of the discussion about how The Society should aim to create social change: engage versus disengage, pragmatism versus dogmatism, 'buying in' versus 'selling out'. I contend The Society was moving toward the former reflecting its post-traditional social setting and the globalising influence of detraditionalisation.

I illustrate this link between The Society and ongoing globalisation by reference to two interrelated trends. 'Information saturation' is the increased volume and rapid turnover of information related to the globalisation of communications systems, improved information flows and the proliferation of the mass media. This raises issues regarding the control of information as new technology (e.g., satellites and the internet) have the potential to by-
pass established regulatory powers. Mass communication has been influential in
globalisation as it nurtured a reflexive recognition of the world as a whole (Giddens, 1990: 77) which relates to a second trend. 'Socio-cultural pluralism' is encouraged by the
burgeoning flows of information and its reflexive qualities. Information contributes to
awareness of 'others' and relativisation. However, to communicate information about
complex and contextualised events, it is (necessarily) simplified and isolated to enable it to
be imparted to mass audiences (recognised in the evidence in Chapter Six).

While I argue that socio-cultural pluralism was an outlook encouraged by globalisation,
this requires some qualification. Chapter Two explained the global nature of the news
agencies (Boyd-Barrett and Rantanen, 1998) and how coverage was constructed to be
relevant at the national and local level (Sreberny-Mohammadi, 1995). These were useful
examples of globalised social systems, within which individuals experience globalisation
in different ways. Globalisation is produced and reproduced within unacknowledged
conditions and the experience of globalisation is dependent upon existing social relations.
It is thus necessary to re-emphasise the social context of the current case study as a
'Western', liberal democratic, capitalist nation-state (indicated in Chapter One as enabling a
post-traditional social order). This was the context through which The Society's
experiences of globalisation were refracted.

Relating socio-cultural pluralism and information saturation to globalisation connects the
changing social environment to the struggle between (ideal-typical) fundamental and post-
traditional outlooks within The Society. This tension over roles and relations was
attributable to The Society's reflexive re-positioning within a globalised world.
Summarily, globalisation was encouraging a post-traditional outlook in opposition to a
fundamental outlook which anchored The Society to its aims and thus the past. This does
not imply that the fundamental outlook was 'holding back' The Society. Instead, as
McLennan notes, such opposition is morally vital as a counterpoint to pragmatic pluralism:
it gives a longer term point of view (1995: 100). In the following examples I explore
ongoing globalisation in the changing demands made upon The Society in a post-
traditional social setting.
Expressed simply, I demonstrate that the ideal-typical divide over The Society's role was an expression of the impact of globalisation. Socio-cultural pluralism and information saturation were the social conditions which framed The Society's work and thus, internal debates were expressions of changes related to these globalising trends. Four themes will be presented:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Previous role (fundamental)</th>
<th>Challenge (post-traditional)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1) setting ethical boundaries</td>
<td>blurred by pluralism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) knowledge holder</td>
<td>information freely available</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3) taking the moral 'high ground'</td>
<td>dialogue to establish legitimacy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4) support system for 'outsiders'</td>
<td>accepted in 'mainstream'</td>
</tr>
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The divide between post-traditional (outward looking and pragmatic) and fundamental (inward looking and dogmatic) attitudes will be used to reveal the impact of globalisation on the established role of The Society.

7.2 Socio-cultural Pluralism, Ethical Boundaries and Individual/Collective Action

With regard to ethical boundaries, challenges to The Society's role arose from a number of issues, but in the context of globalisation socio-cultural pluralism was of prime interest. However, I needed to separate this from ongoing changes to technology and practice and the context of vegetarianism in an ethical hierarchy (see Chapter Four). Vegetarianism was viewed by some as a partial step toward ethical consumption. As the official guardian, The Society had to bear the brunt of criticism from inside and outside of animal advocacy for the ethical inconsistencies of vegetarianism per se. Also, The Society had to orient itself toward changes to technology and farming practice (e.g., intensive egg farming and genetic modification). The challenges which arose from these inter-related issues can be witnessed in two arenas: firstly, The Society's position relative an ethical hierarchy and second, with regard to its organisation and practice.
7.2.1 The position of The Society within an ethical hierarchy

In Chapter Four I showed that while many people agree that animals are mistreated, the breadth of moral, philosophical and practical solutions to the problem have often caused animosity between individual or collective actors. These were related to an ethical hierarchy and the idea of a vegetarian career which could change over time (Beardsworth and Keil, 1991). In the following examples I demonstrate the disagreements which occurred and the extent to which socio-cultural pluralism impacted on these debates.

It was recognised within the broad animal advocacy movement that a problem existed regarding inter-relations between organisations. One useful example in the animal advocacy literature pleaded for greater co-operation, particularly along the animal rights/welfare schism:

The former often denigrate the latter for being too timid and not sufficiently committed to personal sacrifice to ensure greater equality for other animals. The Vegan Police working out of the animal rights division wear their arrest records for civil disobedience on behalf of animals like medals of honour and condemn those who continue to wear leather or to consume animal products. (Don Barnes: 'Toward kinship. The Dangers of Elitism' in Animals' Agenda Vol. 15 No. 2)

The term 'The Vegan Police' expresses the authoritarianism disliked by 'moderate' (post-traditional) activists (although derisory remarks on behalf of the former would seem to preclude rather than encourage co-operation). Similar sentiments were expressed at The Society:

If a 15 year old has given up meat, then they've done a massively positive thing [...] and so one thing that does antagonise me is people who are slightly more established in the animal rights movement who would then seek to judge, within a matter of months, if they still consumed dairy products, or still eat eggs, or still wear leather. That's wrong [...] it's a slow old process. (Campaigns Director)

I think it's more important to get people to be vegetarian than to be vegan, because you make you own decision when you go vegan and there aren't that many that become vegan immediately. [...] I think a lot of vegans do more harm than good to veganism, by being too adamant. (Chair of Council)

The post-traditional/ fundamental divide (reflected above at The Society and in broader animal advocacy) raised questions regarding the role of The Society as an organisation within an ethical hierarchy.
The problem (as expressed in Chapter Four) was the relation between individual preferences and organisational boundaries. At a personal level, vegetarianism was a change which requires individual commitment. At The Society it was recognised that it was difficult to reconcile fundamental aspirations with promoting an incrementalist (post-traditional) approach to instigating change. Post-traditionalists viewed veganism as 'a bridge too far' for initial converts, while vegetarianism was considered a more manageable first step:

The leap to becoming a vegetarian ... I don't think is a huge leap ... and I think presenting it as a huge leap is self-defeating ... but, I think veganism is a big leap for a lot of people. (Chair of Council)

To explain this attitude I must give some insight into how people become vegetarian (while this was not the purpose of this research, I can give some indications). This cannot be achieved by asking 'why are people vegetarian?', as motives give minimal understanding into the process of abstention from meat. The process of 'becoming' needs to be comprehended as a personal event: the question becomes 'how are people vegetarian?'.

As a personal event the process will be variable, but a common starting point was a sense of dissatisfaction with accepted values and practices:

[People] become vegetarian because there is something in the world that they don't feel happy about and they want to do something personally to separate themselves from it ... to perhaps put themselves apart from it. You can't change the world, but you can change your own life. (Campaigner, Publications)

The root of this dissatisfaction can be related to many reasons, both personal and social, moral and physical (which are ultimately expressed as the 'motive' for being vegetarian, e.g., health, animal cruelty, etc.). Such a withdrawal from a social world which is 'wrong' can be interpreted as an inward-looking (fundamental) attitude. To understand the challenges to The Society's role, it should be noted that individuals do not necessarily remain withdrawn.

In the active process of becoming a vegetarian, people will gain more information about the subject and other issues which may relate to it.
Quite often it is one initial factor, you might initially think it's really awful what they do to animals, but when you become ..., you get to learn about the health things and that's another factor, maybe it wasn't an initial motivating factor, but I guess it does help you stay vegetarian. (Research Manager)

Basically you opt in to whatever you can manage, if you're a concerned consumer then yes, you opt into products that haven't been tested on animals, that are probably phosphate free, that are non .. not cruel, you'll eat vegetarian food and be careful there, you might then move into avoiding certain multi-nationals that exploit babies in the Third World, you might avoid multi-nationals that have trade ... have arms trading companies in their portfolio. You know there's a huge range of things you might go for. (Commercial Director)

This development can be related to the concept of reflexivity. As awareness of the issues expands, each individual has to reconcile this new information with their actions:

[...] the more you learn the more you feel you have to change your life to keep up with that statement .. the way you've gone, you've made a stance and every time you learn something else you think 'oh god, that's something else I have to give up'. [...] It's a kind of feeling that you just have to do as ... you've never done enough, but you have to do as much as you can. (Campaigner, Publications)

Personal commitment (and concerns regarding hypocrisy) were potentially difficult to continually reconcile.

For example, one of the Campaigns team declared that she had 'come to a decision' with regard to easing her personal 'product ban' on food produced by a particular TNC (one accused of exploiting poverty and perpetuating ill health among infants in the 'Third World'). She now thought that she was going to eat its range of food produce because: 'as a vegan, I get very little choice of food anyway' and as 'everyone else cares for the babies, someone has to care for the calves' (Campaigner, Publications). As discussions entailed, she became less certain of her decision (particularly when she discovered a fellow vegan took a different approach). This example showed that, as individuals, people may wish to concentrate their efforts on specific issues and that the role of peer support can be crucial.

This aptly illustrated the ongoing nature of personal commitments. The change to vegetarianism (and related 'ethical consumption') was not a finite process: commitments may shift over time. Some vegetarians lapse while others convert to veganism. As individuals reflexively monitor their beliefs in the light of new information, the initial instinct to withdraw can be replaced in some people with a desire to actively engage in promoting change. Obviously, for people working at The Society, the desire for
engagement to promote its vision of change was fairly commonplace (although not universal). From these limited examples little can be concluded about the process of becoming a vegetarian, but they do illustrate at a personal level the difficulties which might face an organisation in its strategies for promoting social change.

While individuals can shift their personal boundaries of acceptable action, for an organisation this can be more difficult to accomplish. Organisational entities have less scope for changing their purpose, defined goals and public stance. For example, the role of The Society was challenged within an ethical hierarchy of 'compassionate consumption' and more generally by socio-cultural pluralism. Within the hierarchy of animal advocacy organisations, definitions of acceptable foods put 'rungs on the ladder'.

I think it is more important to get people on the ladder than to the top of the ladder. Once you've got them on the ladder, hopefully, they'll climb up it. But if you don't even get them on the ladder, there's not much chance of them getting to the top. [...] I adopt a pragmatic approach. (Chair of Council)

However, definitions can also become rods for the back: the position of vegetarianism in the middle of a hierarchy leaves individual converts open to criticism for not following their commitments to the logical extreme. While individual vegetarians get to contemplate their ethical inconsistencies in private, The Society had to do so publicly (further explored in 7.2.2.).

This was reflected in relations between organisations. In co-operative ventures the most 'extreme' cohorts hold the 'moral high ground'. The necessary appeasements which this demands of those 'lower' down the hierarchy was reflected in a rather innocuous, but apposite, example:

We've had events with the Vegan Society and the first demand is that they are totally vegan [catering]. (Chair of Council)

As the purpose of both organisations was to promote their chosen diet, it seems ironic that one group asserts solely its own 'dietary rights' and that the other can find this problematic!

There were also more practical concerns:

But, it's tricky when you're working with other groups because you've all got your financial contribution to pay, you've all your own ideas, and gelling together is not easy. (Chair of Council)
The individual agendas and responsibilities of groups can dominate over the securing of common ground. The inconsistencies in the approach of one organisation can become more prominent against the stance of similar ones.

Not only did this apply within the ethical hierarchy, but also with regard to other issues addressed by 'ethical consumption'. Concerns at The Society about compatible 'lifestyles' demonstrated awareness of related issues which the membership were thought to be concerned with (see Chapter Six on the dilemmas of sponsorship). Vivisection, veganism, environmentalism, food safety and exploitation of the less developed world were all intersected with vegetarianism. However, as an organisation The Society was not designed to address all of these issues. Socio-cultural pluralism encourages diversity and this was reflected in The Society's stance alongside related issues inside and outside of animal advocacy. The challenge set to The Society was: 'where should it draw its organisational boundaries?'

On the one hand, socio-cultural pluralism was blurring boundaries for individuals. The acceptance of diversity in socio-cultural pluralism implies the non-existence of a 'correct' standpoint or universal truth. Individuals are forced to choose their own boundaries. The concern of any particular vegetarian is self-defined and may include a wide range of issues outside of (but related to) the abstention from meat. On the other hand, the relativisation and detraditionalisation of cultures and identities encouraged by socio-cultural pluralism does a great deal to underscore difference. This is particularly the case for organisations (who necessarily need boundaries and consistency over time). Flexible individual choice and hardened organisational boundaries can both cause disputes:

[...] that's why there are sometimes clashes between groups, because this figurehead for that group doesn't get on with this figurehead [...] But at the same time there can be differences of policy as well. I mean a classic example would have to be ourselves and the RSPCA, who are involved with the freedom foods scheme ... selling meat. That puts us almost in direct conflict with them [...] But that can occur. Again, groups like BUAV and NAVS [anti-vivisection campaigners] are classic adversaries in this field, not because, as companies would be, they're sort of brand leaders competing for the same market [...] but in actual fact differences in policy are what creates the schisms between those 2 groups. (Campaigns Director)

There was a hardening of boundaries as each organisation marked off its own territory in relation to that of others. In trying to maintain an organisational role in a pluralised social
world, the role and agenda of each group can simultaneously eclipse any common purpose and yet fail to adequately reflect the overlapping interests of individual supporters.

For an organisation instigating social change, attempting to maintain an ethical position under the impact of globalisation was problematic. Relativisation pushed The Society to recognise its position among a plurality of alternatives, while detraditionalisation forced it into a justification of the stance which had been taken. This left The Society juggling the need for a degree of organisational certainty with the requirements of individuals (potential converts, members and, as I shall show in the next section, staff) who had free reign of self-determination in a social environment of uncertainty. An impact of globalisation upon The Society was the tension between organisational stability and individual flexibility. An organisation instigating social change in a pluralistic social setting had to address the simultaneous flexibility of individuals and the hardening of divisions between social collectives.

7.2.2 Effects on policy and practice at The Society

I can also illustrate the impact of socio-cultural pluralism by reference to The Society's policy and practice. As certainty is undermined, this impinged upon how The Society approached its task of instigating social change. In the examples above, individuals were shown as able to shift their stance: becoming vegetarian was a process. In particular, the reflexive quality of this was noted, as changes were made in the light of new information. However, The Society was not able to be so flexible: as an organisation, its role and aims were more deeply entrenched. Again, the different impacts of socio-cultural pluralism, relativisation and detraditionalisation on individuals and organisations can be illustrated with regard to The Society's position in an ethical hierarchy (particularly how this affects policy and practice and the role of staff).

Firstly, definitions of what The Society regarded as 'acceptable' for vegetarians have changed over time. These have occurred because of increasing accessibility to knowledge:

There were a few ingredients that we weren't quite sure about and we never approved them. And then I started looking into it and getting letters from other
suppliers and manufacturers and found out that it was alright. (Commercial Sales Executive)

The D2 was a big one, Jeanette started that when she was here, saying: 'I think we should approve it', it was just one, the Spiel La Roche one and we got all the guarantees in saying it was like 100% certainly from live sheep. Then when she left Sue carried on with it and got all the letters in of confirmation and then we approved it. There was a bit of worry about it and people in the building were saying: 'I don't think you should've approved that'. But we were confident because we'd got all the details. (Commercial Sales Executive)

However shifts in acceptability also occurred because of wider technological and social changes such as mass production. As I shall explain, these can be related to arising 'moral' contradictions which the organisation was having to face around the issues of dairy produce and eggs.

*The Society* sanctioned the consumption of eggs as 'suitable for vegetarians' by its definition. It did so because (ostensibly) nothing dies in the process of food production. The problem here, the ethical inconsistency, was the issue of animal welfare. In the recent past, *The Society*’s policy was changed to state that only certain eggs were suitable. 'Free range', 'barn' and 'battery' egg production are all produced 'intensively', yet only 'free range' was acceptable in *The Society*’s definition of vegetarianism. This was based on the assumption that 'free range' egg production was more humane. This was a moot point. There were arguments that each method had benefits and drawbacks and that the implementation of 'free range' was rarely as humane as the term might imply. Further, slaughter was implicitly involved in the mass production of eggs. Male chicks aged one day were exterminated en-masse as a waste product of the production process.

The acceptance of dairy produce in a vegetarian diet caused similar problems for *The Society*. Again it raised inconsistencies with regard to animal welfare. Milk and cheese were central elements of a vegetarian diet. Vegans and critics of vegetarianism pointed out that only female cows were required for the milk industry. Like egg production, killing was implicit too: males were by-products, sold for slaughter. Vegans also highlighted the levels of animal exploitation and welfare with the accusation that cows were used as 'milk machines'. By failing to eschew the produce of the dairy industry, *The Society* was accused that its ethical stance was not being taken to its logical conclusion. In both cases
(eggs and dairy), it was notable that the ethical dilemma had arisen because of changes in practices and technology associated with the mass production of food.

Indeed it may be that prior to 'factory farming', vegetarians held a tenable ethical position with regard to eggs and dairy produce. This notwithstanding, the contemporary problem was that The Society was bound by its historic articles of association and definitions of 'suitable' food. These provided a definition of what is and is not acceptable in a vegetarian diet. As explained in Chapter Six, ethical dilemmas were dealt with under guidelines (e.g., the V symbol) and routine practices. The rules which had been laid down were rigorously followed. However, in a pluralistic social climate with widened accessibility to information, certainty has been replaced by questioning from both inside and outside the organisation. As a result, dilemmas which once remained below the surface have gained expression.

These dilemmas even played themselves out among The Society's own staff. There were a number of vegans who work at The Society, including the Chair of Council:

We've got our own internal mafia [laughs], if you like, who are very keen to do something about it ... I've got sympathy with them and of course it puts us in a moral dilemma that cows are ill-treated to produce the milk, no doubt about it.

(Chair of Council)

Underlying the potentially serious nature of this division, there was frequent 'banter' in the Campaigns team between the vegan and vegetarian contingents. However, on occasion, the internal questioning has developed into irreconcilable conflicts in which individuals have had to cease working for the organisation. In discussing one such case it was explained:

[...] some 8 or 9 years ago he started going berserk about eggs and cheese, and saying we should not allow any of these products to use our symbol, and we said but our articles allow them, [...] you've got to be logical, if the articles allow something you can't ban it. (Chair of Council)

Where individuals personal priorities have changed, The Society has not been 'ethical enough' for them to support. In other cases, individuals ran a pragmatic relationship between personal belief and their job of work.
These staff have a conflict: personally rejecting dairy produce, but recommending its use on a day-to-day basis. These personal opinions can effect the advice given (in Chapter Four I highlighted the influence of authorship upon The Society's promotional materials). A confused enquirer had rung to clarify The Society's position regarding milk consumption; they had rung once before and been told (by a vegan) that the amount of milk in a healthy vegetarian diet was 'Nutritionally, none.' In another example, while recording a television interview a difficult question was posed to the Campaigns Director about The Society's position on the dairy industry. Having expressed his own vegan views, the irritated interviewer demanded The Society's position, not his opinions. As the Chair of Council himself stated: 'I'm a vegan myself [...] but as Chairman of The Society I'm here to promote vegetarianism, not veganism.'

As an organisation The Society required policies regarding the boundaries of vegetarianism. However, in a context of socio-cultural pluralism, claims to certainty have become open to question. Justifying a vegetarian diet purely on moral grounds was difficult and perhaps consequently, The Society has been 'rationalising' its outlook (as section 7.4 will illustrate). The existing justifications for its choice of policy was largely historical (i.e., what it said when it was certain). Socio-cultural pluralism challenged The Society's role as an organisation which defined what was ethically 'suitable to eat' for vegetarians. In a post-traditional order, The Society should be seen as merely imposing its interpretation of vegetarianism.

Two implications arose from this. Firstly, a vegetarian diet was just one choice within a range of options toward 'cruelty-free' eating. Detraditionalisation explains that individuals were forced to choose their own ethical position. The Society as an organisation imposed a set of restrictions which the individual can either take or leave. Secondly, ethical boundaries were being handed back to the individual. For example, genetic engineering uncovers new ethical dilemmas. Tomatoes that have been genetically modified with a gene from a cold water fish blur the boundaries between the animate and inanimate. As new technology broke established biological barriers, The Society's policy was to promote clear labelling of genetically modified produce to aid the choice of consumers.
Technological innovation changed the social world which *The Society* was working within, but this was seemingly an issue beyond its remit.

Finally in this section, I wish to explain the different perceptions toward *The Society*'s role using the post-traditional/ fundamental ideal type. In some cases, the realisation that personal ideals and organisational aims were not the same was pragmatically justified. Recognising the difference between the ideal (veganism) and the practical (encouraging vegetarianism) was defining of a post-traditionalist approach (while pure idealism was fundamentalist). This pragmatism reflects how relativisation within a globalised social environment was challenging the role which *The Society* set itself. Those who displayed pragmatic reasoning and strong ethical commitments isolated their work from their beliefs. This involved the use of popular and acceptable approaches to encourage converts. Such populism reflected the globalised social environment which was pluralised and lacked certainty. It was also implicitly accepted that short-term ethical dilemmas were an acceptable cost to achieve long-term goals.

7.3 *The Society*'s Role and Information Saturation

*The Society* undertook information distribution and retrieval. In Chapter Six I showed how *The Society* interacted with the mass media, which it used both as a carrier for its messages and a supplier of information. In Chapter Two I explained how the globalisation of communication has encircled the earth in a web of information. The proliferation of new mass media technology were shown as expanding the geographical scope and audience size. The pervasive systems of mass communication are carrying a greater number of messages, at greater speed, over greater distances than ever before. As an active participant in this changing social environment, questions were raised about *The Society*'s role in relation to the spread and control of information regarding vegetarianism.

As *The Society* aimed to increase the number of vegetarians and promote the issues behind the diet, information about vegetarianism was key to its role. I show how this was challenged in two ways. Firstly, *The Society* was used by the mass media as a source of
information (see Chapter Six), a status conferred because of its accumulated knowledge. The Society's role included control over the information which it had collected over one hundred and fifty years. This 'gate keeping' role (over distribution and control of information) was threatened by the movement of information in a globalised social environment. Secondly, in the light of proliferation of information (aligned with the reflexive awareness this generates), another issue was taking shape. This concerned the extent to which The Society could simultaneously fulfil its dual role as a representative of the collective interests of its members and the active pursuit of converts through campaigning.

Firstly, in the course of promoting the diet, The Society ensured that relevant information was freely available and widely distributed. However, The Society's control over the distribution of information came under question because of information saturation. As I explore in section 7.5, The Society had entered the 'mainstream':

As far as I can see, people sort of seem to have taken on board the argument of vegetarianism [...], its sort of mainstream .. so the information is out there. (Information Manager)

Previously, The Society could be regarded as a 'gate keeper', fielding the approaches of interested parties:

A few years ago any article that was going to be in the women's press or something would come to us .. get us to check it all, you know ... 'is this information good enough?'. But now, there's stuff coming through which .... we're superfluous because the information is already out there. (Information Manager)

As the information was 'out there', The Society's gate keeping role was open to question. Some staff saw its power was usurped because, once placed into public circulation, control over the use of information was dissipated.

To suggest that The Society then becomes superfluous only reflected one (perhaps overly- pessimistic) viewpoint. The general implications can be better understood through the post-traditional/ fundamental ideal-type. From a post-traditional outlook the proliferation of communications presented new opportunities. New methods of spreading information (for example The Society's Internet Site) would be seen to enable individual access to The Society's resources. From the fundamental position (which views The Society as a club).
its role as guardian of knowledge should be employed only in the best interests of The
Society's members. Free access to information represented a threat to the control over the
use of information and the perceived role of The Society.

During the fieldwork, The Society appeared to be moving from fundamental toward post-
traditional outlook with regard to its role in the control of information. It still acted as a
guide around the plethora of information available. There were many examples of people
who approached The Society as the first point of contact for information about
vegetarianism (see Chapter Six). A common problem of the 'information age' remains
access to relevant and timely information. The phrase information saturation indicates that
the actual availability of information has the potential to outweigh the capacity to usefully
access and filter it. In this respect, The Society was still fulfilling an important role in the
distribution of information.

[...] it's more specific information, specific facts and figures they might want. Some of the time it's just somebody writing a paper on vegetarian diets and they
need more wider information, so it might just be facts and figures on the number
of vegetarians[...] or asking if we know of any similar studies or any research into
a specific subject. (Research Manager)

However, as the availability to knowledge spreads, it seems that The Society will become
less like custodians and more like librarians.

A example of the struggle between holding onto information or releasing control was
evidenced with the V symbol. A programme had been initiated to license the V symbol to
food outlets. Certification to The Society's 'Food and Drink Guild' was designed to allow
restaurants to self-certify meals 'suitable for vegetarians'. Of course, The Society issued
strict rules and regulation for certification, but in the last instance the restauranteur was
trusted to make the decision over suitability:

We also trust them to ..., because quite often they have a dish of the day we can't
approve it because it changes every day, so we'll just say: 'right we understand that
you've got the guidelines and that you're doing it right' and trust them to test it
out totally. And they have signed a license agreement, so if they do it wrong, you
know, we could sue them really. (Commercial Sales Executive)

This was an example of the devolution of responsibility from The Society to other social
actors.
A post-traditional outlook would view the devolution of the information regarding vegetarianism to food manufacturers and distributors a necessary step. A fundamental approach would warn against this for a simple reason: the restauranteur does not have the interests of vegetarians as their primary motivation. *The Society's* responsibility was to ensure that wherever a V symbol appears, vegetarians must be certain that it can be trusted. Although safeguards were built in, the worry was that a licensed outlet will not be as thorough in its checking of ingredients as *The Society's* own staff were. The tension expressed in this issue between fundamental and post-traditional positions reflected the changing social environment. Where information was divulged into the social world, the control and responsibility which *The Society* had for the interests of its members can potentially be undermined.

The spread of information not only posed challenges with regard to information control, it also presented a challenge *The Society's* general role as an organisation. *The Society* was a group which represented the interests of its members and employed information to serve their needs and further their interests. Also, it used information to raise awareness among the general public of the issues underlying the vegetarian cause (with the aim of encouraging converts and members). Its current range of activities reflected this dual role. For example, I showed in Chapter Four that the V Symbol provided a service for members but doubled as a campaigning tool ('educating' the food industry and raising awareness). The design of campaigning material was primarily aimed to raise awareness and stimulate converts/membership. However, campaigns materials also provided existing converts with new information.

As a club representing the interests of its members *The Society* could also legitimately claim to be a campaigning organisation. Its campaigning role aimed to change the social world so that vegetarians were better catered for (this remained in the interest of its members). However, this dual role has been opened up to challenge. The realisation was that engaging in pressure politics to bring about change has brought accompanying responsibilities. One of these was the need to have credible alternatives to promote.
Again this can be evaluated along the divide between post-traditional and fundamental outlooks. Broadly speaking, instigating change through engagement required a different type of organisation (post-traditional) to one which simply aimed to further the interests of its members (fundamental).

One impact of a widening spread of information was that *The Society's* arguments were subjected to scrutiny, both by its opponents and by representatives of the mass media. This has encouraged dialogical relations, as the meat industry has attempted to understand vegetarianism and come to terms with changing consumer demand (Harrington, 1994).

 [...] there are emerging concerns about how meat is produced, which are likely to have negative effects on demand, particularly that of the current younger generation, and which may well begin to affect Government policies towards the meat industry. The industry needs to establish strong information and education programmes, but also to examine its procedures to provide greater consumer assurance about practices and controls. Also the scientists and technologists serving the industry need to help it move toward sustainable lower input, less environmentally damaging systems, less reliance on drugs, stimulants and additives, sensitive exploitation of the new genetics and with more consideration for the animals involved. (Harrington, 1994: 5)

Of course, this reflection on public perception from within the meat industry was geared toward fulfilling its aims. In this respect, dialogue does not mean agreement, but a reflexively monitored acknowledgement that alternative opinions exist.

Dialogue was also a chance for *The Society's* opponents or critics to attack inconsistencies and undermine solutions. Nevertheless, from a post-traditional perspective, such dialogue was a first step toward new opportunities.

I think you should always have sympathy with the person you're debating against. Just because they haven't made the same conclusions that you have, you can't always use that as a reason to turn people into the enemy. So y'know, I had a series of meetings with the National Farmers Union because I wanted to get around the table with them and talk and we did [...] It was one of those touchy feely meetings that you have. And it really worked, because afterwards she did a quite heavily publicised public speech, saying: 'do not see the vegetarians as the bogey man, you're problems are internal' ... this was to the farming community ... 'the vegetarians are not you're bogey man, they're just consumers like any other'. (Campaigns Director)

Critical engagement was a chance to test the validity of arguments and confront practical issues regarding implementing vegetarianism on a larger scale (e.g., farming and food
production). However, from a fundamental outlook engagement can be problematic. For instance, *The Society's* charitable status meant that it must remain non-political. A fundamental approach was wary of direct political engagement with opponents, preferring to support the membership rather than public campaigning. Further, political engagement could damage the integrity of *The Society*. Large-scale campaigning for vegetarianism could 'sell out' its members' stance on ethical consumption (see Chapter Six).

To summarise, information saturation reduced *The Society's* control over the boundaries of vegetarianism. Control was undermined by free access to information associated with mass communications systems. However, *The Society* retained a role providing relevant and timely information. From a post-traditional perspective, opening up information was a step toward empowering individuals, but from a fundamental viewpoint, dilemmas arose over whose interests were served by the information (e.g., the food industry not other vegetarians). Also, the spread of information had opened *The Society's* campaigning claims to scrutiny, with opportunities (new solutions and continuing change) and drawbacks (undermining organisational credibility). In a post-traditional social environment *The Society's* dual role was potentially difficult to sustain. Public campaigning was outward looking and post-traditional, while serving the members interests in a club was inward looking and fundamental.

Challenges to *The Society's* role arose out of changes to the social environment it was working in (these were ongoing issues). Using detraditionalisation and relativisation I have linked the changes to globalisation. Blurring ethical boundaries for individuals (and the hardening of inter-organisation boundaries), declining control over information and balancing *The Society's* activities were examples of the organisation reflexively repositioning. It was doing this in the light of increasing awareness of others in the social world and the opening of dialogue, both indications of ongoing globalisation. Post-traditional perspectives represented the impact of globalisation while fundamental concerns anchored *The Society's* to its established position. Next, I show the impact of globalisation upon *The Society's* strategies for change.
7.4 Attaining Credibility

While socio-cultural pluralism undermines claims to certainty, if social actors wish to create social change it would seem necessary for them to believe in the validity of their position. Using the concept of institutional reflexivity I have suggested that, even though certainty has been undermined, social actors continue their efforts to shape the social world. Using detraditionalisation I explained that in order to achieve this, actors opened themselves up to dialogue. However, a question remains about the framework within which this dialogue takes place. With regard to a vegetarian diet, claims to truth and certainty have traditionally been the site of belief (e.g., the moral, spiritual or religious justifications for not eating meat). When explaining detraditionalisation I indicated that such beliefs required justification. In this section I examine the justification of beliefs at *The Society* and the framework within which it entered into dialogue.

In campaigning for vegetarianism (and animal advocacy) a division can be drawn between 'emotive' and 'rational' arguments (McAllister Groves, 1995). At the Local Action Weekend (L.A.W.) a discussion during a seminar focused on striking a balance between the two types of approach. One participant suggested the mass media were always looking for rational arguments over emotive ones. Some discussion ensued: one person thought that arguments based on moral grounds can be validly argued from an emotive standpoint, while another suggested that it helped to answer emotive arguments with rational ones. These examples implied that moral arguments were essentially a matter of emotive belief and that rational arguments were 'stronger'. Another delegate argued that emotion itself was a natural response of compassionate humans, thereby rationalising an emotive approach. The discussion illustrated that rationality was considered as infallible grounds on which to argue animal advocacy, whereas emotion could be more easily challenged or simply dismissed.

This was also recognised at *The Society* and the use of emotive appeals was shown in earlier examples. As discussed in Chapters Four and Five, older campaigning materials on the environment and developing world were now considered overly reliant upon 'shock
tactics' and that newer versions merely needed to 'state the facts' (Campaigns Director). Also, The Society had come under media scrutiny over accusations of 'propagandising' related to the use of images of animal slaughter on the video 'Food Without Fear' (discussed in Chapter Six). However, conspicuous by their absence from the campaigning materials were clear statements of moral positioning. The debate over the rights and wrongs of using animals for food was not a topic promoted by The Society. While animal suffering, environmental and developing world arguments touched on the subject, the question of morality remained implicit.

In attempts to make its case legitimate The Society was keen to use scientific foundations in its arguments. The issue of health lent itself to this approach. National Vegetarian Week leaflets told readers that 'the facts speak for themselves' and these 'facts' constituted the text in the poster campaign:

Vegetarians have 40% less risk of cancer according to the Oxford Vegetarian Study, a 10 year survey of over 10 000 people.

Vegetarians have 30% less risk of heart disease according to the Oxford Vegetarian Study, one of the most detailed surveys ever conducted into health and diet.

Vegetarians have 20% less risk of premature mortality according to the Oxford Vegetarian Study, the largest surveys of vegetarianism and diet ever conducted in the UK. (excerpts from the three posters for National Vegetarian Week, 1995)

Two aspects should be noted here: the emphasis on quantification/ risk and on the reputability of the study. The former underlined the rational approach to converting to vegetarianism while the latter conferred credibility on the information.

A further example was 'Vegetarian Vitality', a report published by The Society (gaining front page attention in a national broadsheet newspaper) on the health benefits of vegetarianism and the diet's nutritional requirements.

The most successful thing we've done recently on the research front is Vegetarian Vitality which isn't our research, it's not funded by us, it's just a round up of current thinking. But it's been ... it's had a fabulous reaction from the media and has been far and away the most subscribed to document since I've been here. (Public Relations Officer)
It was written by *The Society's* Research Manager for both lay and professional audiences. The report summarised academic and scientific understanding of vegetarian health and nutrition. Further, the foreword was written by a Professor of Food Policy:

> Without going into the rights and wrongs of meat eating, the national statistics show that meat consumption is declining. [...] There does appear to be growing evidence of the advantages of either cutting back on, or abstaining from, meat consumption [...] (Lang, T. Foreword to 'Vegetarian Vitality', The Vegetarian Society)

Without expressly recommending a vegetarian diet, this independent academic voice acknowledged the importance and usefulness of dietary research for health professionals (without concern for the moral 'rights and wrongs').

There were other examples of using authoritative voices to confer legitimacy:

> In fact, as major health authorities like the World Health Organisation urge us to eat more fruit and vegetables, a meat-free diet makes increasing sense. ('A Fresh Start' leaflet for NVW 1995, The Vegetarian Society)

> The UN Food and Agriculture Organisation estimates that 90 per cent of the world's commercial fisheries are over fished to an unsustainable degree (Membership Leaflet, The Vegetarian Society)

Citing the positions of well known or established organisations added substance and weight to arguments. This was also achieved by the use of independent scientific studies. The Research Manager produced a regular 'Research Bulletin' which: 'includes articles and summaries of all significant research published in the six months prior to publication'. Using an international medical research database (Medline), *The Society* kept abreast of scientific research across the world:

> [...] researchers not working in the UK aren't going to contact the UK Vegetarian Society, so you have to go out and find out by other means, and Medline is the easiest way to do that. (Research Manager)

In this way *The Society* was reflexively monitoring academic research at the global level.

Outside of health, *The Society* attempted to confer legitimacy on other issues. The 'Suffering Seas' and B.S.E. campaigns both used 'campaign reports' (thoroughly referenced with sources and citations). As I showed in Chapter Five, arguments regarding environmentalism were supported by alleged degradation linked to animal farming. For example, citing a Department of Environment Report:
In Britain, farming accounts for 13% of all major water pollution incidents. [...] Every day, each of the world's 1.3 billion cattle produces 60 litres of methane, a major greenhouse gas ('Food that costs the Earth', The Vegetarian Society Press Notes)

The same approach was even used with arguments regarding animal welfare:

In 1976 the RSPCA set up an independent scientific enquiry which found that the evidence for pain in fish is as strong as that for other animals. (The 'Suffering Seas' campaign leaflet, The Vegetarian Society)

An RSPCA report on the stunning of bulls claimed that 50% were stunned ineffectively ('Meat - The price animals pay', The Vegetarian Society Press Notes)

In the division between rational and emotive arguments, animal welfare issues tended toward the latter. However, even these arguments were also supported by reference to scientific evidence.

Nevertheless, The Society did not only use rationality and science. In Chapter Six, I detailed the strategy for National Vegetarian Week as including a mixture of 'hard', factual news (which failed to gain coverage) and the 'lifestyle' angle. As highlighted in Chapter Four, the NVW poster campaign used vibrant colours, 'daring' lifestyles and was targeted at young females. Also, toward the end of the fieldwork, other styles of promotion were being introduced. One such approach promoted the positive aspects of a vegetarian diet (the taste, freshness and vitality of the food) to suggest its acceptability and 'normality'. In a separate campaign the negative aspects of meat production were addressed in a 'humorous' manner which had a potential to create controversy (thus sparking secondary media interest).

The use of rational arguments (in favour of emotive ones) can be explained with reference to institutional reflexivity and detraditionalisation. Reflexive social actors attempt to shape the world through dialogue within a framework. This was evident in the way in which vegetarianism was discussed in academic circles:

I don't think you get hostility in that kind of academic context [...] there was me speaking and someone from the Meat and Livestock Commission [...] in some contexts there would be a lot of hostility, but because its under the veneer of academia ... there's no overt hostility. (Research Manager)

That's one of the good things about something like the Research Bulletin, because it is very dry, very academic, [...] it's one sided in the fact that it might leave things
out, but what it includes is fair .... it's not campaigning .... it's not like a campaigns leaflet or anything .... and things like Vegetarian Vitality as well, when people see that you've produced publications like that they do .... it does lend a bit more weight to what your saying and you do get a bit more credibility than somebody just coming along and shouting about , you know, how wonderful vegetarians are.

(Research Manager)

The examples from this case study showed the framework for dialogue was rationality and scientific argument.

It could be tempting for me to infer that, in a globalised social environment, science and rationality remain the important benchmarks for the assessment of competing claims. While this is not particularly contentious, the context of the case study should be recalled. As a peripheral interest group, I have already shown The Society to work within the existing systems of food and communication in order to promote social change. Equally, the assessment of truth claims would seem to have taken place within the pervasive system of values which contemporary, 'Western' countries have been employing since the Enlightenment. The strategies in this case study exist within the context of campaigning organisation in a 'Western', liberal democratic, capitalist nation-state. Ongoing globalisation may be experienced in different ways by organisations in other contexts.

The framework of reason, rationality and science replaced the religious framework some time ago (Chapter Four). It remained the dominant framework for justification, with even the moral arguments (when they surfaced within other themes) being couched in rationalist terms. However, there was also something new about the way in which the contemporary promotion of vegetarianism related this information to the public.

It's amazing that somebody who is a qualified dietician and giving out dietary advice, how little some know about vegetarianism. I don't mean it's just that they don't like it and they have their own personal belief, but they actually don't know what plant foods contain iron or something like that, which I'm always quite amazed by. (Research Manager)

The moral 'right' or 'wrong' approach was ostensibly replaced by a wish to spread accurate information and let individuals make their own choices. I used the term 'simple modern' to show that vegetarianism historically promoted by The Society suggested an alternative orthodoxy to meat eating (Chapter 4). There was some evidence to indicate that, in post-traditional social order, this simple reflexivity was being supplanted by institutional
reflexivity. This challenged the ability of The Society to promote its alternative as universally applicable and certain.

While claims to certainty have declined over time, the historical challenges of The Society (and groups like it) were instrumental in creating a post-traditional society. In its fundamental role The Society contributed to detraditionalisation by disagreeing with received ideas of diet and promoting its alternative. Effectively, it (among other outsider groups) helped to overthrow the certainty of 'simple modern' food wisdom. Convinced of the essential correctness of their arguments, vegetarians rebelled against and challenged the accepted practice. Social contexts have now changed and vegetarianism has (to some extent) been accepted and catered to (explored in section 7.5). Individuals who still take a fundamental stance were left in a potentially awkward position. They continued to claim certainty while the social world moves toward pluralistic uncertainty. In the next section I show that vegetarian beliefs were accepted in the mainstream, not as a new truth, but as one alternative among many.

Truth and certainty have been unintended victims of the challenges to the universalism of modernity. However, this has not ended the pursuit of an 'improved' future. To understand this, institutional reflexivity can be usefully employed. The Society recognised the nature of post-traditional society (by adopting engaged pragmatism over dogmatism), but nevertheless continued to argue its case. What changed was the decline of moralistic and emotive appeals and the increase of rational and persuasive arguments. The use of scientific and authoritative voices to support The Society's position showed that attempts to initiate change continued to use pervasive models of judgement. The framework of dialogue was reason, rationality and science. This showed that (in this case) the existing (modern) models for decision making remain dominant in the post-traditional social order. While claims to certainty have been undermined, reason, rationality and science continued to be reproduced as unacknowledged conditions. These remained dominant as a framework for decision making, not least because groups like The Society continued to use them to gain legitimacy.
At The Society many people thought that vegetarianism was now in the 'mainstream'. Defining the 'mainstream' as 'the prevailing trend of opinion' (Oxford English Dictionary) did not seem appropriate. Closer to The Society's position, the mainstream can be seen as 'the people or things representing the most common or generally accepted ideas and styles in a society' (Collins Concise Dictionary). This at least indicated a degree of underlying pluralism. There can be multiple 'ideas and styles', but this still leaves the question of defining 'accepted'. For vegetarianism, perhaps the term 'tolerance' (rather than acceptance) would be more appropriate as this would indicate acceptance without agreement. Although vegetarians make up only approximately 4% of the population, the broad idea of vegetarianism is widely understood. However, the specific nature of acceptable practice is open misunderstanding, not least because of the issues raised regarding overlapping definitions and individuals' own perceptions (Chapter Four).

The idea that vegetarianism has entered a mainstream was supported by a variety of evidence. This included the common sight of vegetarian 'options' at restaurants, vegetarian 'sections' in supermarkets freezers and the proliferation of vegetarian 'labels' on food produce (not only The Society's symbol, but many others). A wide selection of vegetarian food/cookery books and magazines were available. During the fieldwork coverage on television was frequent and not only on food programmes (see Chapter Six). Even television soap operas had vegetarian characters! There was an increasing amount of academic research into the diet, shown by an increasing number of articles available on Medline (the international medical research database):

[...] one of the indexes is vegetarianism, you can check it year by year to see the pattern. So if you looked for the 1970's they'd be maybe 10 or 15 papers, whereas now it's more like 70 or 80. So that's not that high a figure, but when you see the pattern, the amount has gone up. (Research Manager)

Vegetarians were not short of positive role models and their dietary choices were being catered for better than ever before.
While producing accurate figures has proved difficult (again, the issue of definition is problematic), there has been an increase in vegetarians and demi-vegetarians/meat reducers in the UK over the last ten years (British Nutrition Foundation, 1995). The first systematic surveys only began in 1984, but compared to, say, fifty years ago the number of vegetarians has increased dramatically. An estimate of the numbers of vegetarians in the UK around the mid-Twentieth Century can be gauged from the fact that only 100 000 war time ration books were allocated to vegetarians (The Vegetarian Society, n.d.2). Today, surveys estimate between 3-4% of the population are vegetarian (British Nutrition Foundation, 1995). While The Society regarded this as positive, one of its worries was a dwindling membership as proportion of the total number of vegetarians in the UK. A paying membership of 18 000 has been fairly consistent over recent years, while the number of vegetarians in the country has expanded.

[...] so most people [vegetarians] aren't a member of our club, they're just out there doing their own thing without us. (Campaigner, Publications)

As a proportion of converts, The Society was getting less members.

This dwindling proportional relation between conversions and membership can be related to a changing social environment. In the past, vegetarianism was not widely catered for:

[...] purity in ones beliefs were a luxury which comes with time. When I became vegetarian, it was not possible to live in a normal society and be 100% vegetarian. [...] when you speak to people in Eastern Europe for example, they're at a very early stage, they don't have non-animal soaps, they don't have non-leather shoes yet and it reminds me of what things were like in the 40's and 50's here. [...] Just having vegetarian restaurants for example, well there used to be a few but there weren't many in the 40's and 50's, very few and there weren't all the Indian or Chinese restaurants where you can often get vegetarian meals, so it was very different. (Chair of Council)

Interestingly, the comparative relation to other parts of the globe and the notable influence of 'foreign' cuisine were both expressions of the impact of globality. Nevertheless, for the present purpose, this view was an expression that changes over time have altered popular perceptions of vegetarianism. Being a vegetarian in the UK in the 1990s is not the same as it was in the 1950s.

Previously, as 'outsiders', individual vegetarians searched for like minds and mutual support; they wanted to become part of a 'club':
Ten years ago, you did have the feeling of belonging to a rather exclusive, enlightened ... an aesthetic thing .. that you felt you belonged to a rather exclusive group of people who'd seen the light. That you had some kind of vision of the world that other people didn't share [...] (Campaigner, Publications)

[...] we had a young vegetarian movement then [1960s], that was very active, a major source of marriages ... it was like a marriage bureau and we used to arrange holidays and that sort of thing. (Chair of Council)

While difficult to put an exact time-scale to the change, being a 'club' was one of The Society's initial roles. However, gathering together as 'outsiders' became less important as vegetarian beliefs and practices were more widespread and acceptable. This challenged The Society's role:

[...] we really don't know who we are [...] It was founded in the mid-nineteenth century, by a band of people who had very strong feelings about animal welfare and actually wanted to be apart from the mainstream of society. My feeling is that 150 years down the line, we are part of the mainstream of society and what we should be doing is making waves outwards rather than drawing people inwards. But there is this traditional idea that we are a little club of people who have the moral high ground, because our compassion for animals sets us apart from the rest of the unthinking great unwashed ..., which I find a bit difficult to deal with quite honestly. (Public Relations Officer)

The previous need for mutual support was also a practical way to share information. However, this function had also become less relevant as information about vegetarianism was widespread and accessible. Mainstream acceptance meant that vegetarians may no longer view themselves as 'outsiders' (or morally superior²); they need not seek specialised knowledge or support and nor do they necessarily look for other people with similar views.

This had implications for an organisation representing their needs. Some felt that The Society 'has become a victim of its own success' (delegate at Local Action Weekend).

Since vegetarianism has entered the mainstream, it has been argued that providing mutual support was no longer necessary:

When I became a vegetarian, the first thing I did was join The Vegetarian Society, the second thing I did was go to socials, because in those days it was slightly different. I think it is like that for vegans now as it was for vegetarians [...] because vegetarians, they don't seem to feel the need to join The Society. (delegate at the Local Action Weekend)

Because as vegetarianism becomes more and more normal, no longer seen as cranky, people see less reason for grouping together. When I was in my early 20's we had a very active young vegetarian movement [...] but as time went on, and vegetarianism became more and more normal, people found it less desirable or necessary to get a group together like that. [...] If you look at the other vegetarian
magazines, 100 years ago there were branches in all sorts of places where none exist today. (Chair of Council)

The wider acceptance of vegetarianism was often compared to veganism (The Vegan Society was established in 1944) where mutual support may still be needed. The Society's Chair of Council illustrated this point with reference to the Annual General Meeting:

The Vegan Society gets better attendance than we have, they've only got 3000 odd members and they often get 100 or more to the AGM. We've got something like 18000 and we get 40 or 50.

AS: Is that because they still have to club together?

Right, they're more fringe aren't they, they're more crusading because they've got to establish. (Chair of Council)

While the 'outsider' image of veganism was not a valid measurement of the place of vegetarianism in the mainstream, it did indicate a level of comparative acceptance.

I have suggested that globalisation has challenged the role of an insular 'club'. While contemporary vegetarianism was popular among certain groups (young women, environmentalists and animal lovers), The Society preferred to portray the endemic spread of the movement as reflected by its membership demographics. While not the norm, vegetarians no longer seemed to be 'outsiders'. Thus, an organisation whose role was to provide mutual support, companionship and a collective spirit was being questioned.

The facilitation of vegetarianism may need to take a new form. Staff had ideas regarding the spreading of information, not only its tone and style, but also the type of materials and methods of dissemination. With regard to style and tone:

AS: would you change the methods of education?

I'd make them much more positive, more positive in terms of positive health benefits, the actual positive sensual benefits of the food. (Public Relations Officer)

While it should be recognised that the staff members' own areas of interest influence their opinions regarding what is appropriate, it was interesting to see how these were justified. In the example of newer types of materials:

I think we could do more for research because I think it gets more publicity than anything else... which I think has been overlooked in the past (Research Manager)
I want to get a Christmas leaflet going, that we can get sponsorship for from somebody, because it's only going to be pushing nice Christmas food and a compassionate diner, without going into a lot of gory details [...] (Chief Executive)

This continued engagement with the media and food industry highlighted a concern for populism which was also echoed in views regarding the dissemination of information:

I think our aim has to be to reach more people and educate more people and give them choices really. I know that's a bit vague, but we're not reaching enough people yet. One of the moves we're looking at is we've contacted Holland and Barrett, with a view to trying to get our magazine on their bookshelves, because that doesn't reach enough ... our magazine is a very good quality magazine, it's a very interesting magazine and it only reaches our members. (Chief Executive)

I don't think we do enough really of actually just getting good literature into places where it can be used. [...] we are not prepared to put any money into a nutrition leaflet to get into sort of, health promotion units or something like that. Any adults who are interested, we need to make sure the information is out there to say its alright to be a vegetarian, it's quite easy, healthy ...

AS: and where would this information be ... doctors, professionals?

Everywhere. Supermarkets, doctors, libraries, schools (Information Manager)

The shift toward 'lifestyle' and health campaigning aimed to underline the normality and safety of a vegetarian diet for mainstream society. This populist approach, of outward looking engagement, reflected a post-traditional social order.

As I showed in Chapter Six, The Society took a pragmatic approach which promoted integration into the social world. It was not a support group for food outcasts which took a separatist attitude, but instead it promoted change by engagement. This can be characterised as a movement toward a post-traditional approach: to reach the wider population and facilitate vegetarianism by engaging with the food industry. In light of mainstream understanding, the fundamental approach of retaining The Society as a club was seen by some as anachronistic. During the fieldwork, a post-traditional attitude prevailed in the evidence of pragmatic actions and dialogue; fundamentalist attitudes provided a counterweight which helped to reinforce The Society's underlying moral stance.

The post-traditional, pragmatic and incremental, approach was considered to fit best with the world which The Society was trying to change:

Some people are very puritan: 'oh its morally wrong to eat beef flavoured TVP [meat substitute]. That's a load of rubbish. [...] we're trying to encourage people
and you're not going to encourage them if you tell people what they're doing, every aspect virtually of their life, is wrong. (Chair of Council)

From a post-traditional approach, incremental change was considered the way to encourage new converts. However, this meant engaging with those considered to be the opposition and dialogue does not overcome fundamental differences:

Even the farmers who willingly subject their animals to awful pain, you know. I've met them and they're just not aware ... they're not conscious of it .... they're really not. They haven't woken up and that's all there is to it. I went there ... on one pig farm ... very intensive, the sows were tethered in their stalls, hadn't turned around for years probably, and er ... it was disgusting, they were laying in their own shit ... in this darkened shed, the farrowing crates were really crowded, there were ... discarded bodies of piglets that had been crushed, lying outside the portacabins that he had them in. It was disgusting, but this man was actually a very nice man. He honestly didn't realise that he was doing something wrong. Y'know and I can't explain that crucial gap in his brain, except that I know it's there and that he lacked a fundamental piece of compassion. (Campaigns Director)

Such recognitions of deeply embedded difference were regarded pragmatically, but this again indicated that dialogue does not equate to agreement.

The launch of a veggie burger by the food company McDonald's (a huge supplier of meat products) was another case in point:

In my book [the McDonald's veggie burger] is a success not a failure. There are people in the animal rights community who would like to see it as a failure [...]. They think McDonald's is closed to them, well yes it is closed to them, but it's not closed to 95% of the population and you can't disenfranchise all those people. (Campaigns Director)

This reflected a post-traditional approach because the sentiment demonstrated relativisation in practice. It was recognised that people who become vegetarians may do so gradually and may want to eat out with their non-vegetarian friends. The needs of a converting vegetarian were not isolated from wider society, but catered for within it. Accordingly, from a post-traditional approach, this is 'giving ground' to get people interested. Changing the social world involved 'buying in' or being left out.

Of course, engagement may require collaboration with the food industry. From a fundamental outlook, they were the perpetrators of crimes against animals and thus part of the problem, not part of the solution. From this perspective, withdrawal from an inequitable social system or active resistance can be the only answers. In return, from a
post-traditional perspective, it was argued that withdrawal and radical action was only an option for the few who have the time and resources (experiences and information) to consciously abstain from the social world most people have to inhabit.

This is the world we are in .. unless you go and live on a desert island I don't think you can avoid being part of our society or world society which involves all these things which we deplore. (Chair of Council)

[...] it is a completely alien world as far as I'm concerned, as far as any vegetarian is concerned, because you are in a society that you do not respect [...] Most of us don't want to exploit animals, but you can't avoid animal exploitation if you are living. You might think you're a good vegetarian, but somewhere along the line you're going to come up against things which involve animal experimentation. even the food you eat is tested on animals, so we can't avoid this in our lives. What we can do is have a set of goals and work towards them and that's what we're doing as a Vegetarian Society. (Chair of Council)

From a post-traditional approach, the alternative of disengagement may have the potential to solve ethical dilemmas, but that it does not effectively promote vegetarianism to the outside world (i.e., half of The Society's raison d'être).

From a post-traditionalist viewpoint, 'buying in' contributed to gradual changes. Working with the food industry or cultivating favourable media contacts were ways in which to promote vegetarianism. From a fundamental approach, the price of inclusion was the blunting of one's views and actions through compromise. In the debate between engagement or withdrawal/ resistance, The Society had opted toward engagement and pragmatism, but monitored this within its existing aims. In this case, the fundamental position acted as the critique; a counterbalance which raised awareness of potential dilemmas and self-contradictions which some engagements threatened (as suggested by McLennan, 1995). In a post-traditional social order the fundamental outlook of enclosure was anachronistic. For the post-traditional outlook, this same social situation offered new opportunities for acceptance. However, these new opportunities also had drawbacks and it was these which the fundamental approach made clear.

Chapter summary

I have argued that the social environment (within which The Society was instigating social change) had been globalised and that this was reflected in views regarding The Society's future role. The variety and complexity of individual perceptions and the ongoing nature
of debates necessitated using an analytical ideal-type: post-traditional (pragmatic, incrementalist and outward looking) and fundamental (dogmatic and inward looking). I used relativisation, detraditionalisation and institutional reflexivity to show the relation between perspectives at The Society and ongoing globalisation.

Socio-cultural pluralism, encouraged by relativisation, impacted both on The Society's position within a hierarchy of ethical consumption and on its own policy and practice. It faced problems of both individual flexibility and organisational inflexibility. The Society now represented just one organisational stance within the range of ethical consumption, from which individuals can make a choice. Further, The Society's focus purely on vegetarianism meant that the ethics of related issues (e.g., genetic engineering) were not considered its responsibility. The repositioning of The Society was best characterised by a post-traditional outlook. A difference was recognised between ideals and the movement toward achieving them. I suggest a post-traditional approach dominated at The Society, encouraged by relativisation which indicated the impact of ongoing globalisation.

The impact of information saturation was declining control over the boundaries of vegetarianism, with The Society retaining a role providing relevant and timely information. While individuals were empowered to discover vegetarianism for themselves, information which was 'already out there' may not be used to simply benefit vegetarians (other parties may use it for their own ends). The spread of information also opened The Society's campaigning claims to scrutiny. The ensuing dialogue may contribute toward new solutions, but equally the risk of 'selling out' organisational credibility existed. Information saturation was also considered to be related to ongoing globalisation, both as an outcome of globalised systems of communication but also demonstrating that institutional reflexivity had supplanted simple modern reflexivity.

I have examined the use of pervasive (rationalist) values and 'lifestyle' campaigning to gain legitimacy and acceptance. The repositioning of vegetarianism in the mainstream showed the direction which ongoing globalisation had pushed The Society's strategies for creating change. The Society presented the justifications for vegetarianism in a way that was
relevant within a framework of dialogue. Science, reason and rationality were applied to justify the arguments for vegetarianism (using authoritative voices and scientific research). This was not new as the measures used to gain legitimacy were part of the pervasive systems of values already existing in 'Western' societies. However, the divide between post-traditional/ fundamental perspectives highlighted that current claims to truth were no longer necessarily considered as certain or universal.

Vegetarianism had entered the mainstream of post-traditional society which challenged the role of an insular 'club' organised to represent the interests of its members. A declining proportion of vegetarians were joining The Society and its activities benefited more than just those who were members. It was increasingly difficult to unify the dual role of an outward campaigning organisation and inward looking interest group. The Society was taking post-traditional approach to instigating change in the contemporary world. It was not a separatists support group for food outcasts, but instead promoted the vegetarian diet as 'normal' and instigated change by engagement (while the fundamental outlook acted as a counter-balance against 'selling out'). This was reflective of globalisation as relativisation and detraditionalisation open up dialogue, engagement and 'choice'. The Society was active in the social world, instigating change by engagement and dialogue (rather than withdrawal). It encouraged individuals to choose incremental changes in their diet which would cumulatively contribute toward The Society's aims.

Notes to Chapter Seven

1 Similar tactics have been employed by others in animal advocacy, as discussed by McAllister Groves (1995). Also, Yearley (1996) details the use of science as a campaigning tool in the environmental movement.

2 This ceding of the 'moral high ground' may be related to relativisation (as comparative awareness contributes toward uncertainty) and thus globalization. It may also be that promoting a cause by telling the audience of their moral shortcomings was not considered an effective means of encouraging converts.
CHAPTER EIGHT
ONGOING GLOBALISATION AND ITS IMPACT ON
THE VEGETARIAN SOCIETY

In this chapter I re-examine the findings to address, firstly, the impact of globalisation upon *The Vegetarian Society* and secondly, the nature of ongoing globalisation in the case study. In the first section I summarise the globalising influences seen at *The Vegetarian Society*. I then use this to sketch out the implications for the promotion of vegetarianism and make some generalisations about peripheral interests in a post-traditional social order. In the second section I consider ongoing globalisation, as both a set of processes and an outcome. I outline globalisation processes at three 'levels' (global consciousness, globalised social relations and their reflexive reproduction), use the 'globalising influences' to indicate how the outcome of globalisation came about in the case and reflect on what my findings mean in terms of the working definition introduced in Chapter One. In the final section I draw on the findings to show how globalisation is a unified set of changes.

The broad context of the case study was a 'Western', capitalist, liberal-democratic nation-state; a setting conducive to a post-traditional social order (see Chapter One). The organisation was a peripheral interest group; it had limited power to direct change, but nevertheless pursued its aims (to further the interests of its members and promote vegetarianism to the general public). While both the setting and the nature of the group limit the possibility for generalisations, I sought analytical inferences from the interface between data and theory. I have used the 'globalising influences' of interpenetration, relativisation, detraditionalisation and institutional reflexivity to explain ongoing globalisation at *The Society*. In the first section I draw these explanations together to consider the impact of globalisation on *The Society* and the promotion of vegetarianism in a post-traditional social order.
I used concept of interpenetration to explain how global concerns become expressed in local action. It was indicative of ongoing globalisation because it showed the active reproduction of global contexts through purposeful activity. The organisation promoted vegetarianism using a global frame of reference by recontextualising global issues within the promotion of vegetarianism to individuals in the UK. Evidence of this was in the promotional materials on the developing world and the environment, but it was also a 'backdrop' to other campaigns. The connections between meat eating, global food scarcity and environmental degradation had come under scrutiny because of the complexity of the issues and their relation to vegetarianism in the UK. Consequently global contexts became more implicit or replaced by national concerns (illustrating that globalisation was contested but continued to occur).

Interpenetration was also evident in *The Society's* interactions with the mass communications systems. The impact of this upon the organisation was to widen the scope of available information, which could be used to promote the diet. Retrieving information from the mass media, the internet and international databases was a localised and purposeful activity. Medical research outside of the UK, news stories from around the world and information from the World Wide Web all contributed toward knowledge for campaigning. I employed the concept of interpenetration to explain the way that globalised contexts of understanding and interaction were used in a localised and purposeful way. Global contexts and resources impacted on *The Society* as it actively used them to initiate social change.

I used relativisation to show how social actors become aware of their cultural and personal identity relative to a global field. Relativisation was indicative of ongoing globalisation because it explained *The Society's* reflexive awareness of its position within a global frame of reference. However, relativisation was already well entrenched as vegetarians have long been social 'outsiders'. Accordingly, a sense of difference was intrinsic to *The Society*, as was a recognition of other (distant) cultures with parallel beliefs. Nevertheless,
relativisation was not finite, rather it was a constant (reflexive) readjustment in the light of new knowledge.

Promotional materials relativised everyday food consumption within the global framework of production and distribution (suggesting negative consequences of food scarcity and environmental degradation). However, the difficulty in linking a personal commitment to vegetarianism to the solution of global problems demonstrated that relativisation was ongoing and contested. An impact of relativisation on The Society was the recognition that some of its arguments were in danger of being oversimplified. A further impact was the recognition of the relative nature of 'simple modern vegetarianism' and its agenda (particularly world-wide). The awareness that global problems involve many social actors with potentially conflicting viewpoints brought with it the awareness that campaigning can be a form of cultural imperialism (promoting a 'Western' understanding of problems and solutions).

A further impact of continuing relativisation was awareness of the dilemmas of food industry sponsorship. For the food industry (operating within globalised food systems) vegetarianism was merely a profitable niche market to be exploited. The mass production and consumption of meat remained unquestioned and for The Society to accept food industry sponsorship was a potential compromise ('selling out'). Implicit in the debate about this dilemma was a recognition of the relative position of a vegetarian diet among other food choices within globalised food systems.

Relativisation also provoked reflexive repositioning at The Society (illustrated using the post-traditional versus fundamental ideal-typical characterisation in Chapter Seven). The Society was repositioning itself from being an outsider group (change by resistance or withdrawal) to an insider group (change through inclusion). However, the impact of relativisation was experienced differently by individuals (polarised around the ideal-typical characterisation). Relativisation reinforced some people's self-identity as different (fundamental), while for others it opened new avenues for inclusion in the mainstream (post-traditional). The price of inclusion was the recognition that the inclusive framework
serves the needs of vegetarians alongside a host of other minorities (e.g., diabetics, those allergic to 'nuts' or 'gluten', people who want 'exotic' meat, etc.). The impact on The Society was to reinforce its sense of difference, but simultaneously create awareness of its similarity to other minority organisations.

I used detraditionalisation to explain both negotiated relations through dialogue and the ongoing appraisal of The Society's role. Detraditionalisation was indicative of ongoing globalisation because it explained The Society's position within a framework of dialogue. The Society was an agent of change, promoting perceived problems and the contribution of vegetarianism toward their solution. The impact of detraditionalisation on The Society was evident in the policy of change though engagement. Negotiation and pragmatism were dominant in The Society's outlook. Desired outcomes (better services and new converts) were achieved by involving the food industry representatives, not excluding them. To The Society, the food industry needed 'educating' and was also a source of funding.

A policy of engagement held the potential for compromise, or at least required adherence to rules set outside the context of a vegetarian agenda. The Society 'sold' itself and its members to the food industry as a specialist market. To achieve wide dissemination of information, The Society blended its objectives with the values and practices of the mass media. Science, rationality and reason were embedded in campaigning materials to enhance its legitimacy. In each of these examples of engagement there were problems: the food industry was exploiting a vegetarian niche for profit, the simplification of mass mediated campaigning issues led to superficial coverage and the push for legitimacy marginalised moral and emotional arguments.

Detraditionalisation (like relativisation) encouraged individual responses. Many people were happy to promote change through dialogue, but for others this incremental route was not acceptable. For the latter, the price of inclusion was a compromise to their beliefs. The impact of detraditionalisation at The Society was to expand the moderate 'middle ground', but also give increased importance to the periphery. Individuals with beliefs that
cannot, or will not, be adapted into a framework of dialogue were marginalised. These people remained important (as a counterbalance), but there was also the potential for them to become disenchanted (two ex-Vegetarian Society staff had started new, potentially rival organisations). The Society dealt with the benefits and costs of instigating change through engagement in an ongoing manner (itself reflecting pragmatism over dogmatism).

I used institutional reflexivity to explain the self-monitoring and repositioning of The Society in its continued attempts to initiate change. This illustrated how a globalised social context was created and recreated as The Society adjusted to its changing social environment. Institutional reflexivity occurred in routine interactions (collecting information from the mass media, engagement with the food industry and contact with members, researchers, academics, students, visitors, journalists, etc.). It was also implicit in the debates with those who argued against vegetarianism. Dialogue with the meat industry (or some in the medical profession) was not founded on agreement, but was an important site of reflexive relations. In terms of The Society's policies, internal liaison between staff and Council was another site of reflexivity. The Society had to position itself regarding developments in technology, food scares, new farming methods and shifting patterns of consumption.

This reflexivity operated in different ways. Firstly as routine, the monitoring of media coverage subtly shifted the everyday agenda and raised new issues. Secondly in a reactive but planned manner, campaign strategies recognised as problematic were changed. Thirdly, The Society repositioned pro-actively. For example, the development of intensive farming techniques informed a shift in policy regarding the 'suitability' of battery eggs in a vegetarian diet. The 'active ingredients' in this reflexive repositioning were knowledgeable human agents. The Society's members, Local Network, staff and Council produced and reproduced The Society through time and reflexive monitoring was intrinsic to their activities. Reflexive repositioning was a case of human actors undertaking activities (routinely and consciously) which they considered would fulfil the aims of the organisation.
The impact on *The Society* was that it changed over time in relation to the shifting social environment (adjusting its output, external relations and role). While *The Society* was in constant renewal, continuity and stability was founded on the core justifications for vegetarianism and the stated aims of the organisation. *The Society* closely monitored its own social environment to stay relevant. For example, the 'efficiency' justification for vegetarianism has remained similar over time, but the way in which it was presented changed in the light of globalisation. *The Society* continually formed and reformed vegetarianism to keep it up-to-date and relevant. However, reflexive repositioning also exacerbated differences within the organisation (regarding directions and strategies).

I can now make some general comments about the impact of globalisation upon *The Society*. It was keeping itself informed through a widened field of information, available from globalised systems of communication. As this was used instrumentally to promote vegetarianism in the UK, its activities included the need to recontextualise information into a suitable form (encouraging individuals in the UK toward vegetarianism). Having re-framed the justifications for vegetarianism within a global context, there was a recognition of the position of *The Society* in relation to its world context (as a peripheral interest group in a 'Western', capitalist, liberal democratic, nation-state). Monitoring its environment informed a range of opinions within the organisation about future strategies to help create social change.

*The Society* reflected a post-traditional social order: it was pursuing change through engagement. It was open to dialogue and while some of its interrelations were hostile, others promoted understanding or attempted to dispel common misconceptions. Engagement was pursued in the interest of its members, although this was recognised to have both benefits and drawbacks. The interests of vegetarians were promoted through globalised food systems (convenience, labelling, wider variety and choice). Also, some acceptance and status was granted by the food industry providing the opportunity for *The Society* to 'educate' food producers. In terms of drawbacks, dialogue brought dilemmas which required compromise and a pragmatic view of how change could be achieved.
The differences of opinion regarding how to initiate future change struck at the role and purpose of The Society. Individuals at The Society reacted to a post-traditional approach in different ways. Some encouraged open engagement, accepted that change would happen incrementally and welcomed the placement of vegetarianism in the social mainstream. Others had the sense of 'difference' in their vegetarian identity reinforced, wished to avoid compromise at the expense of marginalisation and counterbalanced The Society to prevent it 'selling out' (or felt unable to give The Society continued support). The changes in social relations which accompany globalisation have highlighted the lines of disagreement over The Society's future role. In a post-traditional setting, the dual role of an inward-looking vegetarian club and an outward-looking campaigning organisation had become increasingly problematic.

The experience of The Society in the UK may be useful for others promoting vegetarianism in a post-traditional social order. The pursuit of a multi-issue strategy can be difficult, particularly if resources are scarce. The overlapping of vegetarianism with other concerns created difficulties around organisational boundaries and responsibility. Also, the 'progression' between vegetarianism and veganism (especially where mass production dominates the dairy industry) required examination. Moreover, the ability to fulfil a dual role (simultaneously serving the interest of a group and campaigning publicly) had become problematic. For The Society, questions arose about the need for (and role of) a membership when so many vegetarians were not members, information was widespread and the diet was catered for in the mainstream. In the UK the role of a vegetarian 'club' was under pressure, although this may not be the case in other countries where vegetarianism is just emerging.

Vegetarianism may spread to other countries. However, converting a whole nation was a distant aim (made more so by detraditionalisation). In the mainstream of a post-traditional social order vegetarians had made a life choice, but were treated in a similar way to people who wanted 'exotic' meat products. Further, individuals were able to 'mix and match' their personal commitments, creating overlapping interests with other issues (such as 'fair trade', ethical consumption or environmentalism). This leaves questions regarding the
boundaries and purposes of national vegetarian organisations. Finally, the strategy of 'change through engagement' had both benefits and drawbacks. Dialogue facilitated increased convenience and choice, a degree of acceptance in mainstream society and the continued hope of incremental change. However, life in the mainstream held the risk of compromise. The alternatives of withdrawal or resistance were options for only a small minority (although such people remain important in setting vegetarianism's boundaries).

The findings highlighted some issues which may help to illuminate the experiences of similar peripheral interest groups operating in a post-traditional (global) social order. Change was pursued through purposeful engagement. Inclusion in political pluralism opened lines of dialogue, while the 'free market' offered the provision of goods and services. However, the potential for compromise existed because the specific agenda of the organisation could clash with the broader agenda for pluralist co-existence (political and economic). Operating within the mainstream framework of dialogue required the justification of beliefs by legitimation (in this case, using reason, rationality and science) and the promotion of acceptability (using 'lifestyle' campaigns). Inclusion demanded new levels of thought and action (not merely opposition, but proposing solutions). Demands have to be accompanied by new solutions, which are open to debate within a dialogical framework. Within the group, individual attitudes become polarised: pragmatists hope to achieve gradual change while dogmatists are marginalised in their fundamental beliefs.

In this scenario, established elites (well versed in using science, rationality and mass communication) are already at an advantage. Further, internal division in peripheral groups can leave them open to manipulation by those in power (with the skills, resources and entrenched access to decision making structures). Consequently, for those with fundamental beliefs, post-traditional dialogue gives merely the pretence of inclusion: a facade of diversity masking entrenched power. Those in the periphery who resist co-option become a smaller minority but, while their fundamental position stands against dialogue, the post-traditional tenet of free expression confers legitimacy on their opinions. Consequently, actors still operate outside of pervasive systems. In this case they acted a counterbalance, but they can also become the pioneers of alternatives futures. More
insidiously, excluded from participation but encouraged in their individuality, they hold a threat for violent intervention to make their impact. In a post-traditional social order, the 'mainstream' is more inclusive but those in the periphery remain agents of social change.

8.2 Ongoing Globalisation

I aimed to address how globalisation was an ongoing social change by studying a single case in its context and interpreting the evidence within a framework from the sociological literature. An original concern was to reject simplified (determinist, reductionist and unidirectional) accounts of globalisation. In this section I draw together the findings to explicate the way in which globalisation was reproduced by a purposeful social actor. I firstly show how globalisation was both a set of processes and an outcome. I then reflect on the implications of the findings for the working definition.

8.2.1 Processes of globalisation

In this case the processes of globalisation operated at three 'levels'. The working definition indicated two of these: a global consciousness (human awareness of global interrelations and their position relative to them) and the globalisation of social systems (interconnection of social relations at a distance). However (as I noted in Chapter One), separating the comprehension of social surroundings and from the agent's capacity for social reproduction was an analytical division. The connection between these two levels (and the third of the processes) was the reflexive reproduction of social structures (rules and resources). I shall consider each level in turn.

While the term global can be open to interpretation, some social actors are constrained to identify themselves within global parameters, for example, the environmental movement (Axford, 1996). In this respect, *The Society* was not a social actor that was necessarily constrained to think globally. Simple modern vegetarianism was a reflexive choice of life politics, facilitated by a 'Western' social context. Nevertheless, *The Society*’s recontextualisation of issues promoted global consciousness. Claims regarding efficiency
(a long standing vegetarian argument) were re-framed within a global context. Global issues of environmentalism and food scarcity in economically less developed nations were recontextualised and presented as relevant to individual vegetarians. *The Society* was effectively connecting events at a distance (e.g., famine or deforestation) to situated action (consumption of meat). In these ways, regardless of the validity of its arguments, *The Society* was contributing to raising global consciousness.

While I did not research the effects on its audience, *The Society*’s use of global language and imagery in the public sphere held the potential to contribute to individuals’ awareness of globalisation. The process of raising global consciousness was ongoing; it drew on global awareness and reproduced it. As an agent of change *The Society* instrumentally used global contexts because it was thought that its audience would identify with them. In this way it was reflecting global consciousness among the population and using this for its own ends. Messages were directed at individuals and vegetarianism was presented as a contribution to solving perceived global problems. This reinforcement of global consciousness interconnected local, everyday action and perceived global problems. Awareness about the globe and the values of globalism were reproduced as an unintended consequence of the promotion of vegetarianism to individuals in the UK.

As a national organisation utilising a global frame of reference, *The Society* encountered difficulties in adequately recontextualising issues within local understanding and experience. A disjuncture between national and global contexts was evident in the inherent complexities of global issues, linking local concerns to global issues and the connection to individual action. This demonstrated that the process of increasing global consciousness was continuing and required reflexive repositioning in the light of growing awareness. In short, a process of increasing global consciousness was promoted in the interpenetration of local action and global issues. This process was ongoing, contested and an unintended outcome of a national organisation’s purposeful activity.

A second process of globalisation was the reproduction of global social systems. *The Society* was a purposeful social actor within the globalised systems of food and
communication. It wanted to alter the pervasive systems of food, but merely used systems of communication to gain information and promote its messages. Equally, the representatives of the food industry and mass media interacted with The Society in pursuit of their own ends. This mismatch of agendas resulted in dilemmas (compromises on food industry sponsorship and the limitations of mass mediated campaigns) which The Society resolved pragmatically (differentiating between sources of funding and targeting media niches). This continued interaction with other social actors within globalised social systems contributed to systemic reproduction.

While holding the potential to instigate change, negotiated and contested engagement drew upon and reproduced existing rules and resources (as I noted in Chapter Six). The above dilemmas were contextualised illustrations that active engagement by The Society may unintentionally reproduced structural elements of social systems. A problem associated with the globalised mass media was over-simplification, yet The Society actively used sensationalist media values and 'sound bites' to help ensure coverage for itself. The sponsorship dilemma arose because some food companies simultaneously profited from meat products and a vegetarian niche market. To encourage the provision of vegetarian food, The Society 'sold' its own expertise and its 'client base' as a specialist, profitable niche. In both examples, to fulfil its aims in the mainstream The Society drew on and reproduced the rules and resources of globalised social systems.

As a part of the process of globalisation, negotiated engagement contributed to the routine reproduction of globalised social systems. The Society's situated activities were understandable as social relations which used, challenged and reproduced the globalised systems of food and communication. At this level The Society's contribution was unintentional; it was utilising existing social structures to pursue its own aims. Also, the global context was largely unacknowledged. This related to The Society's social setting and status (a national organisation, representing a minority interest). Connections to globalised social systems remained implicit because, as a peripheral social actor, The Society was instigating change within globalised systems. In this context, continued interaction and its associated dilemmas were evidence of the ongoing reproduction of
globalised social systems. By actively seeking to change or use social systems The Society was perpetuating globalised social relations.

The third process of globalisation was reflexive repositioning: the coming together of awareness of the social world and its active reproduction. While the working definition distinguished individual consciousness from social relations, the two are linked through the concept of reflexivity. Individuals undertake social relations via their own perception, knowledgeability and motivation. Reflexive repositioning was a process of globalisation evident in the monitoring and adjustment of The Society. The global framing of food issues was evident in the reformulation of campaigns materials (Chapter Five). Issues emerging from the globalised social systems (in Chapter Two) were reflected in The Society’s dilemmas (Chapter Six). Its role and purpose were challenged by the reflexive re-orientation toward the social structures of a post-traditional (global) society (Chapter Seven). Reflexive repositioning both ensured continued relevance in its globalised social setting and perpetuated globalisation by reproducing global concerns within the context of The Society.

The social world which The Society aimed to change had itself changed. The reflexive process of globalisation was also illustrated by the prevalence of post-traditional attitudes over fundamental ones. In a post-traditional social order, pragmatically overcoming compromise, seeking legitimation and engaging in dialogue within the mainstream were all ways that The Society initiated change. While certainty has been undermined, The Society continued to promote its vision of social change using the rules and resources available to it. The Society pursued legitimacy through science, used dominant media values to aid coverage and the food industry as a source of sponsorship. This pragmatic approach was evidence of reflexive repositioning related to the social structures of a post-traditional (global) social order. To remain relevant, The Society reflexively repositioned in line with a globalised social world.

I have demonstrated three processes of globalisation within the context of The Society. Processes of globalisation in the case study were often unacknowledged, unintended and
reproduced reflexively. Situated and ongoing globalisation was evident in the recontextualisation of global issues, the interactions with external parties and The Society's reflexive repositioning. I have shown the processes of globalisation at the level of consciousness (the instrumental use of global imagery and language), the reproduction of social systems (the negotiated engagement within globalised systems of food and communication) and in the reflexive relation between action and structure (the repositioning to remain relevant in a post-traditional social order). As a set of processes, globalisation was not an objective force imposed upon social actors. The Society was active in (unacknowledged) global contexts and (unintentionally) contributed to their reproduction. Ongoing globalisation was an active set of processes which were contributed to by The Society's promotion of vegetarianism in the UK.

8.2.2 Globalisation as an outcome

While not a major socio-political organisation, The Society was a purposeful social actor and a central element in some peoples' lives. The direct effects of its global language and imagery were not measured, but The Society's messages promoted an awareness of a global frame of reference. Its activities also had the potential to change the way that people lived their lives at a personal and routine level (i.e., food consumption). As the everyday practice of eating has become globalised into food systems, The Society contributed to globalisation by altering actions which link into globalised systems. By using the conceptual framework of 'globalising influences' I will now consider how globalisation was an outcome of its activities.

Globalisation was sustained and reproduced through situated social interaction. Using the concept of interpenetration I explained that situated, purposeful events have connotations and repercussions which extend beyond the immediate context. This retained the idea that human agency was imperative for reproducing globalisation (Robertson's (1992) and Albrow's (1996) definitions capture the idea that ongoing globalisation involves human action). However, in this case globalisation was not an intended outcome or an acknowledged context. The Society used globalism as a tool wherever it was considered
useful and the globalised nature of social systems was largely beyond its concern. Nevertheless, the interpenetration of global contexts and local, purposeful human action resulted in globalisation as an outcome. Globalised social systems were reproduced by situated activities, while promotional language and imagery embedded vegetarianism in a global frame of reference.

Relativisation resulted in globalisation as culture and identity were repositioned relative to a global field. In this case study, vegetarianism was promoted as a chance for individuals to 'make a difference' to perceived global problems. Awareness of relations to others (i.e., the far-reaching consequences of meat production) encouraged people to choose a stance which they believed in or felt able to make (ranging from vegans to demi-vegetarians). The individual's diet in the UK was relativised within a global frame of reference. Globalisation was the outcome as this encouraged awareness of interrelations at a distance (distant events were re-framed as the consequence of local actions). Relativisation was dialectical: it reinforced a sense of difference by emphasising the qualities which set people apart (e.g., meat eaters and vegetarians), while also conceiving the world as a unified social space. Furthermore it was continuing, as demonstrated by the problems which arose in this case (complexity of global issues and linking them to individuals in the UK).

Relativisation also impacted upon organisational boundaries. Effectively, organisations promoting vegetarianism, veganism and animal advocacy were in competition with each other for the support (and finance) of concerned individuals. Relativisation encourages organisations to view their positions relative to others, effectively hardening their boundaries in direct relation to the outlooks and policies of similar groups. The scope for organisational change over time (in light of shifting social circumstances or new technology) was shown to be limited. Also, simple modern vegetarianism itself was relativised: the ability for people in other nations to adopt the diet was recognised as being dependent on their culture and setting. As an indication of globalisation, the relativisation of one's culture and identity does not necessarily relate to global contexts. Nevertheless, ongoing globalisation does increase the scope within which relativisation can occur.
Detraditionalisation encouraged ongoing globalisation; the negotiation of social change within a framework of dialogue underpins a post-traditional (global) social order. Engagement within systems (of food, communications and scientific rationality) was founded on globalised social relations and disembedded abstract systems (Giddens, 1990). In this case, dialogical claims (using reason, rationality and science) dominated over emotive approaches and moral standpoints. The Society's post-traditional approach (engaged, pragmatic and outward looking) was evident in dialogue with the food industry and mass media. This provided opportunities to promote social change, but also raised dilemmas and potential compromises (where agendas did not correspond). Negotiated relations aptly demonstrated that dialogue can also mean resistance and disagreement between parties. This was in accordance with the proposition that globalisation is ongoing, fluid, open to contest and negotiation (e.g., Robertson, 1992; Appadurai, 1990).

Globalisation was also visible in the responses of individuals (using an ideal-typical characterisation). People engaged in dialogue or remained fundamentally attached to their beliefs. However, an uncritical application of this ideal-type can simplify the complex outlook of individuals and the ways which they justify belief. Giddens acknowledges that routine and habit play important roles in the maintenance of traditional beliefs (1990: 38). He accepts that such 'values' are not rationally based (1990: 44), but makes no explicit mention of the emotive (irrational?) attachment that individuals have to their cultural roots and self-identities. In this case, it was those with a fundamental approach who (rationally) highlighted the drawbacks of engagement and the potential for 'selling out'. People with fundamental beliefs may not need them rationalised within a framework of dialogue and, moreover, they can still act rationally.

The relation between the outcome of globalisation and institutional reflexivity was reciprocal. On one hand, 'globalisation provides the individual with increased information with which to engage in social interactions' (Spybey, 1996: 9). On the other, engagement based on that information also results in globalisation. The Society continued to instigate change by constantly undertaking reflexive self-assessment to stay relevant within a
globalised social environment (as I showed in section 8.2.1). Globalised contexts and structures were reflexively reproduced as an outcome of The Society's everyday attempts to create social change. The reflexive repositioning at The Society was based upon incoming information, including globalised perspectives, issues and events. Monitoring and repositioning in line with this information effectively globalised The Society's perspective and actively reproduced global issues within its context. As a national actor that recontextualised global issues for its own ends, The Society's institutional reflexivity contributed to globalisation as an outcome.

I can now summarise the processes and outcome of ongoing globalisation in the case study. The Society drew on and reproduced global language and imagery, thus adding to global awareness. As an example of interpenetration, this showed that globalisation can result unintentionally from situated, purposeful action. Global consciousness was also promoted through linking local events to distant outcomes and the suggestion that individual action can contribute to solving perceived global problems. Problems encountered in the practice of relativisation showed that globalisation was continuing and contested. Detraditionalisation was evident in The Society's pragmatism, demonstrated by negotiation within post-traditional (global) social order. Again, the reproduction of globalisation (of social systems) was an unintentional outcome of instrumental action. Finally, The Society was monitoring and repositioning its promotional materials, its social relations and its own role within a globalised social environment. Despite the uncertainty associated with this institutional reflexivity, the framework of dialogue was based on reason, rationality and science. I have used the term 'globalising influences' to link the interpretation of events at The Society into a picture of ongoing globalisation. This showed increasing comparative awareness, purposeful dialogue within frameworks of social relations and the reflexive reproduction of an ever-changing social world.

8.2.3 An appraisal of the working definition

In the 'Introductory Overview' I noted that this research aimed to counteract oversimplifications, whereby globalisation is portrayed as an objective force, an economic
reality or an homogenisation of culture. In Chapter One, I noted Albrow's (1996) concern that the current understanding of the processes of globalisation can imply unidirectional change or a knowable outcome. The processes and outcomes shown in this social setting demonstrate that globalisation was ongoing. It was not simply an imposed reality, but a set of contexts and social structures which were drawn upon and reproduced by purposeful social actors working toward local or national political and cultural aims. Capitalism did impinge upon these aims (giving rise to potential compromises), but the processes of ongoing globalisation were not dominated by economic variables. Neither was globalisation unidirectional: it was contested, negotiated and its influences were dependent upon the context. In the light of these findings I shall now critically appraise the working definition introduced in Chapter One.

Drawing on Robertson (1992), the working definition included institutional compression, an intensification of consciousness of the world as a whole and the structuration of the world as one social space. With regard to the claim for an intensification of 'global consciousness', some qualifications are necessary. In researching the extension of individuals' awareness of globalisation, I found the term 'consciousness' was vague. Consciousness has a range of meanings including awareness, intention and the thought processes determining action. Global consciousness can range from simple awareness of the globe, other nations and cultures, through a notion that local actions may have distant outcomes, to a sense of responsibility or conscience (as in the environmental movement) and even changes in action related to any of these notions. From the working definition I employed the term without distinguishing between the variety of meanings involved.

This movement from awareness to action is not inevitable, or part of a hierarchical scheme. Globalisation is ongoing, but people do not necessarily gain a wider perspective as globalisation continues. Reactions to globalisation can reinforce the sense of difference in localities, cultures and identities. While localism may be regarded by some 'globalists' as parochial, the 'bigger picture' is often something reserved for those whose 'smaller picture' is relatively rosy. While Albrow (1996) argues that globalism includes some idea of human obligation, care should be taken by 'Western' globalists to recognise that their
concerns may be far from the material needs of other people (e.g., environmentalists and people working for 'development').

Moreover, viewing the world as a unified social space, as recognised by 'Western' social movements, is not something new or finite. Other cultures have long argued that an essential interconnection exists between humans, the 'natural' environment and the planet. The idea of obligation is open to a variety of cultural interpretations. 'Western' interpretations of globalism are not better or worse, do not show higher or lower levels of consciousness and are not more or less 'progressive' than alternative world-views. Also, global consciousness continues to change. Social relations at a distance may be acknowledged, but the complexity of those relations and the implications for problem solving (say, food inequality or environmental degradation) are only just being recognised.

Qualifications aside, from this case study I have shown how global consciousness was reproduced. Attention was focused on social relations where humans interact with each other (and their habitat) at a distance. What was 'new' was not the recognition of the world as a unified social space, but rather awareness of extended and interrelated social relations. The Society encouraged individual responsibility: to recognise the distant consequences of actions and act in a way to alleviate the problems which they cause. This expression of globalism included the sense of obligation (Albrow, 1996). However, the context of the case study organisation (a peripheral interest group in a 'Western', capitalist, liberal democratic nation-state) limits a further inference that such expressions of globalism are universal. Reactions to this type of globalism (both for and against it) reflexively reinforce social relations and institutional interaction at the global level.

Using a working definition which analytically distinguished social systems from human agency was useful. However, to separate human awareness from reproduced social relations glosses over the role of the active agents who constantly make and remake the social world. Robertson (1992, 1990) suggests that globalisation involves structuration, while Albrow's (1996: 88) definition includes the constant process of making and remaking the social world. Accordingly, I also showed globalisation involved a reflexive
process of monitoring and changing social relations within a global frame of reference. As
the link between social actors and their ever-changing social environment, reflexive
repositioning emphasised the ongoing, contested and negotiated nature of globalisation.
Further, it served to emphasise that globalisation was experienced in relation to context.

Social systems were theorised as extended human relations, with the most entrenched
features termed as social institutions (Giddens, 1984). Purposeful and knowledgeable
social agents (within unacknowledged conditions) produce and reproduce globalised social
systems (sometimes as unintended consequences). The rules and resources which
constitute social structures were recursively reproduced by The Society as it drew upon
them to achieve its aims. The unintentional reproduction of globalised social systems was
evident in interactions with the mass media and the food industry (and the resulting
dilemmas) and the struggle for legitimacy. In these examples, The Society played by rules
set outside of its context: it used the language of the food industry (to gain income and
initiate change), media values (to improve its chances of coverage) and the language of
reason, rationality and science (to achieve legitimacy).

The Society's ability to promote social change was limited by established power relations:
its minority status kept The Society marginalised. While it was successful in controlling
food industry relations around the V Symbol and gaining some media attention, both were
based on mutually beneficial relations. Limited power meant The Society often had to
give ground to make ground and thus, did not substantially challenge the social systems it
engaged with (although notably, it did not aim to remove the profit motive from the food
industry, challenge sensationalist media coverage or question rationality as a framework
for decision making). However, each of these sets of rules and resources raised dilemmas
for the organisation and were reproduced as unintentional outcomes of its activities. As an
organisation instigating social change through engagement, it inevitably abided by
established rules and thus reproduced them.

The Society reproduced extended globalised social relations unintentionally. The pursuit
of its agenda through engagement furthered interpenetration of distanciated relations and

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reproduced pervasive social structures. The intentional promotion of globality would serve little purpose. Even those who are constrained to identify themselves within a global field do not promote globality for its own sake, but as a means to other motivations. In this case it was the situated reproduction of globalised social relations which facilitated ongoing globalisation. To summarise this evaluation of the working definition, consciousness of globalisation can take a variety of forms (and temptations toward ethnocentric understanding should be resisted). The unintentional, situated nature of system reproduction should be emphasised. The link between awareness and systemic reproduction can usefully be expressed in the reflexive repositioning of social actors in the light of ongoing globalisation.

8.3 Globalisation or Globalisations?

The occurrence of ongoing globalisation (and its consequences) was complex and dependent on the social setting. In this case, the evidence of globalisation was embedded in the routine, everyday activities of The Society. The analytical inferences from this ethnographic case study arose from an interface between theory and data. Ongoing processes of globalisation were evident in the awareness of human agents, in the reproduction of social systems and the reflexive relation between situated action and globalised social structures. Interpenetration, relativisation, detraditionalisation and institutional reflexivity were (other) processes which were indicative of contested and negotiated globalisation specific to context.

Sociological attempts at understanding globalisation can be polarised around their emphasis on either the homogenisation or the heterogenisation of social life (Robertson, 1995: 26; Featherstone and Lash, 1995: 4). A key question is whether globalisation can be considered as a single social change. Pieterse suggests that, since the processes of globalisation are plural, 'we may as well conceive of globalisations in the plural' (1995: 45). To avoid notions of globalisation becoming simply modernisation or Westernisation, he views globalisation as hybridisation. While it is correct that globalisation is not the same as Westernisation, Pieterse's solution implies too much in the way of heterogeneity.
I have shown that globalisation is both multi-layered (occurring through awareness, institutional interaction and reflexive engagement) and can be experienced differently. However to pluralise globalisation because it is experienced differently, or because it occurs at a number of intersecting levels, denies the totality of these experiences.

Albrow argues that a 'total historical transformation' is constituted by the sum of the particular forms and instances of globalisation (1996: 88). He analytically separates the processural aspects (agency, structure and structuration) of globalisation from the historical transformation of modernity into the 'Global Age'. This single ethnographic case study provides insufficient data to support or refute the contention that we have entered a Global Age. However, in support of Albrow's Global Age hypothesis, I have shown that the organisation in question was repositioning itself in relation to a changing, post-traditional (global) social order. Both the social setting and the organisation were subject to globalising influences. The impact of globality was clear in the case of this social actor that reflexively monitored (and reproduced) its social settings.

To characterise globalisation as simply hybridity underplays the systemic nature of the framework within which events and actions have been interconnected at a distance. Pervasive social systems, with their embedded histories of economic and political dominance, are central to contemporary globalisation. Hybrid cultures and identities arise out of the interpenetration between global systems and local use (or avoidance/resistance). However, arguing for this plurality over the 'total historical transformation' (Albrow (1996: 88) dwells on the form of the outcomes rather than the processes by which that outcome is achieved. These processes (multi-levelled and experienced differently) are binding social relations together so that actions in one locale may have distant consequences. The essence of globalisation is not the new (and albeit interesting) expressions of culture and identity which arise, but the interconnection of social relations at a distance. The global reach of social systems and the post-traditional framework of dialogue were not all-inclusive, but formed the pervasive context for social relations in a globalised world.
Recognising and emphasising globalisation as the interconnection of social relations at a distance is crucial for continued understanding of the social world (and the potential for social planning or intervention). In this case, while matters may be somewhat more complex than The Society's campaigning literature allowed, continuing food scarcity and environmental degradation were part of a wider picture about the distribution of planetary resources. Simply advancing the existence of the new, hybrid outcomes of globalisation over the historical and contemporary political and economic interrelations contributes little toward a systemic framework for a sustainable and equitable humanity. Nevertheless, awareness of interpenetration and hybridity does highlight that any such framework cannot simply be universally imposed over local expressions of culture and identity.

In this case, The Society was a social actor that contributed to the reproduction of globalisation in line with the tenets of structuration theory. Drawing on rules and resources (social structures) to further its own ends, The Society unintentionally reproduced globalised social relations. The extension of globalised social systems (and their entrenched institutional forms) occurred at the level of everyday purposeful interaction. Globalisation is a historical totality of transformations, but it is reproduced as a set of processes that can be experienced in a variety of ways depending on the context and the perspective of the agents involved. As an ongoing social change globalisation continues to be contested. In this case it was the unintentional outcome of a purposeful social actor reacting to and attempting to shape its social environment through routines of negotiated engagement.

Chapter summary

Global consciousness and globalised social relations have impacted on The Society's routine work, even though it was not hitherto constrained to act globally. The first impact of globalisation was that globalised systems of communication widened the scope of available information, which The Society reflexively monitored and used to fulfil its aims. Recontextualised global issues were used instrumentally to promote vegetarianism and The Society worked for change within existing globalised social systems of food and
communications. The second impact was the problem of recontextualising global concerns and agenda differences within globalised social systems (expressed in terms of 'buying in' or 'selling out'). The third impact was the reflexive repositioning of its strategies in line with its post-traditional social setting; it pursued change through engagement and dialogue (with both benefits and drawbacks). A final impact of globalisation was drawn in the lines of disagreement over The Society's dual role as an inward-looking club serving the interests of its members and an outward-looking organisation promoting vegetarianism to a wider audience.

Others promoting vegetarianism in a post-traditional social order were presented with changing circumstances. The boundaries between similar groups were fixed in relation to one another, forcing them to compete for the support of individuals who were able to pursue their own blend of personal commitments. As detraditionalisation encouraged socio-cultural pluralism, vegetarianism was a form of life politics, but only one option among many. In these circumstances the boundaries and purposes of national vegetarian organisations may become problematic. Choice, acceptance and incremental change were offered in the mainstream, but so too was the risk of compromise. For vegetarianism and other peripheral interests in post-traditional society, pluralist co-existence seems to imply justifying one's belief using acceptable criteria (in this case, reason, rationality and science plus lifestyle) and suggesting solutions for debate. While the mainstream is broader, the facade of 'inclusive diversity' can mask pre-existing, entrenched power. Therefore, groups on the social periphery remain important sites of resistance and provide alternative pathways to change.

In this research I investigated ongoing globalisation in an existing social context. Using the concept of 'globalising influences' I explained how globalisation was both a process and an outcome evident in social relations, human awareness and in the reflexive relation between them. Ongoing globalisation was the outcome of motivated actors, constrained to reproduce globalised social structures in attempts to achieve their interests. In this case global systems were often the unacknowledged conditions and unintended outcomes of localised, purposeful and routine activities. Oversimplifications that surround the lay and
academic use of the term globalisation can be overcome by emphasising the ongoing, reflexive reproduction of global systems and consciousness by actors reflexively engaged in their social settings. Globalisation was an ongoing, contested set of processes experienced in ways dependent on both the social context and the individual human agents involved. As a set of historical transformations, globalisation will continue to change as social actors become conscious of their globalised context and enter into negotiation and dialogue in attempts to shape it.
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