

Veganism: Lifestyle or Political Movement? Looking for Relations beyond Antispeciesism

Niccolò Bertuzzi

PhD, University of Milano-Bicocca

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n.bertuzzi1@campus.unimib.it

ABSTRACT

In recent years, various issues related to non-human animals emerged as elements of interest among public opinion, also involving debates in various academic fields. If philosophy, law, economics and cultural studies can already boast relevant works also at an Italian level, it is not the same for political sociology and social movement studies. In order to analyse the variegated archipelago of national animal advocacy, we stratified the phenomenon into three movement areas (animal care, protectionism, antispeciesism) with the goal to test some hypothetical differences and verify eventual convergences. Our data come from two main sources: an online survey and 20 semi-structured interviews conducted with leaders and/or “relevant” activists of groups and associations. In this article we specifically focus on those questions related to dietary consumption, veganism as a philosophy/lifestyle and the use of non-human animals for human interest. An increasing number of perspectives are focusing more and more on individual lifestyles and members'/activists' modes of consumption, shifting the action from the streets to the shops. This change of paradigm often blurs more radical and political approaches characterized by structural anti-capitalist frames and actions and that involve(d) forms of popular collective protests aimed at proposing alternatives ideas of future and societies.

Keywords: veganism, social movements, political sociology, antispeciesism, animal rights, animal welfare, animal advocacy, lifestyle, non-human animals, mixed methods.

1. INTRODUCCION

In recent years various issues related to non-human animals have become elements of interest among public opinion. Debates have sprung in various academic fields, from social sciences (Latimer and Miele 2013) and geography (Buller 2014) to political sociology (Kymlicka and Donaldson 2014) and economic theory (Harvey and Hubbard 2013).

This changing situation must be analysed considering both the imposition of post-materialist values (Inglehart 1977) and the different forms of animal advocacy conducted by numerous individuals and groups around the world. In such variety, it is primarily the issue of veganism to be interested by these dynamics. Before taking into account the different perspectives of the Italian animal advocates regarding veganism and other forms of advocacy (the very topic of the present article), we want to introduce our arguments focusing on more general social and sociological reflections.

A vegan diet regime is growingly widespread among the general population: this is true for the majority of Western countries as well as for Italy. The 2016 Eurispes data attest that the number of Italian vegans amounted to 600.000, demonstrating a significant diffusion of the phenomenon. Vegans live mainly in the North-West (2.1%) and in the North-East (1.9%) of Italy, fewer are concentrated in the Centre (0.5%) whilst they are practically absent from the South. The gender gap remains high (0.7% among men, 1.3% among women); looking at vegan households, couples with children (1.3%) are the most numerous, followed by single-parent families (1.1%), households without children (1%) and single people (0.4%). It should also be noted that only 30% of those who claim to follow a vegetarian or vegan diet justify it with ethical reasons, 46.7% report reasons related to their physical well-being and health, whilst 12% favour the respect and protection of the environment.

This generalized interest in cruelty-free products has led to the emergence of a real new market (Evans and Miele 2012; Miele and Lever 2013). Even if contrasted by a part of the animal advocates because they are presumed to transform a “disruptive” ethical instance into a new form of consumption, these phenomena are indicative of social change and attention towards non-human animals, leading some authors to speak about real “animal publics” (Blue and Rock 2014).

It is also evident that the growing attention for non-human animals is not exclusively related to a vegan diet but also to other collective issues and more individual aspects. For example, and still referring to Italy, recent data (2015) provided by ASSALCO¹ showed a steady increase in pet ownership, a number that now approximates that of Italian citizens. This survey, however, reflects the persistence of a certain anthropocentrism in the relationship with non-human animals: 74% of pet owners mainly emphasize the personal benefits experienced through their relationship with pets. In particular, their “utility” is underlined with regard to the

¹ Associazione Nazionale Imprese per l’Alimentazione e la Cura degli Animali da Compagnia.

physical well-being (more than 90% of the respondents consider them as a good company for jogging and walking outdoors) and psychological well-being (43% highlights how they are able to infuse serenity and joy). Finally, the same survey provides significant economic data on the food expenses sustained by Italian citizens for their pets, reflecting the considerable market that this relationship creates: 544.000 tons of food each year for a value of about 1.8 billion euros, of which 992 million for cats, 838 million for dogs and “only” 18 million for the remaining species.

Notwithstanding this data, the extremely ambiguous nature of the relationship between modernity and animal issues should be highlighted (Francione 2000; Nibert 2002; Hobson-West 2007). As previously mentioned, a remarkable interest in the life and welfare of non-human animals would seem to emerge among Italian public opinion, an interest that should be read in the light of the process of modernization. Such a process is effectively summed up by Peter Singer (1981) with the well-known concept of the “expanding circle”: in this sense, modernization would be characterized by an increasing number of individuals acquiring rights on a path that would bring different subjects (from women to children, from people with disabilities to the former “settlers”) to obtain identity and legal recognition. At the same time, modernity understood primarily as an expression of economic capitalism (Featherstone 1990) exponentially increased the number of animals killed for food, cosmetics, science and tailoring. The Meat Atlas data promulgated by Friends of the Earth (2014) is explanatory: 58 billion chickens, 2.8 billion ducks, nearly 1.4 billion pigs, 654 million turkeys, 517 million sheep, 430 million goats, and 296 million cattle are slaughtered every year around the world. This data is characterized by a constant rise: in 2007 the FAO spoke of 56 billion animals killed in that year alone. According to ISTAT (2017), the number of animals slaughtered every year in Italy is around half a billion. Moreover, it must be specified that this data relates only to food consumption (and thus it does not include other types of market) and excludes fish and other marine animals: adding these categories to the count, the data would assume larger proportions and would be difficult to compute.

It is exactly on behalf of the welfare, rights and liberation of non-human animals that the actions of animal advocates are directed. We will refer here to a broader piece of research about Italian animal advocacy that explored, by means of a quali-quantitative approach (Klandermans and Staggenborg 2002; Ayoub, Wallace, and Zepeda-Millán 2014), various individual and collective characteristics of the subjects of our study. In the next section we will review some of the literature about animal advocacy and veganism; then we will describe the general research design

and the specific aspects treated in this article. In the final section we will present data from our fieldwork in order to describe the current situation and answer the following questions: is veganism a central issue in the Italian animal advocacy? Are there important differences among the same population of animal advocates in conducting or not a vegan lifestyle, or eventually in the way of conducting it? Is veganism a political instance or an individual choice?

2. ANIMAL ADVOCATES AND VEGAN DIET

As animal advocacy (and veganism) grows, the related academic literature does too. Contributions come from a variety of fields: from psychology (Joy 2010) to philosophy (Singer 1975; Regan 2004; Derrida 2006), from law (Regan 1983; Rowlands 2002) to sociology (Cherry 2006; Munro 2012). We only remind here some references from the sociological literature, useful to our empirical analysis.

Starting with general animal advocacy, in Italy there is a lack of empirical research about the phenomenon in its complexity and internal variety. Only one relevant work goes in this direction (Tonutti 2007) and represents more a historical/archival research than a socio-anthropological one. Other contributions are about single groups (Turina 2010) or specific aspects of animal advocacy (Romeo and Citarella 2014; Sonzogni 2015; Turina forthcoming). It should be specified that we are referring to “detached”, or at least descriptive, contributions. There is also a number of more “partisan” books and papers, particularly with a philosophical (Battaglia 1997; Rivera 2010; Caffo 2011, 2013; Maurizi 2011) or juridical approach (Mannucci and Tallacchini 2001; Pocar 2005). Broadening the perspective to social movement literature, the lack of interest in animal advocacy is reprehensible, particularly in Italy, a country traditionally at the vanguard in this field (della Porta and Diani 1997): animal advocacy has for a long time been forgotten or at least relegated as a branch of environmentalism (Diani 1988; Mela, Belloni, and Davico 2000; della Porta and Diani 2004).

In other national contexts the situation is surely different and there is a discrete number of researches that focus on animal advocates and animal advocacy as a collective actor (see, for example: Einwohner 2002a, 2002b; Maurer 2002; Munro 2005; Cherry 2006, 2010; Traïni 2011; Dubreuil 2013). However, at the international level too, the issue is still at an emerging stage: the “complaint” of Shapiro (1993) on the first issue of *Society*

& *Animals*, according to whom the study of socio-political movements appeared underrepresented in Human-Animal Studies (HAS), has been reaffirmed by other contributions (Garner 1995) and appears to partly maintain its validity. Munro (2012), drawing a review on the subject, shows that this is one of the less addressed themes in HAS and that a larger focus would be useful for social movements literature also contributing to new – more general – theoretical developments.

Focusing more specifically on the vegan diet of animal advocates, this is a quite relevant issue among scholars (Beardsworth 2004; Beardsworth and Bryman 2004; Turina forthcoming): it has sometimes been read as a precise strategy to promote non-human animals rights (Beardsworth and Keil 1997; Ouédraogo 2000; Cherry 2006; Lee Wrenn 2011), and other times in a perspective more linked to the ethical choices and the individual lifestyles of single activists (Crnic 2013). The latter theme, namely the so-called “do it yourself” activism, is discussed by Munro (2005) who compares the different advocates’ strategies: on the one hand those who adopt face-to-face convincing strategies, on the other those who consider a structural perspective more useful embracing veganism but not focusing exclusively on it.

Veganism is an issue at the centre of attention among animal advocates because of the growing quest for consistency (McDonald 2000; Dubreuil 2013; Stallwood 2014; Cherry 2015; Turina forthcoming) that is also producing diffidence towards less “radical” dietary regimes, such as vegetarianism (Leneman 1999; Zamir 2004; Dubreuil 2013; Turina forthcoming). According to some authors, as well as to individuals interviewed in our research, such quest for consistency often tends to turn into an identitarian perspective that can make forget the real common “enemy”, namely the anthropocentric structure and ideology of contemporary societies (McDonald 2000; Nibert 2002; Gaarder 2008; Greenebaum 2012a, 2012b).

In the end, a vegan (both individual and structural) perspective is often perceived as in opposition to a welfarist politics of small-wins (Weick 1984). This last dichotomy, however, tends to be less strict than some years ago, partly due to the “radicalization” of certain sector of protectionism and their endorsement of a vegan diet, even if always accompanied by legal and institutional lobby activities. On the contrary, those who prefer an individual approach and face-to-face strategies typically consider that the only way to achieve effective results is the total abolition of exploitation: in their opinion this can be achieved through the development of a vegan consciousness and legislative action will have a practical and effective way only after the formation of a critical mass (Francione 1996).

3. DATA AND METHODS

As previously anticipated, the only relevant work in Italian academic literature is the book *I diritti animali*, by Sabrina Tonutti (2007). Starting from it, we propose to call “animal advocacy” the variegated archipelago (Diani 1998) composing our population of interest. To stratify it, we identified three specific areas: animal care, protectionism, antispeciesism. Animal care associations are the ones dealing with the assistance of single animals, especially pets (and, even more especially, dogs and cats); protectionism corresponds to the big national NGOs that, in addition to a work of assistance, promote institutional campaigns, law proposals and lobby activity; antispeciesism is represented by grass-rooted groups (mainly with a local dimension), single-issue campaigns and more “radical” forms of activism.

Our data comes from two main sources. The first source is an online survey conducted in the first months of 2015 and answered by 704 animal advocates on a national scale. The second source is 20 semi-structured interviews (della Porta 2010) conducted at the end of 2015 with “relevant” activists divided by the identified movement areas. We also conducted other types of analysis to better contextualize our work (a social network analysis regarding the online activities of groups, a protest event analysis regarding different form of actions, the participation in demonstrations and debates), but in the analysis that follows we focus on the online survey and the semi-structured interviews with few sporadic mentions of other sources. Even more specifically we will refer to those questions regarding dietary consumption of animal advocates and themes related to veganism as a philosophy/lifestyle and to the use of non-human animals for human interest.

Before proposing our findings, it is correct to specify that our analysis does not have presumptions of being representative of the entire population of Italian animal advocates. This is due to the specific nature of the population of interest, which is composed of a very variegated spectrum of individuals: some of them are members of one single group or association, others conduct their activity either as single activists or belong to different groups or associations. Moreover, some collective actors are not officially registered because of their grass-roots approach and activities. This situation entails the absence of a complete list of both groups/associations and single activists, and the consequent impossibility to produce a representative sample, as in the case of the majority of contemporary social movements (Klandermans and Staggenborg 2002; Ayoub, Wallace, and Zepeda-Millán 2014) and more generally hard-to-reach or hard-to-sample populations (Marpsat and Razafindratsima 2010).

4. ANALYSIS

4.1. *Dietary regimes and their different meanings*

As already discussed, in our study we decided to consider different types of activists (or, at least, members of associations) with different ethical orientation. This translated in the inclusion in our set of respondents of those individuals that, for example, present themselves as animal advocates but keep on eating (or generally consuming) animal products. Some (vegan) respondents criticized this decision, considering incorrect to include this typology of activists in our sample. However, while accepting this and similar observations and being aware of the apparent logical-theoretical as well as personal contradictions, what we propose is a descriptive analysis rather than a prescriptive work aiming to indicate to the movement the best way to follow.

The first question we consider is the one regarding the dietary regime of our respondents. Our data shows a vast majority of vegans (53.1%), with lower presence of vegetarians (31.1%) and omnivorous (14.8%) activists; residual are those respondents that declare to be fruitarians and raw vegans² (0.6%) and those that indicated the answer “other” (0.4%), substantially coinciding with an ethical vegan perspective and diet (see *fig. 1*).

We also considered it appropriate to focus on the association between the self-collocation on the political spectrum³ and the dietary regime followed by Italian animal advocates. Specifically we wanted to test a greater politicization of those more involved in the animal advocacy, also through an adoption of different lifestyles and behaviours in individual biographies. Despite the absence of specific hypotheses in the literature, we considered plausible a convergence between the following pairs of combinations: veganism/left, vegetarianism/center, omnivorism/right.

Before analysing these relations, we briefly introduce the general division of our respondents on the political spectrum: very generally speaking, a difference between the three identified areas emerged, especially between antispeciesism and the other two areas. The curves of animal care and protectionism take on a fairly similar pattern, with a low percentage of individuals who are at the two extremes of the political spectrum, and posi-

² The raw vegans consume only vegetables and fruits (but also other foods, such as seeds, nuts, sprouts) either raw or possibly blend. The fruitarians are those who consume only what fell from the trees, and thus mainly fresh fruit and vegetables, while excluding other foods, especially the seeds, and what might damage the course of life of the plant itself.

³ We used a scale from 1 (corresponding to “extreme left”) and 10 (corresponding to “extreme right”).

tions focused particularly on the center and center-left. The antispeciesists are much more moved to the far left, or to “central” positions, which can probably be interpreted as an anti-political declaration of distance from the classic dynamic right-left; moreover, we detected a collapse of both center-left and extreme right respondents.

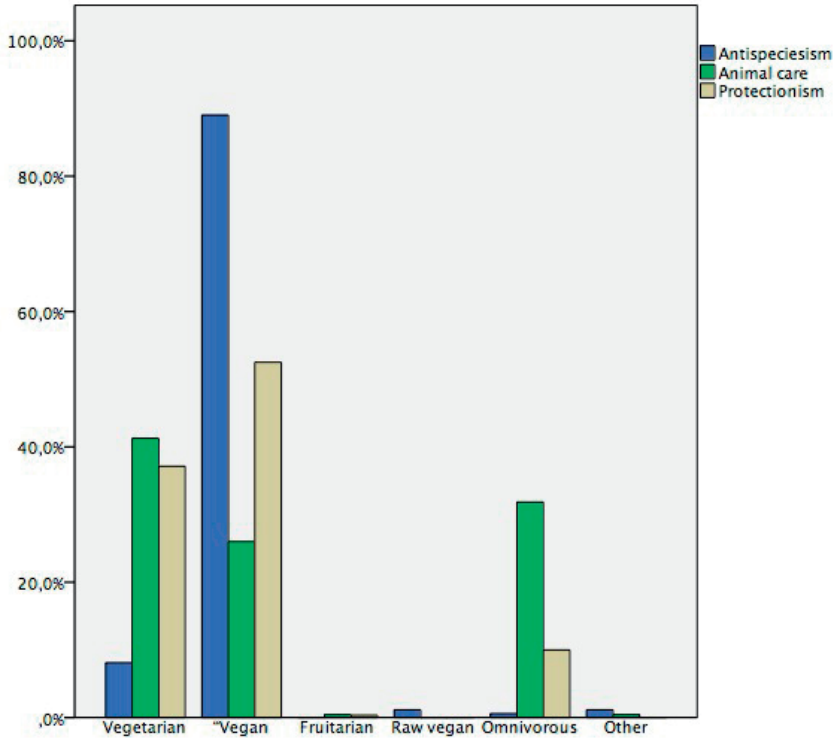


Figure 1. – Diet regime of Italian animal advocates according to movement areas (Source: our research on Italian animal advocates).

Going back to the relation between political positions and dietary regime, we can say that the hypothesized combinations found substantial confirmation in our respondents, even if with some important caveats. Those who are self-located on the left tend to adopt a vegan diet; 25% of those on the right are omnivores, but even more remarkable is their percentage among vegetarians, where they arrive to 43%. Finally, about half of the “centrists”, among which are presumably placed many anti-political respondents, result as vegan (see *fig. 2*).

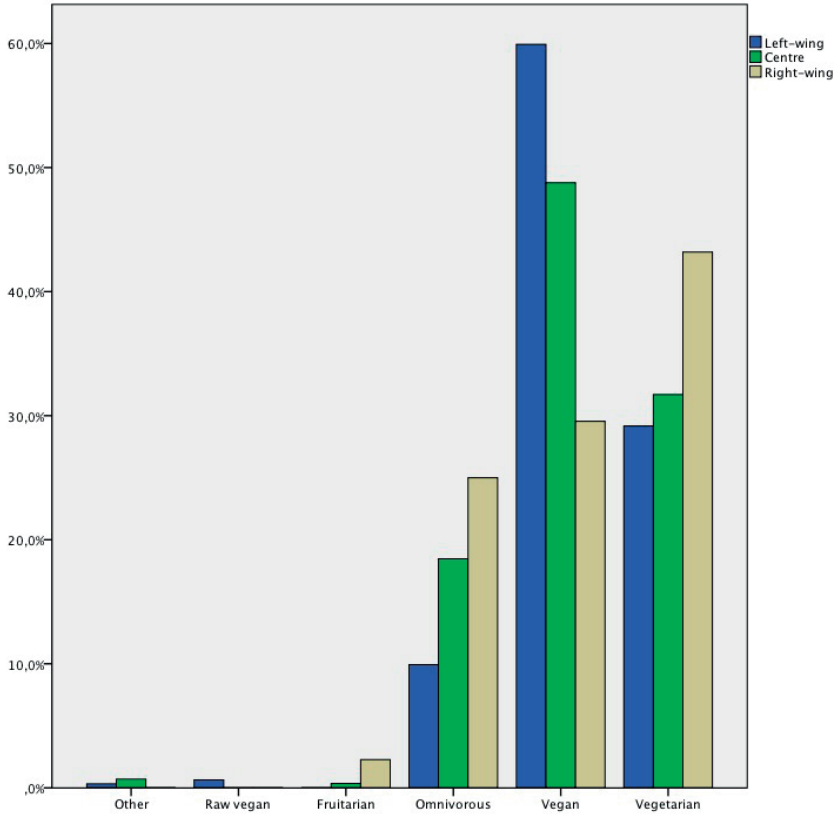


Figure 2. – Dietary regime of Italian animal advocates according to political self-positioning (Source: our research on Italian animal advocates).

As previously stated, there are important discrepancies between the three different areas of animal advocacy in reference to the use of non-human animals for dietary human interests. In this sense, we asked our respondents to identify the priorities in the animal advocacy field, proposing them a list of typical issues involving non-human animals' exploitation⁴. In confirmation of the results referred to the dietary regime of the respondents that we have previously exposed, we highlight that especially the antispe-

⁴ It is important to specify that the respondents could indicate two of the answers proposed (reason why the total is not 100%) and that the general results highlighted a generalized interest in the issue related to the consumption of animal products, considered as one of the two most relevant by the 52.6% of the respondents.

ciesists consider important the issue related to the consumption of animal products and the animal usage in the dietary industry (see *fig. 3*), while the other two areas (animal care and protectionism) seem more interested in other kinds of issues, such as that of stray animals and fur industry (for the animal care area) and that of protected species (for the protectionist area).

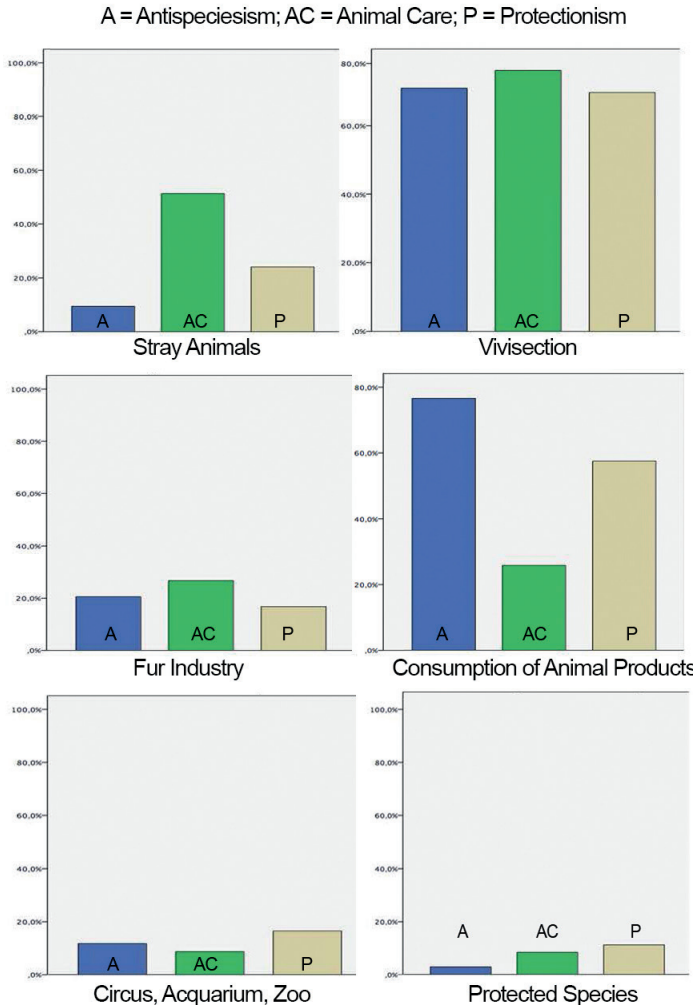


Figure 3. – Priorities in animal advocacy’s activities: percentage of affirmative answers on single items (Source: our research on Italian animal advocates).

Shifting our attention to the intense debate matured in animalist and antispeciesist arenas around veganism, we also consider the semi-structured interviews conducted among key-activists. Referring to animal advocacy in a broad sense, as we have already anticipated, there is not yet unanimity on the need to adopt lifestyle and behaviours (at the table, but not only) that totally exclude animal exploitation. We reaffirm that it is not our objective to propose a criticism, but merely to highlight that there are supporters of an approach to the protection of non-human animals who do not exclude the possibility of eating them in the light of a consideration of centrality and primacy given to our species. However, even among those who have abolished from their diet the consumption of animals or animal-derived food, rather discordant positions emerge. For example, some consider as absolutely central, when conducting actions and struggles alongside other collective actors and social movements, the fact that they embrace veganism. Others, on the contrary, are more tolerant, in the light of discourses related to a change in society at large and based on the need of intersections with subjects who, while continuing to pursue “carnist’ diet” (Joy 2010), are in other respects extremely adverse to neo-liberal modernity. These different positions were underlined by respondents with reference to specific episodes that have seen them involved.

At the Animal Liberation Encounter held in Val di Susa there was an attempt to contaminate the struggles, but some things are a bit complicated [...] there are principles that one can not betray, then there are surely strategies that drive you to do things that seem to betray them [...] some things however are unavoidable [...] now I’ll trivially give you an example: in that episode in Val di Susa we found that, behind the kitchen, where there was an antispeciesist talk, there were some rabbits in an enclosure. If there is no respect for this essential point, it makes no sense to go ahead: probably the time is not yet ripe for such contamination. (Bertuzzi 2017)

We always considered this problem from the beginning [...] in our idea was: if they ask us to cook for an initiative before we make a political assembly in that space, then after the political assembly we talk about how to build together the initiative [...] we have always proposed, but with one excuse or the other the political assembly is always postponed, so then depending on how it was important to be there we decided whether to make or not the initiative, so if to cook or not [...] I think that it is well known that we are a political, antispeciesist, vegan collective, and not only those who cook, because we put it clear from the beginning. (Bertuzzi 2017)

The centrality of the vegan diet and its relationship with more general social structures and other issues of interest for a certain area of antispeciesism, are often related to the battleground of the supermarket. While some

animal advocates believe that the increasingly massive supply of vegetable alternatives present on the shelves of supermarkets should be greeted with enthusiasm and as a first strong sign of change, others consider this achievement as a “Pyrrhic victory”. They perceive the greater availability of vegetable alternatives as totally anthropocentric and only characterized by a consumerist approach, stressing that even a vegan approach intended in this sense would help multinational corporations, that can take advantage of a new market niche.

Two years ago persons would sell their mother to get vegan burgers, the same persons who prefer to eat (and these are the so-called antispeciesists) in a family-business kebab because they do not exploit the employees than at Universo Vegano because it could become a chain: for me it is absurd, it is disgusting [...] that go into the caves and eat the berries [...]. Granarolo as I tell you it sucks, but it is a victory that has made vegan milk because it means that they realized that part of society is becoming vegan. (Bertuzzi 2017)

4.2. *Events promoting veganism*

Veganism is not the only practice of advocacy in favour of non-human animals. In our research we investigated other forms of action and protest conducted by Italian animal advocates. We therefore asked respondents to indicate the most used practices of the last two years (given the administration of the questionnaire, we refer to the period 2013-2015). In this period, the main practices were the signing of petitions and the conduction of Internet campaigns, generally used in abundant form among the entire spectrum of respondents (see *tab. 1*).

Table 1. – Practices adopted by Italian animal advocates in the period 2013-2015.

TYPE OF PRACTICE	<i>Never</i>	<i>1-2 times</i>	<i>More than 2 times</i>	<i>Total</i>
Promoting campaigns and initiatives using Internet	10.6% (N = 67)	14.6% (N = 90)	74.8% (N = 478)	100% (N = 635)
Promoting petitions	15.6% (N = 100)	16.8% (N = 105)	67.6% (N = 436)	100% (N = 641)
Organizing initiatives for the promotion of a vegan lifestyle	29.7% (N = 175)	20.7% (N = 124)	49.6% (N = 294)	100% (N = 593)
Collecting signatures for referendum	39.5% (N = 238)	24.0% (N = 142)	36.5% (N = 219)	100% (N = 599)

Contacting/cooperating with single public official	53.4% (N = 295)	21.5% (N = 121)	25.1% (N = 142)	100% (N = 558)
Contacting/cooperating with single politicians	58.8% (N = 327)	19.4% (N = 108)	21.8% (N = 122)	100% (N = 557)
Presenting petition to magistrature	77.8% (N = 418)	12.8% (N = 69)	9.4% (N = 51)	100% (N = 538)

Source: our research on Italian animal advocates.

On the contrary, the organization of events promoting a vegan lifestyle is the form of advocacy that sees the sample more differentiated: it occurs mainly among antispeciesists, whilst it is less present among the other two areas, especially in that of animal care. However, confirming an evolution of the animal advocacy towards greater awareness as well as greater consistency and radicalization, 49.6% of respondents said that they participated to the organization of events of this kind more than twice in the period 2013-2015 (see *tab. 2*).

Table 2. – Organization of initiative promoting a vegan lifestyle in the period 2013-2015.

	<i>Never</i>	<i>1-2 times</i>	<i>More than 2 times</i>	<i>Total</i>
Antispeciesism	17.5% (N = 28)	18.8% (N = 30)	63.7% (N = 102)	100% (N = 160)
Animal care	47.4% (N = 83)	21.7% (N = 38)	30.9% (N = 54)	100% (N = 175)
Protectionism	24.8% (N = 64)	21.7% (N = 56)	53.5% (N = 138)	100% (N = 258)
Total	29.5% (N = 175)	20.9% (N = 124)	49.6% (N = 294)	100% (N = 593)

Source: our research on Italian animal advocates.

To confirm these results, we also asked the respondents to express themselves in reference to practices perceived as the most effective (and therefore not necessarily to those carried out). The effectiveness of veganism seems, once again, to meet equal favour among antispeciesists and protectionists, demonstrating the encompassing approach to this issue. The promotion of veganism, despite being historically a typical characteristic of antispeciesism, is also spreading among some subjects of other areas. Although the ethical/political considerations, we simply point out

the growing importance assumed by this type of events, even in relation to those linked to other animal welfare/rights issues. However, it is evident that this change, even if extremely relevant and important, is still far from being a generalized phenomenon.

5. CONCLUSION

In this article we have highlighted that the promotion of a vegan lifestyle is occupying an increasingly important role among the Italian animal advocacy (both at an individual and in a collective level), after a period characterized by structural anti-capitalist frames and actions (Tonutti 2007; Maurizi 2011). This change of paradigm often tends to transform the radical demand for social change in forms of alternative consumption and to blur more radical and political approaches, that involve(d) forms of popular collective actions aimed at proposing alternative ideas of the future and societies. The insistence on individual choices, or at least on critical consumption activity, is nowadays often considered the best tactic for advocacy, thus shifting the action “from the streets to the shops” (Forno and Ceccarini 2006).

In the light of our fieldwork, we try to propose some reflections in reference to the importance assumed by veganism in the literature of social movements, and more generally in sociological theory. Starting from this last point, the centrality assumed by a specific diet/lifestyle can be read at different levels. The phenomenon shows a typical dynamic of modernity, namely the increasing interest in lifestyles and individual ethical choices, something that not only challenges the boundary between public and private sphere, but that often becomes an instrument of power and control on the biographies of contemporary subjects (Foucault 1976). On the other hand, the flip side of this same coin is represented by the “reduction” of radically critical instances like the antispeciesist ones to the conduction of a lifestyle: this is the classic operation of neutralization of the most radical instances typical of the new spirit of capitalism (Chiapello and Boltanski 1999), through partial concessions that do not affect the social order. In this sense, classic examples are the operations of pinkwashing or greenwashing adopted toward feminist/LGBTI and environmentalist issues, but we can see the same dynamics also in operations of veganwashing.

Moving on to the literature of social movements, the theme of veganism (especially when connected with a vision of speciesism in terms of prejudice, as in the so-called first antispeciesism) seems to be read, in part, as a

classic form of collective individualized action (Micheletti 2003; Micheletti and McFarland 2010). Not all the animal advocates, instead, pursue (at least consciously) forms of political consumerism (Tosi 2006; Rucht 2007; Pleyers 2011) by conducting their diet and lifestyle. In the same antispeciesist area, the one with a higher percentage of vegans and individuals with a more “political” approach to animal issue, different members and groups appear to be distant from that kind of approach, and is therefore more accurate to simply identify their adherence to veganism as a form of personalization of protest (Inglehart 1977; Giddens 1991; McDonald 2002; Micheletti 2003).

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